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NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. VI, No. 1 JANUARY, 1917 TOTAL No. 21

MUNICIPAL PREPAREDNESS[1]

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF
Philadelphia

ARE the American people interested in municipal affairs? And if so, how are they manifesting that interest? Recent events, and especially those connected with the late election, show conclusively that it is unwise to attempt to speak with positiveness and definiteness with regard to the beliefs and convictions of 100,000,000 people. The most that one can do is to study incidents and tendencies over a sufficiently wide area and during a sufficiently long period, and see what they disclose. One of the great services which an organization like the National Municipal League performs is to keep track from year to year of movements and tendencies in its chosen field; compare and measure them, and show their growth, development and significance.

Since August, 1914, there has been a general impression, that public interest in the war was paramount. The recent national election clearly showed that the American people had not lost sight of their own problems, for several of the pivotal issues, and notably the Adamson bill, were of purely domestic concern. The civic secretaries committee of the National Municipal League published, in September, a summary of the topics discussed by local civic organizations during the year. It showed the following results:

Number of addresses noted: Relating to war, 51; Politics and citizenship, 15; City planning, 14; Foreign relations and race problems, 13; Education, 13; Health, 12; City government, 11; Labor and industrial relations, 10; Public utilities, 9; Crime and delinquents, 7; Recreation, 6; Motion pictures, 4; Taxation, 3; Miscellaneous, 45. Total, 213.

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[1] Twenty-second annual review of the secretary of the National Municipal League, read at the annual meeting at Springfield, Mass., November 23, 1916.

To state it differently, 24 per cent of these addresses related to the war; 6 per cent to foreign relations; 49 per cent to local questions, and 21 per cent to miscellaneous subjects, which heading more than likely includes general educational and popular topics.

An examination of the popular and general periodicals discloses a similar distribution of interest, and likewise the columns of the daily press. More significant still is the fact disclosed in the new census bulletin on the financial statistics of cities that the total costs of 204 cities (with 30,000 or more population) for that year exceeded those of the government of the United States. The same volume shows that the relative burden of government costs is increasing much faster for municipalities than for the national government, although the cost of the latter is growing at a staggering rate. The total funded and floating indebtedness of these same 204 cities was $3,259,106,277 in 1915,[2] another staggering figure, and a conclusive one, if we accept the time-honored dictum that the pocket nerve is the most sensitive one in the taxpayer's makeup.[3]

Coincident with the period of the war there has been a searching of hearts; an examination of resources, moral, physical and governmental; a stock-taking, all as part of a far-reaching demand for preparedness. Beginning with thought for a national safety from outside attack, we have come to see true preparedness involves that, but, far more than that. A Canadian writer (R. O. Wynne-Roberts) has pointed out that the

ECONOMIC PREPAREDNESS

> Economic preparedness of our cities is a vast subject for it touches on every problem which confronts cities. . . . The term economic or economy implies the management, regulation and government of a family, community, city or state. This again involves the questions of judicious and frugal use and expenditure of money, so that the best results are obtained, without waste; it involves also the prudent management of all the means by which property is saved or accumulated; the judicious application of time, of labor and of instruments of labor. Economy then, has an intimate relation with everything which concerns our cities and human life. Domestic economy has to do with domestic life as state economy has with a nation. The Germans, prior to the war, coined another term, namely, "world economy," and their universities, colleges and institutes were enthusiastic in the promotion of education, organizations and international relationships, which would assist in establishing the idea. The world to-day is discussing how best to organize business and finance and the German conception of world economy may yet be realized, but in a different manner. The thought which actuated this movement is identical with that necessary for the development of the best in our cities, namely, to establish economy in its true

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[2] See census volume, "Financial Statistics of States."

[3] A striking study of this question of municipal indebtedness was published in *Municipal Research* for July, 1916, entitled "The Purposes of the Indebtedness of American Cities, 1880–1912."

sense. Such education, however, has often been initiated by the means of business-tradesmen, who have to bear a good share of the financial burden of a city. When a calamity comes to a city, such as an acute outbreak of disease, the tradesmen suffer severely, so that to protect themselves they must be pioneers in sanitation. The public, as a body, is not so ready to promote movements for public works which entail more rates and taxes. . . . Combining municipal economy and municipal preparedness we have the fundamental factors which are necessary for efficiency in city government. We, therefore, need a carefully thought out plan of government, a strong, efficient organization to carry it on, and a loyal patriotic body of citizens to support and encourage the administration of the laws and regulations, which have been formed for the welfare of the public.

NEW YORK'S NEW POLICY

Greater New York, the premier city of the new world, and possibly, as a result of the Great War, now of the whole world, has appropriately assumed a leadership which can wisely be followed by other cities. In this very matter of finance and economy, during the several years the fusion administration has been in office, there has been a gradual change from the previously extravagant method of financing, by the issuance of fifty-year bonds, known as corporate stock to defray the cost of improvements of a temporary character. It was obviously to the interest of administrations, whose main object was to show a comparatively low tax rate, and which had no regard for the future, to eliminate as much from the annual tax levy as possible.

It was asserted that this policy had been carried to such an extreme in time past that perishable things such as pavements and brooms were paid for out of the proceeds of corporate stock issues, and so the people of New York city continued to pay interest for 48 or 49 years after the purchased article had been used up. The fusion administration started in 1910 to transfer to the annual tax budget all expenditures which were not properly chargeable to permanent improvements. The interest on these long-term bonds is carried annually in the debt service item of the tax budget, and as a result of the enormous public improvements since consolidation the debt service item amounts to upwards of $60,000,000 annually. To reduce this tremendous annual obligation, a radical step was taken about two years ago by the adoption by the board of estimate and apportionment of a resolution according to which all corporate stock issues for other than self-sustaining improvements are gradually to be absorbed into the annual tax budget; in other words, this measure aims to put the construction cost of all improvements, such as schools, hospitals, parks, reformatories, directly into the annual tax budget, and to issue bonds only for such improvements as water supply, docks, rapid transit, which are in the self-sustaining class, and will consequently pay the interest on their bonds. As was pointed out in a previous review (that of 1914), in order that this change might not be too drastic, it was resolved that all corporate stock issues for the year 1915 were to be financed in such manner that 75 per cent of the issue would be taken care of by fifteen-year corporate stock bonds, and 25 per cent of the amount to be placed in the budget; in the year 1916, 50 per cent by the issuance of fifteen-year bonds and 50 per cent in the budget; in the year 1917, 25 per cent by the issuance of fifteen-year bonds and 75 per cent in the budget, and thereafter the entire amount in the budget.[4]

It would follow from this procedure, as the former president of the board of aldermen (George McAneny) pointed out at the time, that all non-sustaining improvements will tend to increase the tax rate quite materially, and the result will naturally be that they will be submitted to much closer scrutiny. This, of itself, is a great gain.

PHILADELPHIA'S FINANCIAL PREPAREDNESS

Philadelphia is another city that is making a substantial contribution to financial preparedness. Her controller, who has four times been reelected, has issued a report of which the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research has this to say:

> Let us look at some of the more important things in it. The news and editorial columns of the press discuss various topics touched upon in the report, but strangely enough do not even mention the fact that numerous new interpretations have resulted in a really revolutionary change in its *form*.
>
> What are these new interpretations and what do they signify?
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> The most important new interpretation is that the city for the first time is regarded as a *unit, i.e.*, its assets and liabilities are expressed in *one* statement—a proprietary balance sheet—and not merely in numerous disjointed statements, each showing only a partial picture. The proprietary balance sheet is in comparative form and shows the *assets*, the *liabilities*, and the resultant *net worth* of the city, as at December 31, 1914 and 1915, and the change in the net worth is accounted for by a supporting statement in two parts. The proprietary balance sheet and the net worth statement in turn are supported by detailed statements and schedules. This report indicates that Philadelphia is in the lead among American municipalities in the field of governmental accounting.
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> Unlike former reports, the controller's 1915 report accepts in principle that:
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> 1. Payment of debt is not expense
> 2. Payments to the sinking fund in respect of future payment of debt are not expense
> 3. Revenue of the sinking fund is revenue of the city
> 4. Assets of the sinking fund are assets of the city
> 5. Depreciation of property is expense

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[4] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 6.

6. The net increase or the net decrease in the city's net worth during a given period is the best single index of the city's financial progress or regress during that period.[5]

And this year Philadelphia is to have a modern budget, and a tax rate predicated upon the actual needs of the city, carefully ascertained, and not upon a precedent as inflexible as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

Other cities all over the land are overhauling their accounts, establishing modern reports and budgets, and giving to their finances, both present and future, a measure of prudent consideration, that a generation ago would have been regarded as academic, if not idealistic.[6]

In another field, that of the machinery itself, there is a degree of preparedness that is equally encouraging. For 25 years there has been a steadily accelerating interest in the frame of our municipal governments, and the year just closing has been no exception. To-day the interest in the city manager form of government as represented in the National Municipal League's model charter, is greater than ever. Embodying as it does efficiency and preparedness, it is being considered in cities large and small, east and west, north and south. There are no unusual developments to record along these lines—but a steady, persistent, unremitting growth is, after all, the best of records to chronicle.

DENVER'S NEW CHARTER

Denver has furnished somewhat of a sensation, the permanent effect of which cannot as yet be forecast.[7] Its new charter unquestionably was designed to promote a measure of efficiency, but save for the fact that it is still subject both to the initiative and the referendum, is far removed along other essential lines from direct, democratic control. In a way it represents an imposed, autocratic efficiency, subject to ouster through an initiated movement, little likely to be inaugurated in an election tired community.

ELIMINATION OF POLITICS

What is being done in the direction of a wise preparedness to eliminate politics from our municipal plans and from our municipal administrations? What are we doing in our cities to place public considerations above private and party interests? In a bulletin published in October (1916), the Dayton bureau of municipal research makes this pregnant comment:

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[5] The city controller will no doubt be glad to send copies of the 1915 annual report to those that ask for them, as long as his supply lasts. Requests should be sent to John M. Walton, Esq., 146 City Hall, Philadelphia.

[6] For a review of the recent progress in accounting and budget making, see the article by C. E. Rightor, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, pp. 403 and 631.

[7] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 471.

Rumor says that politicians are going to get hold of the city government in 1917,—and the November *Metropolitan* is not the only source of such "dope." If they do, it will be your loss, and—it will be your fault.

A politician has no more business taking care of your government than he has taking care of your baby. Physicians care for the sick; lawyers take care of legal matters. Management of public affairs should be placed with trained men. "The people get as good government as they deserve" is a trite saying, but it's true because the people are the *supreme power* and can get what they want. If you do not want politicians to get hold of the city next fall, the time to get busy is now.

The question is, what will you do?

Organize; co-operate; do something. Learn what is being done; compare with what was done under former administrations; imagine what will result if the politician takes the government away from the present boss—the people.

Next year you will spend $100,000, plus a lot of time, to beat the politician. How much less need you spend if you act now? Fight the politician with *facts*,—not with oratory and dollars. First get the facts about the city government, and then get as good government in the schools and county as in the city.

What are the facts? . . .

In short the people's business is more important than that of the politicians; the public interest is paramount to party interest. To those who maintain that parties (meaning as a rule national parties) are inevitable in a city, one should point out that to-day nearly 500 American municipalities (those enjoying either a commission or a city manager form of government) have eliminated party designations from their local ballots, as have cities like Boston, Pittsburgh, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles, and while the disappearance of the party name does not invariably imply the disappearance of the party spirit, it has nearly always been followed by a diminution of it, in many cases to a negligible quantity. And if this experience is insufficient one may point to our Canadian sister cities, where national party politics play no part at all, and have not for practically two generations.

SOCIAL PREPAREDNESS

It is not along financial, governmental and political lines, however, that the greatest changes and advances are to be noted. Prof. Ernst Freund, in an article on "Tendencies of Legislative Policy and Modern Social Legislation,"[8] shows how the last ten years have witnessed remarkable changes in the attitude of American courts toward social legislation. There has been an equally great change on the part of legislatures, city, state and national, and all these changes are but the reflection and outgrowth of the changes in the conceptions and aspirations of the American people. In no other phase of municipal life has there been manifested a greater concern for the future, a stronger and more persistent demand for preparation. The recreation congress at Grand Rapids issued its program for "community buildings and character buildings through play" under the title "preparedness for peace."

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[8] *International Journal of Ethics*, October, 1916.

In the annual report of the director of the Dayton department of public welfare (Rev. D. Frank Garland) we find this statement:

> A probation system, entirely new in the history of workhouse administration, so far as we know, was established April 1, 1915, under which men and women were secured work in shops or factories or houses at regular wages. These persons received no liberties, except the liberty to work for pay outside the institution between the hours of 6.30 in the morning and 5.30 at night. The money thus earned was distributed by the prisoner and his wife (if married), under the supervision of the superintendent of corrections, in the payment of debts, in the support of wife and children or dependents, in the purchase of clothing, etc. The results have been eminently satisfactory. Thirty-six men during 1915 were thus put on probation, only three of whom violated our confidence, resulting in the withdrawal of the privilege. These men earned in eight months, $2,025.70. Following this test, a parole is granted and the prisoner is allowed to leave the institution.

Truly, as the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research points out, the parole system is the most delicate task that government has assumed thus far. Although it is fairly new, this much has been definitely established: that it cannot be *successfully* operated except where "politics" are rigidly and uncompromisingly excluded and where parole and probation officers are appointed and hold their positions *only* by reason of fitness for this new kind of work. Where favoritism is shown or where respect for officers is lacking, the system collapses like a house of cards, so far as real results are concerned. In other words, political and social preparedness must go hand in hand if we are to make genuine progress that will last.

Another impressive note is the proposition to utilize the police for parole and reformatory work. The time is coming when the value of a patrolman's service will be determined, not by the number of men he starts on the way to jail or prison, but by the number he keeps out of such places, and starts on a career of usefulness.

A Canadian official declares the best time to save the criminal is before he becomes one. It costs less in money, and infinitely less in some other things that are worth much more than money. Prevention is a greater word than reformation. "The highest achievement of the state or of the church is not a man rescued in mid-career from a life of vice and crime, but rather a child, strengthened in will and purpose, clean in hand and in heart, fitted by training and discipline for a whole long life of service and usefulness. . . . In our love for the spectacular we have called the former the greater service, but it is not, even though at times it appears to make a greater demand upon our faith. The problem of the criminal, when it is brought down to its final analysis, is the problem of the child. The hope of the future does not lie in the perfecting of our method for reaching the man, but in our making the most of our opportunity of winning the boy."

SOCIAL HYGIENE

It may now be said, Dr. Snow of the American Social Hygiene Association tells us, that social hygiene is essentially a constructive movement for the promotion of all those conditions of living, environment, and personal conduct which will best protect the family as an institution and secure a rational sex life for the individuals of each generation. This is well shown by the forceful statement of Dr. Edward L. Keyes, Jr., descriptive of the aims and methods of such societies to-day. "The elimination of disease and prostitution cannot be attained solely by the enforced registration of venereal diseases, the raiding of disorderly houses, and the enactment of laws against procuration and solicitation. The real strength of the social hygiene movement of to-day lies in the co-operative activities of the great religious, social, and educational organizations. They are striking the evil at its source; not by driving the prostitute into the street and then out of it again, but by preventing our young girls from becoming prostitutes, and our young men from preying upon them. This they hope to achieve by informing the mind so as to banish prurient curiosity, by diverting the imagination to emotions joyous and clean, by exercising the body in playgrounds and dance halls that are safe, and above all by inspiring the soul with the highest religious and family and civic ideals. To turn lust into love, 'into the enthralling love of mate for equal mate, into civic love for freedom, home, and state, into the eternal love of God and of all things create'—such is our aspiration." Eventually it is possible that social hygiene may find its place as an inclusive designation for a group of organized and affiliated movements which deal with community problems in which social and moral factors as distinct from sanitary factors are of primary importance. In this sense it is logically a companion term to public hygiene, or public health, which is its popular equivalent.

HEALTH PREPAREDNESS

And what of public health? This is regarded largely as a state function but it is one in which the city is deeply concerned, both as agent and principal. Progress is to be recorded, but there is still greater emphasis laid on the health and lives of animals than upon those of human beings. The vice-president of a great insurance company tells this story to illustrate the difference. He calls it "The story of the little mother and the fat hog." There was a little mother in ——. She was only twenty-three years old. She had four little children. One day she found that she was growing weary, and the calls of the children, for the first time in her life, began seriously to tax her. She knew that she must be sick, but she kept up until finally one day she felt a sharp pain in her breast, a sudden cough. She put her handkerchief to her mouth and it was covered with blood; she had a hemorrhage. She immediately sat down and wrote a letter to the secretary of the board of health of Indiana, saying: "My dear Mr. Secretary:—I have just had a hemorrhage. They tell me that tuberculosis, taken in its early stages, can be cured if one knows what to do and where to go. Won't you be good enough to tell me what to do and where to go? I don't want to die now. I want to raise my little children to be good citizens of Indiana." He immediately wrote to her on the official letterhead of the board of health.

> "My dear madam:—Your letter has just been received. The state of —— has made no provision for cases such as you describe, but, in the event of your death, the state of —— has made arrangements by which it can take care of your children, until some good people can be found to take them off the hands of the state. Yours respectfully, Secretary."

A fat hog squealed in the back lot. The hired man went out and looked at it. He said, "It has got the cholera." The man said, "Telegraph to Uncle Jim Wilson right away." He did, and a man came with a little black bag in one hand and a bottle of serum and a syringe in the other, and he shot a lot of the serum into the hog and it got well right away. "Moral: the vice-president said, Be a hog, and worth saving."

HOUSING, TRANSPORTATION, CITY PLANNING

Housing, transportation, city planning—all involve essential problems of preparedness. What of them—can progress be reported? Yes—not so great as it should be, but still progress. These three movements are inextricably woven together and in turn are closely related to public health and to all the other social problems. Perhaps the most significant phase of their respective and related development is the fact that strong, vigorous state and local organizations are at work upon their solution. The National Housing Association, the utilities bureau, and the city planning conference, and their affiliated organizations, are doing yeoman, pioneer service—agitating, educating, legislating.

Immigration has been a big factor in our previous history; the foreign element in our cities constitute a present problem; and after the war, who can doubt but there will be a full resumption of the suspended immigration, which is having so great an influence on labor conditions in American cities. Very little indeed is to be reported as accomplished or in the way of accomplishment in this field, and unless something soon is inaugurated, the ending of the war will find us totally unprepared to meet the situation.

TRAINING FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

"Training for public service" is a phrase we hear nowadays with encouraging frequency. It marks a long step forward toward a real preparedness. Of the opportunity and urgency for such training little may be said before the National Municipal League, which has stood steadfastly for that idea from the beginning and which has embodied it in all of its recommendations. The encouraging thing to note is not this long-continued advocacy, which is no new thing, but the extension of the propaganda through organizations like the society for the promotion of training for public service, and through the extension of the actual application of the principle. J. L. Jacobs, for years at the head of the Chicago efficiency bureau, in an address on public service opportunity and preparedness,[9] prints a long list of the higher grade technical, professional or administrative positions in the Chicago service which have been filled by civil service competitive examinations, to which list he adds this comment:

> New and larger opportunities are being offered in our municipalities and in the larger states for men and women who are trained in the distinct professions and occupations and who have experience in problems of public administration.
>
> The administrative services of New York city and of New York state are additional examples of the larger divisions in this country where the increasing demands for additional governmental activities and effective administration have brought about marked changes for positive employment methods.
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> As a result of perhaps the most intensive and scientific study of public employment yet undertaken in this country, standardization programs have recently been proposed for both the New York state and New York city services. The adoption of these will have a revolutionary effect upon these services, as it has in other private and public institutions where positive employment reform and standardization have been applied. The results will be the improvement of opportunities for trained men and women to find careers in the official service and the introduction of business principles in administration.

There has been no diminution in the number and membership of civic organizations, national, state or city. Indeed, there has been a feeling on the part of some that there had been an undue and unnecessary creation of new associations, although the older ones do not seem to have suffered to any appreciable extent by their entrance into the field of organized civic endeavor. On the contrary there has been a greater correlation, and a more effective mobilization, with a more efficient attention to detail and organization. I think it can be said that never before in the history of the American civic movement has organized effort been more generally and more successfully sustained. The field of public service performed by these citizen agencies has increased with the growth of the functions of government.

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[9] Printed in the *Journal of the Western Society of Engineers*, June, 1916.

Opportunities, as Mr. Jacobs points out, are not only offered for work in these organizations, but governmental officials have turned to them for men and women to fill official positions requiring training and experience of public administrative problems and the knowledge of the structure and operations of government. Increasing activities and cooperation of these civic agencies with governmental bodies is bound to create a further demand for trained workers in public administration. The more important organizations and associations, which have been developed and are active in this positive and growing field, are the following: Ballot associations, boards of trade, bureaus of municipal research, chambers of commerce, city clubs, civil service reform associations, commercial clubs, educational associations, foundations for special research, health associations, housing reform associations, industrial associations, juvenile associations, legal aid associations, legislative leagues, local improvement associations, merchants' associations, municipal leagues, real estate associations, recreation associations, tax associations, training schools for public service.

Opportunities in the civil service are increasing faster than the supply of men and women who are trained and interested in the public service. The creation of a larger supply of men and women, who are trained and are genuinely interested in public affairs and wish to find a career in the official life, will go very far towards stimulating further demand for experts. This, Mr. Jacobs believes, will largely solve our problem of efficient and responsible public administration.

INSTRUCTION IN CITY GOVERNMENT

It is not only the public official, however, who is being trained for future service, but the citizen as well. In a report on instruction in municipal government, a committee of the National Municipal League[10] said:

> Twenty years ago it is altogether probable that not more than three or four of the largest educational institutions in the United States provided any independent instruction in municipal government. In the great majority of American colleges and universities this subject was either not touched upon at all or was dealt with as a small part of some general course in political science. But this situation began to change about 1900 and during the next half-dozen years or more many colleges began to recognize municipal government as a subject worthy of separate recognition. In 1908 it was found that 46 institutions offered independent instruction in municipal government; in 1912 the number had risen to 64; and in the course of the present inquiry the committee finds a further increase to 95. In eight years, accordingly, the number of institutions offering one or more courses devoted wholly to the study of municipal government has more than doubled. That affords significant testimony to the development of popular interest in the subject. And this development is all the more worthy of remark when it is pointed out that nothing

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[10] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 566.

akin to it has taken place in any other country. The curricula of English and continental European universities do not indicate anything of the kind. Instruction in political science has been greatly increased everywhere abroad, but the expansion has been along the lines of new courses in colonial government, world-politics, constitutional law and political theory. It is not improbable, therefore, that the course of development in this country has been influenced by the increased earnestness with which the popular mind throughout the land has directed itself to the solution of our own municipal problems.

The public schools are recasting their courses in civics, giving to them a practical turn and application. "Know your city" is the motto of the educational committee of the Philadelphia chamber of commerce, which is gathering material to make every man, woman and child in Philadelphia better informed upon the life of the city. It is not content to work with adults only, but has planned a series of pamphlets which will come to the aid of the public and private schools of the city. Philadelphia has been backward, according to this body, in appreciating its history and industrial growth.

Other cities, such as Chicago, New York, Cincinnati, New Orleans and Newark, have introduced into their schools regular courses of study in which the pupils are given an insight into the industrial life and historic development of those cities. These courses have uniformly tended to awaken a great interest on the part of pupils and parents. They have stimulated loyalty to the pupil's home city and have made him appreciate the community of which he is a part.

They have served a further purpose in that they have dissipated civic indifference and slothfulness, the greatest enemies of civic progress and preparedness. "Nothing will ruin the country if the people themselves will undertake its safety; and nothing can save it if they leave that safety in any hands but their own."

In the words of Wynne-Roberts already quoted:

> The public by timely action has unlimited authority over its own affairs and it is the people who can confer a blessing or a curse upon themselves. They are like the elements; when furious they smite everything regardless of who are guilty and who are innocent, and on the other hand they have capacity for great good. They are like the rain which, when uncontrolled, swells the brooks, overflows the banks, sweeping, as a deluge, everything which obstructs it, spreading devastation, waste and sorrow in its track. That is the penalty of unpreparedness. The rain rises as vapour from the ocean and is carried by gentle breezes to the hills and mountains where it condenses and falls like dew on the earth. It sparkles with iridescence in the sun and as the water trickles down the crags forms exquisite tapestries on the rocks. Under regulation and control it irrigates, fertilizes and refreshes the valleys and plains so to produce bountiful crops. It develops into rivulets and streams, generates power, light and heat for the service of man. It carries in its bosom the argosies which bring merchandise from all parts of the world. In every way it spreads beneficence upon all who contributed in the work of harnessing the powers of nature. These are the fruits of preparedness.

SOME ADVANCE MUNICIPAL STEPS[1]

BY LAWSON PURDY
New York

DURING the past year three very important subjects have received much attention from municipalities. The rapidly increasing debt of cities and the fact that many cities have made no provision at all or inadequate provision for the payment of city bonds at maturity has led to the adoption by many cities of a plan of making bonds fall due in a certain proportion annually until all the issue has been paid.

In a number of cities pension systems for employes were established in the past without adequate provision for meeting pension liabilities. The whole subject has been under investigation by many cities. It seems that in some form pensions for municipal employes are likely to be provided in the future.

After more than three years' study, the city of New York adopted an ordinance last July regulating the height, bulk and use of buildings by districts. The regulations are elaborate and comprehensive. The city of New York was aided in this work by what had already been done in Boston, Baltimore, Los Angeles, Minneapolis and elsewhere. There is a growing need of such regulation and the sooner appropriate ordinances are adopted by every city, the better it would be for their future growth.

SERIAL BONDS

City bonds arranged to fall due at regular intervals, usually of one year instead of at the expiration of a longer term, are commonly called serial bonds so as to distinguish them from bonds issued for ten, twenty or more years all of like tenor and date of maturity. There has been much discussion of late concerning the advantage of serial bonds as compared with the amortization of public debts by the creation of sinking funds. Statements have been made claiming that the serial bond plan necessarily effects a great saving to taxpayers. The saving has usually been greatly exaggerated, and in some cases the claims have been misleading because the facts presented have been incomplete.

The sinking fund plan contemplates that an equal sum shall be paid annually on account of principal and interest, which shall be sufficient to pay the principal at maturity. If the annual payments on account of principal could be so invested immediately as to earn the same rate of interest as is paid on the debt the cost to the taxpayer would exactly equal the cost if the same sum paid on principal were applied to the final payment of so much of the debt.

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[1] Annual address of the president of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Mass., November 23, 1916.

The advantage of the sinking fund plan is that lenders have usually preferred a bond running for a long term and all bonds offered at one time were for the same period. It was assumed that under these conditions a loan could be obtained at the lowest rate of interest. The most serious defect in the sinking fund is not due to the plan but to poor administration. It has often happened that cities have failed to comply with the law and have not set aside annually the amount necessary to amortize the debt. Sometimes they have made a mistake in calculation and in good faith have saved too small a sum, and sometimes have wilfully or negligently refused to make the appropriation required. Again, by careless investment the earnings of the sinking fund have been reduced so much below the rate of interest paid on the debt as to cause great loss.

It must be admitted that it is practically impossible so to invest a sinking fund that all of it, at all times, shall earn as much as the rate of interest on the debt. If other conditions remain the same and serial bonds can be sold at an equal rate of interest with bonds for a long term, there is, therefore, a saving by the serial plan of the difference between the interest earned by the sinking fund and the interest paid on an equal amount of the debt for the same time.

Because of the failure of some cities to provide and maintain an adequate sinking fund, the plan has lost favor with investment bankers.

So far we have considered only the payment of debt by the appropriation of an equal sum each year during the whole term of the debt. In the first years of the term, by either plan, most of this appropriation would be for interest and in the last years, most of the payment would be for principal. This fact has been ignored by advocates of serial bonds and their claims of interest saving have been based upon the practice of issuing bonds of which an equal amount of the principal is to be paid annually. The results of this serial plan and the sinking fund plan, under these circumstances, may thus be compared. If $50,000 be borrowed payable in 50 years with 4 per cent interest, the annual cost would be about 5 per cent or $2,500 a year. If the bonds were made payable $1,000 a year for 50 years, the cost would be $3,000 the first year, $2,600 the eleventh year, $2,200 the twenty-first year and only $1,040 the last year. If the serial plan were so arranged as to payment that $2,500 should be paid annually, only $500 of principal would be paid the first year and the amount applicable to principal would increase at an accelerating ratio until in the last year about $2,400 would be paid on account of principal.

To this last plan no objection can well be made provided the bonds can be sold on satisfactory terms as to interest.

The usual serial plan of paying an equal amount of principal each year is unjust to the present generation of taxpayers whether the life of the bonds be long or short.

Debt is incurred by cities, as a rule, to meet the needs of an increasing population. The increase in population causes the erection of more buildings and increases the value of land, thus the assessable value of real estate is enhanced. The increase in assessed value ought ordinarily to take care of the increased cost of administration as well as pay the interest and principal of the debt created for the benefit of the new population, without requiring any addition to the tax rate. The reason for borrowing money to pay for public improvements is not only that they will endure for the benefit of the citizens for a number of years. If a community were stationary in wealth and population, it would be better to pay for most public improvements without borrowing, but when it is growing in population and wealth it is only fair to put part of the burden on the increased values the public improvements have helped to create.

CIVIL SERVICE PENSIONS

Pension systems for city employes have been subjected lately to careful analysis because nearly all such systems have broken down. They were started at a time when little was commonly known of what the cost would be. The provisions for pensions was totally inadequate. The same experience has attended pension funds as followed the efforts to establish life insurance by means of assessments. Nearly every assessment company has been transformed into an ordinary level premium life company. Most of these assessment companies made such a transformation at great loss to the policyholders.

The city of New York embarked on pension plans fifty-nine years ago, but over 61 per cent of the disbursements of all city pension funds were made from 1905 to 1914. The city had paid more than 83 per cent of the total pension disbursements. On the basis of the disbursements in 1914, pensioners of the police pension fund received over 16 per cent as much as all of the active employes. Fire department pensioners received over 14 per cent. Others received much less because their funds have only recently been established. The pensions paid in 1914 were almost 5 per cent of the city's total pay-roll.

Cities that contemplate the establishment of pension systems must face the fact that the payment of pensions will add a large percentage to the pay-roll. London police pensions amounted in 1914, after 70 years of operation, to 30 per cent of the pay-roll. The present proportion of the active pay-roll paid in pensions in the French national civil service is 17 per cent; in the Austrian civil service 33 per cent and in the municipal civil service of Berlin 37 per cent. These statements are taken from the report of the commission on pensions of the city of New York.

The worst feature of pension funds so far established is the fact that after many years of operation the proportion paid continues to increase and will continue to be a heavy proportionate burden, which will never grow less.

If it be possible it would seem desirable to make a pension system an asset instead of a liability. If we are not in too great haste but are content to proceed slowly, we can make our pension systems an asset. Let us assume for the sake of illustration that 100 persons of the average age of 25 years enter a city service annually and that the number of persons now in the city service, who are not over 70 years of age, would be that number who would be living at the present time if 100 persons had entered the service annually for the last 45 years, and those persons had all been of the average age of 25 years. We start our system then with employes of various ages, the majority of whom are less than 45 years old. Create a capital fund the principal of which shall never be spent by making a contribution on behalf of every such employe to this capital fund annually. That contribution might be given in addition to present salaries or it might be deducted from present salaries, or the expense might be shared. Persons hereafter entering the service would enter on the basis of a certain sum received annually for themselves to spend now and a certain sum contributed to a capital fund for their benefit. The essence of this plan is the preservation of the capital fund intact forever and its constant increase.

When an employe reaches 70 years of age he is entitled to retire and draw a pension. His pension would be the earnings of his own contributions, plus his share of the earnings of persons of the same age as himself who died before him. He would also be entitled to a per capita share, together with all other pensioners, of the income of the general endowment which would be created by the death of all persons of a year class.

In order to make easy computations I have used the sum of $100 a year as the uniform contribution for every employe. The calculations were kindly made for me by an actuary of the Metropolitan life insurance company. If there are any mistakes they are mine and not his, but I think they are accurate. At the end of 50 years a person who was 70 years old would receive $1,228 a year; a person 75 years of age would receive $1,678 a year; a person 80 years old would receive $2,191. One who is 90 years old would receive over $15,000.

At the end of 75 years the general endowment fund would amount to over twenty million dollars, and at the end of 100 years to over forty-seven million dollars. The increase thereafter would be ten million dollars every ten years. All this would be accomplished by the contribution of 100 persons entering the service annually and paying $100 a year. It is quite obvious that after the fund has been in operation for a moderate length of time, the annual income would be sufficient, not only for pensions but to make the contributions for persons subsequently entering the service. Thereafter the income would be sufficient to pay pensioners and pay all contributions to the pension fund and still leave a large surplus for other purposes. The following table will show the amount which could be paid in pensions from the fund after 50 years, 75 years, and 100 years, at the ages of 70, 80 and 90. All computations are based on 4 per cent as the rate of interest.

Income

	At Age of		
	70	*80*	*90*
After 50 years	$1,228	$2,191	$14,937
After 75 years	2,971	4,564	36,890
After 100 years	5,634	7,229	41,568

It might be deemed undesirable to have pension payments rise to such a high figure as $40,000 a year. The amount can be regulated in accordance with any contract that may be made with any employe entering the service. If a maximum sum is fixed as the payment to employes, the balance can be used to meet annual installments at an earlier date than would be the case if the entire fund were distributed to pensioners.

If any city should start such a plan as this, it might well permit any employe leaving the service to continue to make the annual payments. And it might also permit any citizen to make such payments into the fund as he might desire provided the payments were in reasonable amounts and at regular intervals. Thus any citizen could share in the great advantages which would come to those entitled to pensions. For the purposes of this calculation the age of 70 years has been fixed as the retiring age. The retiring age might be made lower and the only effect would be to reduce the pension payments. Ultimately they would become so large that they would have to be reduced by law anyway.

BUILDING REGULATIONS

Since the adoption by the city of New York of an elaborate code of building regulations by districts, the city of Philadelphia and various others have started to study appropriate regulations for those cities. The need for height regulation has become imperative with the invention of the steel structure. Before that time, foundations and walls had to be so thick for a heavy building that economic considerations prevented the erection of buildings of more than eight or nine stories. With the erection of the steel frame it became possible to build forty stories or perhaps more. One forty-story building might be a thing of beauty although it probably would not be a thing of profit. When tall buildings are crowded together none of them are satisfactory as investments. All of them are unhealthful and the streets become intolerably congested. In the city of New York the failure to regulate the use to which property should be put has cost the owners of real estate hundreds of millions of dollars, and brought upon the community economic loss and great inconvenience. It behooves every city and village to make regulations controlling the height, area and use and to do it at the earliest possible day before more damage has been caused than has been done already. There is not a city in the country that has not suffered now from foolish building. It should be stopped for the benefit of owners and residents alike.

As I see the problems which confront us, we must devote our immediate efforts to secure proper provision for the payment of the ever-increasing city debt, so that our municipalities may not become bankrupt and discredited; to the establishment of a pension system, which shall neither burden the city nor its employes, but be an ever-increasing asset and encouragement to the workers; and to the adoption of building regulations that will preserve health, safety and values and will tend to beautify our city. These three steps will do much toward the upbuilding and perfecting of our municipal life.

THE EVOLUTION OF TYPES OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

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IT WOULD be a difficult task to write a history of American city government. The materials for such a study, numerous as they are, are widely scattered and by no means complete. The historian who might seek to assemble and marshal in review the data upon this subject would be in great danger of being utterly overwhelmed with details. There has been so much of aimless drifting, so much of hit or miss reform, so many slight and large variations in the organic structure of city governments that he would have supreme difficulty even in tracing tendencies and in setting these tendencies within the limits of even approximate dates. Indeed, the probability is that this paper could not be written at all if I knew very much about the subject.

The luckless historian who essayed this task would also be in danger of misinterpreting his innumerable facts. It is all too easy, in the absence of recorded debate and discussion, to read into a charter change, which in point of fact was perhaps born of practical expediency or political exigency or servile imitation, a reconditeness of meaning or a philosophy of government which the authors of the change little dreamed of. The probable truth of the matter is that it is only in comparatively recent times that we have had anything like a philosophy of municipal government. The meagreness of the literature dealing with the subject of city government in an analytical and theoretically constructive way prior to the middle of the nineteenth century is perhaps not astonishing; but it is none the less eloquent of the fact that in the early evolution of city government in the United States the architects of structural changes were guided by few, if any, well thought out principles.

THE COLONIAL TYPE

As everybody knows, the earliest type of city government in the United States was modeled after that which prevailed in the English borough and which still survives with comparatively little change in the English city to-day. It was simple in form. A single body—the board of mayor, aldermen, and assistants—constituted the government of the city. These exercised judicial and legislative functions primarily. One or two other charter officers were usually provided, such as a clerk and a chamberlain; but such simple administrative functions as were performed were also carried on by or under the direct control of this single body. There was no separation of powers. There was complete group centralization of both power and responsibility.

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[1] Paper read at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Mass., November 25, 1916.

For further discussion of this question see the papers of Messrs. Cottrell, Childs, Porter, Locke, Boynton and Miss Hutson in this issue.

Although the doctrine of the separation of powers exerted a powerful influence in the philosophy of those who drafted our early state constitutions and our national constitution, it is highly probable that in the immediate post-revolutionary period nobody thought of applying this principle of organization to the government of cities. The charters that survived from the colonial period were not at once overhauled to give expression to this principle, and I am by no means certain that it was consciously and clearly applied in any American city for more than half a century after the Revolutionary War. In my opinion, it was not until this principle was fairly applied that a new type of municipal organization may be said to have developed in the United States.

MINOR MODIFICATIONS OF THE COLONIAL TYPE

It is true that as this or that city increased in population the judicial powers of the mayor and aldermen were gradually sloughed off;[2] but this was due not so much to the application of the idea of a division of powers as to the necessity for a division of labor—a necessity arising out of the increase of city functions. It is true, also, that certain features of our state and national governments were early introduced into city governments; but I think it can scarcely be said that the introduction of these features changed in any fundamental respect the colonial type of organization, the essence of which was the concentration of policy-determining and policy-executing functions in a single group of officers.

Take, for example, the bicameral principle, which was early applied to the city council,[3] although at no time in our history has it prevailed in a majority of the cities of the country. The influence of the federal and state analogies is here apparent;[4] but the point of importance is that even where this change was made the mayor did not become the chief of an executive branch of government. He was shunted to the upper chamber of the council; but the administrative activities of the city continued to be managed by one or both branches of the council through the medium of separate or joint committees. The introduction of the two-chambered council was a disastrous step in the direction of cumbersomeness of organization; but it did not in point of fact affect the fundamental principle of councilmanic domination and control. Individual responsibility became more difficult to locate; but group responsibility and concentration of authority remained.

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[2] For example, the mayor of New York ceased to preside in the "mayor's court" (for the trial of civil actions) early in the nineteenth century, but continued to preside in the "court of sessions" (for the trial of criminal causes) until 1821 (Daly, *Historical Sketch of the Judicial Tribunals of New York from 1623 to 1846*, pp. 60–65). In the "courts of general sessions" two aldermen were required to sit as judges until 1846, while the mayor for many years enjoyed numerous judicial powers which in practice he seldom exercised (Kent, *The Charter of the City of New York with Notes Thereon*, pp. 186 ff.).

[3] Norfolk, 1788; Philadelphia, 1796; Baltimore, 1798; Pittsburgh, 1816; Boston, 1822; New York, 1830; St. Louis, 1839.

[4] In some instances, as in the case of Boston, the influence of the township form of government was unquestionably potent.

Of somewhat similar character was the application of the principle of popular election to the office of mayor. In all but four[5] of the seventeen colonial cities the mayor had been subject to appointment by the governor[6]—a system which was introduced in a number of cities incorporated after the Revolution and which survived in numerous cities well into the nineteenth century. When this system finally yielded to the demand for a local selection of the mayor there followed in many places a transitional period during which the mayor was chosen by the city council of which he was a part.[7] The principle of popular election was first applied to the office of mayor in the Nashville charter of 1806; but it was in the second quarter of the century that it gained rapid headway. By 1850 it had become the established method of choice in most American cities.[8] But the election of the mayor was not accompanied by the establishment of an administrative branch of the government partially or completely independent of the council. In a few places, as in Boston under the charter of 1822, the elected mayor was an influential factor in the council, or one of its chambers, in both legislative and administrative activities. In other cities the mayor was, coincident with his becoming an elected officer, either ousted entirely from the council or reduced to the position of a mere moderator. For example, this was the position which the mayor occupied under the New York charter of 1830, after a constitutional amendment of 1833 and a statute of 1834 made him subject to popular election. Describing the situation that existed under this charter, Mayor Morris in his annual message of 1843 said: "It is true that by the public who have read and understood the charter, but have been ignorant of the practice under it, the mayor is considered the chief executive officer of the city and has been held responsible for the proper government of the city and the prudent expenditures of its funds, yet the operation and true effect has been that he has had less to do with the government and has possessed incomparably less power over expenditures than a chairman of one of the committees of the board of assistants." Ousted from the council, and vested with no control whatever over administrative officers, these being subject to appointment by the council, the elected mayor became in New York, as in many other cities, a receiver of distinguished visitors, a reviewer of parades, and a maker of speeches.

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[5] Elizabeth and the close corporations of Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Annapolis.

[6] McBain, "The Doctrine of an Inherent Right of Self-Government," *16 Columbia Law Review*, 305, note 18.

[7] In the following twenty-four cities at least the mayor was chosen by the council during the periods indicated: Philadelphia, 1701–1826; Annapolis, 1708– ; Elizabeth, 1740–1789; Norfolk, 1736–1788, and by the board of aldermen 1788–1832; Pittsburgh, 1816–1834; New York, 1821–1834; Albany, Schenectady, Hudson, and Troy, 1821–1840; Buffalo and Utica, 1832–1840; Brooklyn and Rochester, 1834–1840; Wilmington, 1832–1849; Camden, 1828–1850; Lancaster, 1818–1825; Savannah, 1789– ; Augusta (Ga.), 1798– ; Columbus (Ohio), 1816–1834; Cincinnati, 1819–1827.

[8] It was introduced in the following cities at the dates indicated: Boston, 1822; St. Louis, 1822; Detroit, 1824; Mobile, 1825; Hartford, 1825; New Haven, 1826; Philadelphia, 1826; Cincinnati, 1827; Middletown, 1829; New London, 1829; Norwich, 1831; Norfolk, 1832; Baltimore, 1833; Pittsburgh, 1834; New York, 1834; Columbus (Ohio), 1834; Cleveland, 1836; Chicago, 1837; Knoxville, 1838; Albany, Schenectady, Hudson, Troy, Buffalo, Utica, Brooklyn, Rochester, 1840; Richmond, 1842; Lancaster (Pa.), 1843; New Brunswick, 1844; Perth Amboy, 1844; Trenton, 1844; Milwaukee, 1846; Wilmington, 1849; Camden, 1850; Burlington (N. J.), 1851.

It is simply a fact that when the mayor was made an elected officer it was the council (whether consisting of one or of two chambers and whether the mayor was a part of or no part of its organization) that carried on the administrative work of the city, either by the direct action of its committees or through the medium of officers appointed by and subject to the control of the council. Again may it be said, therefore, that this evolution of the office of mayor, whatever may have been its ultimate portent, did not introduce anything that might be called a new type of municipal organization—a type founded upon some understandable principle.

THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SEPARATION OF POWERS

So far as I have been able to discover—I cannot say that my search has been completely exhaustive—the St. Louis charter of 1838[9] was the first charter in the country to establish a really new organic type. In this charter the administrative officers of the city were made subject to appointment by the elected mayor "by and with the advice and consent of" the upper chamber of the council. Here, at last, then, was an attempt to apply to the government of a city the principle of the separation of legislative and administrative functions, in much the same manner as that principle was applied in the nation and the states.

It will be recalled that the second quarter of the nineteenth century was a period during which the spirit of democracy was waxing apace in the United States. It was finding concrete expression in constitutions and laws. One of its most striking forms of expression was an increase in the

[9] Laws of Missouri, 1838, p. 155.

number of elected officers. It was inevitable that this movement should make itself felt in the governments of our cities. The St. Louis charter to which I have referred survived only two years. In 1840[10] it was fundamentally amended so as to provide for the popular election of four important officers in addition to the mayor. For other officers the system of mayoralty nomination and aldermanic confirmation was preserved. In 1843 the number of elected officers was increased to six,[11] and ten years later an amendment provided for the election of five additional heads of departments.[12]

It is probably true that in most of our older cities the break from the type of government under which the council enjoyed almost complete control to a type embodying an administrative organization independent of the council was made not by the introduction of the plan of mayoralty nomination and aldermanic ratification but by the application of the principle of popular election to the heads of administrative departments. Chicago, for example, began her municipal history with a charter enacted in 1837[13] which, in spite of the fact that the mayor was elected by the people, was distinctly of the colonial type. In 1851[14] the charter was amended so as to provide for the election of eight heads of departments and three street commissioners. The council retained its power to appoint and remove a considerable list of minor officers. In 1857 two additional officers were made subject to popular election, while the system of appointing all other officers by the mayor with the consent of the council was substituted for the system of councilmanic appointment.[15] Five years later the members of a newly established police board were added to the number of elected officers.[16]

So also in New York the era of council supremacy under the charter of 1830 gave way, under the charter of 1849,[17] to a type of government in which administrative independence was secured by the election, in addition to the mayor, of the heads of eight administrative departments. A few important officers[18] were made subject to appointment by the mayor by and with the advice and consent of the board of aldermen. It is a significant fact that during the years of agitation which led up to the enactment of this charter the proposition was definitely put forward that the evils of misgovernment under the charter of 1830 had been due primarily, if not solely, to the fact that the principle of the separation of powers was not recognized in that charter. Nine years later under the New York charter of 1857,[19] the system of electing numerous heads of departments by a vote of the people was abandoned. In its place the system of mayoralty nominations and aldermanic confirmation was substituted.[20]

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[10] Laws of Missouri, 1840, p. 129.

[11] Laws of Missouri, 1843, p. 113.

[12] Laws of Missouri, 1853, p. 247. Two years later there was in the case of three of these officers a return to the system of appointment by the mayor and the board of aldermen. Laws of Missouri, 1855, p. 128.

[13] Laws of Illinois, 1836–37, p. 50.

[14] Laws of Illinois, 1851, p. 132. The city marshall had been made subject to election in 1841. Laws of Illinois, 1841, p. 58.

[15] Laws of Illinois, 1857, p. 892.

[16] Laws of Illinois, 1851, p. 151.

[17] Laws of New York, 1849, ch. 187.

[18] The chief of police, the city chamberlain, the receiver of taxes, and the members of the Croton aqueduct board. The aldermen's consent was also necessary for the appointment of bureau chiefs by the heads of departments and for the appointment of clerks by the bureau chiefs.

The type of government in which an independent executive branch was secured by the application of the principle of popular election to numerous officials is also illustrated in the history of the charters of San Francisco. The first charter of the city was granted in 1850.[21] It provided for the election of seven heads of departments in addition to the mayor. The same general principle of constituting the administrative branch of the government was embodied in the charters of 1851[22] and 1855;[23] and when in 1856 the governments of the city and the county of San Francisco were merged into one, the consolidating charter provided for the popular election at large of seventeen different officers and for the election of seven additional officers in each of the twelve districts into which the city was divided.[24] Ten years later[25] the number of officers elected at large was increased to the astounding number of twenty-one.

I have cited St. Louis, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco merely as illustrations. The evolution of their governments, presenting so much of similarity and synchronization, may doubtless be taken as fairly typical.

THE MAYOR-AND-COUNCIL HYBRID

It is only in recent years that we have given definite names to types of city government. For lack of a more satisfactory nomenclature for the older types, I shall exercise the prerogative of christening. I should like to call the government in which the administrative branch is constituted by mayoralty nominations and councilmanic confirmations the mayor-and-council hybrid. I do this with respectful seriousness. It is a hybrid. It embodies neither the principle of an independent executive department nor of one responsible to the council. It may be that the system as found in our national and state governments is nothing more than an exception to the rule of the separation of legislative and executive powers. It is certain, however, that as applied in most cities the exception was at once more obvious and more important than the rule. And the reasons for this difference might be easily pointed out if there were time. In spite of the fact that this type of government survives in a number of cities to-day, and in spite of the fact that in exceptional instances it has been measurably successful, I do not hesitate to say that it is indefensible in theory and unsupported by an overwhelming weight of experience.

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[19] Laws of New York, 1857, ch. 446.

[20] Only the counsel of the corporation and the comptroller remained subject to popular election.

[21] Stats. of California, 1850, ch. 98. A similar type of government was provided for other cities of the state; chs. 20, 30, 46, 47, 60, 68.

[22] Stats. of California, 1851, Act of April 15.

[23] Stats. of California, 1855, ch. 251.

[24] Stats. of California, 1856, ch. 125.

[25] Stats. of California, 1866, p. 718.

THE INDEPENDENT-DECENTRALIZED-EXECUTIVE TYPE

I should like to call the government in which numerous heads of administrative departments are made subject to popular election the independent-decentralized-executive type. Wholly apart from the viewpoint of the voter with his absurdly long ballot, this type produced in operation many unhappy results. Harmonious co-operation in the work of the city was effected, if at all, only through the agency of political parties. The resulting alternative was either distressing lack of co-operation or government by the city boss. It was clearly founded upon the understandable principle of the separation of policy-determining and policy-executing functions; but that principle is as bad as no principle if there is neither individual nor group responsibility which the electorate can locate.

THE INDEPENDENT-BOARD TYPE

Another type of government was introduced in a number of American cities with the advent of the board plan of departmental control. Where the members of these boards were elected by the voters of the city or, as in some cases, appointed by the governor or the legislature of the state, a strong tendency developed to vest in these boards independent or quasi-independent financial powers and a portion of the legislative power of the city. This wholly new kind of organization may doubtless be called the independent-board type of government. Both the council and the mayor were stripped of all but their names, or were left at best with a pitiful remnant of power. The city was in fact governed by a number of commissions each independent of the other. A more extravagant and unworkable type of government could scarcely have been devised. There are numerous instances in which these popularly elected or state-appointed administrative boards survive in American cities with independent or quasi-independent powers over against the city government proper. I believe, however, that there is no city at the present time whose government as a whole may be said to be of this type.

THE INDEPENDENT-CENTRALIZED-EXECUTIVE TYPE

In spite of the perseverance of our inherited love for checks and balances we have come at last to realize that the dangers resulting from an abuse of large political authority are perhaps after all not so great as the dangers of misgovernment that result from the diffusion of authority and a consequent concealment of responsibility. This important truth we learned from the book of bitter experience. We stumbled upon it in the course of our childish search for the automatic in government, for a type of government so organically perfect that once established it would operate itself without bothering us. It was doubtless with reckless disregard of this truth that Mr. Tweed introduced into the New York charter of 1870[26] the principle of an elected mayor endowed with power to appoint the heads of the ten administrative departments independent of any confirmation by the board of aldermen. This inaugurated a new type of city government in the United States—the independent-centralized-executive type. It was founded upon the principle of the separation of powers, but it was unique in that the administrative branch of the government was organized under the complete control of a single elected chief executive. I do not believe that this feature of the Tweed charter was to any considerable degree responsible for the scandalous corruption that followed almost immediately. However that may be, the charter was short-lived. In 1873 it was replaced by a charter in which the confirmatory power of the board of aldermen was restored.[27]

In 1880, however, this type of government was reintroduced in the city of Brooklyn.[28] It proved almost immediately successful and four years later it was again adopted for New York.[29] It has had and still has great vogue among the cities of New York state.[30] It was introduced into Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1888, in Louisville in 1893, in New Haven and Meriden in 1897, in St. Paul, Duluth, and San Francisco in 1900, in Portland, Oregon, in 1903, in Denver in 1904, in all the cities of Indiana in 1905, in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1908, in St. Joseph, Missouri, in Boston, and in all the cities of Ohio in 1909.

THE BOARD OF ESTIMATE TYPE

The Tweed charter was responsible for the germ of another innovation which may perhaps be regarded as creating a distinctly new type of municipal organization. This was a board of estimate and apportionment. The essence of such a board is that the lion's share of the appropriating power of the city is vested in a group of administrative officials. Such boards are now found in New York city, in Rochester, in all the six second class cities and a few of the third class cities of New York, and in Baltimore. In every instance they are constituted in major part of the mayor and a small number of important administrative officials.[31] In consideration of the fact that wherever a board of estimate is found it invariably forms the most important feature of the government of the city, it may be that the few cities having such boards should be regarded as representative of a distinct type of organization. I say this in spite of the fact that such a board may, of course, be combined with more than one of the several types of government that I have referred to. In point of fact it has been introduced only in cities in which executive responsibility has been centered largely if not entirely in an elected mayor.

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[26] Laws of New York, 1870, chs. 137, 383.

[27] Laws of New York, 1873, ch. 335.

[28] Laws of New York, 1880, ch. 377.

[29] Laws of New York, 1884, ch. 43.

[30] It was established in Buffalo in 1891 and in all the cities of the second class in 1898. Rochester retained this type of government when it was taken out of the second class in 1908.

In all that I have said I am well aware that I have made no mention of those cities which have enjoyed the luxury of a government in which every conceivable method of constituting official relationships has been woven into a splendid chaos of disorganization and irresponsibility. Of these monstrosities of American institutional genius perhaps it were as well to say as little as possible. Fortunately their number has rapidly diminished in recent years, and the end is not yet.

THE COMMISSION AND CITY-MANAGER TYPES

In the entire evolution of municipal government in the United States there has been nothing so unprecedented as the rapid development within the last decade or so of our two most recent and somewhat related types of government, the so-called commission and city-manager types. The principles underlying these types of organization are so well known as to require no explanation. I would call your attention, however, to one point which seems to me to be of interest in connection with this historical sketch.

Both of these types of government in ultimate analysis represent an obvious return to something of our municipal beginnings—a return to the principle of concentrated power and responsibility for the entire government of the city in a single group. In respect to commission government this return is striking. However important to the success of this plan of government may be its usual accompanying features, I cannot regard them as vitally affecting the type of government. They are no more and no less essential to the success of commission government than they are to the success of any other type of organization in which responsibility for performance is fairly located. Stripped of these accessories, commission government is council government, the government of the colonial and post-Revolutionary city, with the single councilman as an administrator substituted for the administrative councilmanic committee, a government in which policy-determining and policy-executing functions are united in the same group.

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[31] In a number of Connecticut cities there is a board of finance with powers similar to those of boards of estimate. These boards of finance are composed of a small number of administrative officials, representatives from the city council, and citizen members. The Detroit board of estimate, an elected body, is in fact a sort of second chamber of the council in the matter of appropriations only. Mention should be made also in this connection of the few cities in which primary control over appropriations is vested in the mayor, as in Boston and in Denver before the establishment of commission government, or in a financial officer appointed by the mayor, as in the cities of Indiana.

In respect to the city-manager type, the return to our beginnings may not be so manifest at a glance; but I think it is none the less a reality. It is the council that is completely responsible for the character of the administration. It is true that the method of exercising this responsibility is somewhat new. The council is empowered to direct the manager or his subordinates only through the medium of ordinances. They can legislate but they cannot actively participate in the administration. On the other hand, they can remove the manager at will. In other words they must exercise their control over actual administration by acting upon the manager *per se* and not upon his individual acts. It is easy enough to write this arrangement into law, but the actual operation of the letter and spirit of that law will of necessity depend upon the degree of co-operation that is maintained between the council and the manager. So far as the scheme itself is concerned, I can readily conceive of a manager who, by reason of his dependence upon the council for the retention of his position, would allow himself to become little more than a chief clerk for a council which actually dominated and controlled the entire administrative operations of the city. Such a result might be a violation of the spirit of the law; it would not be a violation of its letter. Even with a manager of ability and independence and a council imbued with a desire of realizing the spirit of this type of government, I can conceive of the development of a degree of councilmanic control over actual administration through the medium of warnings in advance of dismissal. The truth of the matter is that you cannot write into law a precise division of function between two authorities where the tenure of one is absolutely at the mercy of the other. The authority in control of the tenure can always, if it chooses, control the discretion of its subordinate even within the written sphere of that subordinate.

I say this not in criticism of the city-manager plan of government. I consider it a type of government that has much to commend it. It has, indeed, so much of virtue in it that it seems to me unnecessary to ignore or gloss the facts about it. It does not of necessity involve a separation of policy-determining and policy-executing functions. It does not of necessity result in administration by experts. The degree of separation and the degree of expertness that result must be ascribed not to anything that inheres in the form of government but to the practice under that form as it has developed under the compelling force of enlightened public opinion.

I do not wish to seem captiously legalistic; but there is certainly a difference between that which is law and that which is public opinion. From the viewpoint of the law, there is little that is new in the city-manager type of government. It is a return to the system of councilmanic control. The only new feature is that the council must exercise that control through the agency of a *single* chief-subordinate instead of acting directly upon a *number* of subordinates. Under the New York charter of 1830 a city-manager plan of government might easily have been installed. When the Dayton charter of 1913 vested in a "governing body" known as a commission the power to "pass ordinances" and to appoint and remove a "city manager who shall be the administrative head of the municipal government," there was no reason why a partisan or corrupt commission might not have dominated the entire administration through the choice of a manager wholly subservient to their designs.

It may be that neither the commission form nor the city-manager type of government is the last word in municipal organization in the United States. To my mind they are of less interest as types than as an expression of a manifest and compelling need, on the one hand, and the proof of a change of public mental attitude on the other. They express the need for simplicity in municipal organization. Democracy cannot function properly through a complicated organization which it cannot visualize and cannot comprehend. Pinning our faith to the catholicon of reorganization, we early began to emerge from simplicity in municipal organization. For more than half a century we reaped the reward that might have been expected from the complications we introduced. We are now in the era of a return to simplicity. It is a sign that is full of hope, whatever may be the specific type of government in which the movement finds expression.

I do not ignore the importance of governmental form in a democracy. But I am profoundly convinced that we have laid and are laying too great stress upon this matter of form. This or that type of government is of importance only to the extent that it lends itself to the smooth functioning of democratic control. We cannot assume that any organic form will give the people of a city a better government than they desire. The fundamental assumption of democracy is that the people actively and positively desire the best government possible. The machinery of government is of interest and importance only in the degree that it facilitates or obstructs the realization of this desire.

I am inclined to believe that had the commission or the city-manager type of government been established a generation or so ago it would have been a dismal failure. In an atmosphere of public indifference, of inactivity, of lack of heart or of interest, it would have lent itself admirably to the machinations of professional politicians and spoilsmen. We should hesitate to give to the genius of a designer credit that is in fact due to a new motive force—in this case to an awakened, vitalized, and actively operating public opinion. Unstinted laudation of the virtues of these types of government may be justified as a means for keeping public opinion upon its mettle; but is the danger not real that it may also result in convincing a busy and not too exacting people that here at last, after all the futile searching of the years, they have come upon their long-sought Eldorado—a super-government, a government so perfect in type that they can wind it up at periodical elections and, with supreme confidence in its ability to run itself, turn their attention to other things?

PUBLIC REGULATION OF WAGES, HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR OF THE EMPLOYES OF PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS[1]

IN JUNE, 1915, the Consumers' League, through its secretary, Mrs. Florence Kelley, asked the National Municipal League to take up the questions of the eight-hour day and the minimum wage in connection with the granting of public utility franchises. Since the threatened strike on the railroads of the United States, followed by the enactment of the federal "eight-hour law," and the actual strikes on the most important local transportation systems of New York city have brought this general subject into the limelight of public observation and have made its present consideration by the National Municipal League very timely.

That there are three parties to labor disputes in public utilities, namely, the employes, the employing corporations and the public for whom the service is necessary, has been generally recognized for some time, but in most cases quite inadequate measures have been taken to protect *the public's* interest. While we may, perhaps, assume that the Consumers' League has taken the question up in a philanthropic spirit, aiming chiefly to secure justice to the employes, the events of the past summer have laid the emphasis upon the rights of the public as against both employes and employers. It is generally assumed that the employing corporations can look out for their own interests, but if the whole subject is to be brought under definite and comprehensive public regulation, the interests of all three parties will have to be correlated and given just consideration. What are these interests?

First, as to the employes, their legitimate interests, without regard to excessive demands sometimes made by them, may be classified as follows:

a. To secure fair living wages reasonably corresponding with the difficulty and the responsibility of the work they perform.

b. To have their working day of a reasonable length, in consideration of the character of the work and the general labor standards of the community, and to have their hours of work as compact as the nature of their employment will permit.

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[1] Submitted to the twenty-second annual meeting of the National Municipal League at Springfield, Mass., by the committee on franchises consisting of Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, chairman, New York; William M. Leiserson, Toledo; Robert Treat Paine, Boston; Horatio M. Pollock, Albany; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

c. To have the conditions surrounding their work so organized as to be consistent with the reasonable safety, health, comfort and self-respect of the workers.

d. To be assured of continuity of employment, appropriate advancement for efficiency and length of service and ultimate protection from want in case of sickness, injury or permanent disability.

These interests might be worked out in great detail, as they sometimes are in the statement of grievances presented by the men in times of controversy with their employers, but for the purposes of this discussion it is unnecessary to elaborate them further. It is a matter of importance, however, to note that the *number* of employes whose interests are being considered probably exceeds 700,000 if all local public utilities under private ownership are included. Street railways alone account for over 300,000, and telephones for fully 200,000 more.

Second, as to the employers, the public service corporations, it is clear that their ultimate interest is the financial one, although this may be translated through a process of enlightened selfishness to include other immediate interests which have the appearance of being more human and generous. But treating their ultimate interest as the controlling one, we may subdivide and classify its specific manifestations as follows:

a. To get the necessary service performed at the lowest possible labor cost by keeping wages down and by limiting the number of employes.

b. To have their property operated and cared for in such a way as to promote its efficiency, maintain its integrity and prolong its useful life as much as possible.

c. To have continuity of service maintained so as to insure continuity of revenues and the protection of their franchises.

d. To have their employes efficient in the collection of revenues and careful and honest about turning them in.

e. To have the service as efficient as possible within given limits of cost so as to earn for the companies the good will of the public and thus secure for them protection from competition and from adverse governmental acts.

This analysis of the companies' interests must needs be qualified by the remark that wherever the motive for economy has been killed or crippled some of these interests cease to play any important part. This result may be in part effected by a cost-of-service franchise such as the Cleveland street railway settlement, under which economies in operation are automatically absorbed, within certain general limits, by a reduction in fares; or by a municipal subsidy-and-guaranty policy such as that which characterizes the new rapid transit contracts in New York city; or by a plan giving the city all of the net earnings above a fixed percentage, as in the case of the New York electrical subway contracts; or by the plan of frequent rate reductions upon the basis of allowing the companies a fixed fair return upon their investment and no more; or by the plan suggested in connection with the federal "eight-hour law" and with the settlement of the original New York trolley strike, namely, of permitting an increase of rates to absorb any increase in labor costs; or even by the sliding-scale plan of adjusting rates, as in the case of the Boston gas company, as soon as the rate of dividends allowed has become high enough to excite public envy and threaten, if it goes any higher, to bring about a readjustment of the plan on a lower dividend base. The economic motive is the mainspring of private operation. For its sake the dominant public opinion of the country has been willing to forego the benefits of municipal ownership. But this motive is a very troublesome factor in the public utility problem. It is an elemental force.

Third, as to the public, its interests are numerous and intense, and now are claiming to be in certain important respects preponderant. We may analyze them as follows:

a. To have continuity of service.

b. To have safety both in connection with the general use of the streets and in connection with the use of the service offered by public utilities.

c. To have public utility employes intelligent, efficient and courteous in order that the service may be good.

d. To have the labor cost of the service kept as low as possible and to have all the legitimate revenues of the utility collected without favoritism and accounted for without fraud in order that the prosperity of the company may lead to better service, lower rates or the sharing of the profits for the reduction of general taxation.

e. To have the public utility plants maintained in a high state of efficiency so that they will be able to respond to the constantly increasing demands of service and, in case of acquisition by the city, not have to be sent to the scrap heap.

f. To have the men and women engaged in the operation of utilities treated according to the best standards of public employment, as being semi-public employes engaged in rendering a necessary public service.

We must consider not only the relative importance of the various divergent or conflicting interests, but also the means which lie in the hands of the several parties to protect themselves. The outstanding fact is that *continuity* is a fundamental interest of all three parties—for the employes, continuity of employment; for the companies, continuity of earnings; for the public, continuity of service. Continuity is life, and what will a man not give in exchange for his life? Yet it is well known that even life is sometimes sacrificed, because, without liberty, life itself may cease to be worth while. And so in this business, though all three parties have a primary and fundamental interest in *continuity*, they sometimes find that mere existence is not worth while; the employes must have living conditions and a living wage; the companies, a living income; and the public a let-live rate. It is in the conflict of these necessities that continuity is sometimes given up, though it is the very life of the business to everybody concerned. Right here we get to the crux of the whole problem. More and more, continuity of service is coming to be of predominant importance to the public, something that it can afford to pay for by a sacrifice of its interest in a low rate. Public utility rates are generally determined with some relation to *the cost of service,* and in most cases are far below *the value of the service* to the people who get it. Therefore, if the cost of service is necessarily increased, the public can generally afford to "foot the bill," if this is necessary to preserve to the two other parties the living wage and the living income, those essentials without which their life is not worth while and they are tempted to resort to the fatal interruption of continuity. But all three parties are likely to be contumacious in financial matters, and the employes in regard to conditions of work as well. The men may demand too much; the companies keep too much; or the public refuse to pay enough.

We must now consider the means which the several parties have of protecting their respective interests. The *employes* individually may complain to the employers of the wages paid them or of the treatment they receive; they may even quit their jobs if they are dissatisfied. But long ago it became apparent that the individual employe bargaining with the great corporation for himself alone is in a hopelessly weak position. And so in public utilities, as in other industries, the employes learned that in union there is strength, and organization for collective bargaining has become their chief means of protecting their interests. Collective bargaining cannot be effective without the ultimate sanction of power to enforce its demands. And that power depends ultimately either upon *the strike,* which involves an enormous self-sacrifice, or upon *an appeal to an authority superior to both parties,* namely, the government. The strike is a dangerous weapon, but a direct one, and one that is within the control of the employes themselves. The interruption of service is effective as against the employers, not only because it stops their revenues, but also because it endangers their franchises, under which they have contracted with the public to render continuous service. The strike may also be effective because the temporary interruption of service causes enormous public inconvenience and may thus bring to the assistance of the strikers the pressure of an insistent public demand for the restoration of service. On the other hand, the appeal to the higher authority, without resort to the strike, is weak and generally ineffective if it must take the slow and roundabout method of political agitation. It is the very core of our present problem, so far as the employes are concerned, to work out *a method of appeal to public authority that will be effective without the strike.*

The *employers,* in the case of public utilities, are in a peculiar position so far as the means available for the protection of their interests are concerned. Their position as compared with that of employers in competitive, unprivileged enterprises, has some elements of special strength and some elements of special weakness. On the one hand, as local monopolists they are in control of the opportunities of employment in their particular line in their particular community; they have the jobs to give. Also, as employers, they have the power of discipline and discharge, and the initial power of fixing wages, hours and conditions of employment, and as monopoly employers they can exercise these powers with greater freedom than other employers, who are subject to competitive influences. On the other hand, public utility employers are often subject to limitations of rates fixed by contract for long periods of years, and if not, then to rate regulation under the police power of the state. Very often, therefore, they cannot pass on to the consumer an increase in the cost of labor. Moreover, under their contracts with the government, they are usually bound to give continuous service on pain of the forfeiture of their franchises. Shutting down their plants can never be a blessing to them, unless they are prepared to go out of business entirely. Thus, they cannot oppose the lockout to the strike. But the obvious public necessity of the services they render and the enormous political and social influence they enjoy through the concentrated control of immense investments and revenues give them a prestige with legislative bodies and general administrative officials, and even with courts and commissions, that cannot easily be overcome even by the most powerful union of employes.

The *public* also has certain means available for the protection of its peculiar interests, but these means are for practical purposes solely political. The rage of individual consumers over excessive rates or bad service beats in vain against public service corporations, for in spite of their rages the consumers have to come back to "the same old stand" to do their business. It is only through an appeal to the government for action by the control of public utility franchises and by the exercise of the regulatory powers of the state, that the consuming public can get protection. All other means are generally futile. In most instances, individual bargaining on the part of a consumer is even more impotent than on the part of an employe.

This discussion of the special interests of the three respective parties and of the special means available to each of them for the protection of these interests would leave us helpless in a welter of conflicting forces and an anarchy of practical results, if it were not for the fact that above the employes, above the corporations and even above the consuming public, stands the higher power of the community, which includes all three parties and which has a powerful interest in harmonizing as far as possible, and in compromising where harmony is out of the question, the subordinate individual interests of the three parties. Above all the community is interested in seeing that justice is done. Therefore, we may combine in our further discussion the several more or less divergent movements that have for their aggregate purpose to see not only that the employes, employers and consumers get their just rights but also that they perform their just duties.

We have considered certain specific questions and have reached a general agreement as to the answers that should be given to them. These several questions will be now taken up in turn.

Question 1. Is the public interest in the continuous operation of any or all public utilities sufficient to warrant the adoption of legal measures to prevent strikes?

Our answer to this question is an emphatic affirmative. We recognize that thus far the *danger* of the interruption of service is greatest in the case of transit, and, therefore, that the need of measures to prevent strikes is more pressing here than in other utilities. Indeed, the nature of the service and the dependence of the service upon the continuous co-operation of large numbers of trained employes, put transit and telephone communication in the forefront of local public utilities so far as the peril of interruption by reason of strikes is concerned. Our agreement that legal measures should be taken for the prevention of strikes does not mean, however, that these measures should in the first instance include the absolute prohibition of the strike. We are inclined to think that until effective substitute measures for the adjustment of the grievances of public utility employes have been worked out and tested, it would be unfair and impracticable to deprive the employes absolutely of the right to use their ultimate weapon of self-defense.

Question 2. If the right of public service employes to strike is curtailed, or denied altogether, then shall public guaranties be given that their legitimate interests will be protected?

Again, our answer is an emphatic affirmative. The proposal to limit or deny the right to strike has its basis in the recognition of *the public character of the business*, the same fact that justifies the regulation of rates and services. As the theory of rate regulation necessarily involves a recognition of monopoly and a partial or complete protection against competition, so the limitation of the right to strike necessarily involves the protection of the employes against those evils for which the strike has heretofore been the ultimate remedy. In so far as we deny to the public utility employes as a class the right to use their most effective means of self-protection, we must unquestionably provide an effective substitute. But this goes only to the protection and furtherance of legitimate rights. It does not mean that the employes shall be guaranteed means of aggression by which they can disturb the just balance of interests among the three parties and get *more* than they are entitled to.

Question 3. If the state curtails the use of the strike and assumes the protection of the interests of the employes, in what particular respects must control of their relations with their employers be assumed?

Speaking broadly, we may describe the vital interests of the employes for the protection of which the strike is now the ultimate weapon, as wages, hours of labor and conditions of work. In "conditions of work" we include not only provisions for physical safety and comfort, but also the rules relating to performance of duties, discipline, discharge and the hearing of grievances.

Question 4. By what general method is public control of the relations between public utility employes and their employers to be established?

Three methods suggest themselves as possible: (a) the inclusion of the necessary provisions in franchise contracts, as suggested by the consumers' league; (b) the general regulation of all these matters from time to time by statute or ordinance, and (c) the fixing of standards by regulating commissions or tribunals.

The franchise method is obviously subject to at least three very grave limitations. In the first place, franchises have already been granted for most of the utilities either in perpetuity, or for an indefinite period or for a long term of years. While it is true that at almost all times some important franchises are under consideration somewhere in the country, their aggregate effect, even in the course of twenty or thirty years, covers only a fractional portion of the utilities in which we are concerned. In the second place, a long-term contract is an unsuitable means for the specific regulation of wages and conditions of employment, which are properly subject to change from time to time. In the third place, a franchise is a contract between the community and the employers. The employes are not a party to it, and their relations with the employers can be controlled by franchise only indirectly and through the public's control over one of the two parties to the labor agreements. In spite of these serious limitations upon the general usefulness of the franchise method, we are of the opinion that in cities where important franchises do come up for renewal, especially where the cities desire to share in the profits of the undertaking, or to provide for ultimate municipal ownership, the relations between employers and employes ought to be taken care of by the establishment of certain general standards, and more particularly by the establishment of a definite procedure for the settlement of disputes as they arise. We do not think that specific wages should be established by franchise contract; certainly not unless they are made subject to revision at frequent intervals. The peculiar conditions affecting the hours of labor on street railways arising out of the existence of two peak loads of traffic which cannot both be included within a consecutive period of less than twelve or thirteen hours, makes it difficult to establish the same rule as to hours for the employes of all classes of utilities. But as a franchise deals with a single utility and as the hours of labor are much less subject to necessary change than wages and conditions of employment, there is no serious objection to the fixing of maximum hours of work in the franchise itself. The type of franchise provision in regard to hours and wages to which we would be inclined to give our approval is illustrated by a section contained in the Minneapolis gas franchise of 1910, which reads as follows:

> No person employed by the company, in manual labor, shall hereafter be required or permitted by it to labor more hours in any calendar day, than shall be required or permitted by law upon work done under any contract, involving the employment of labor, made by or on behalf of the state of Minnesota. And all laborers employed by the company shall hereafter receive wages which shall be just and reasonable, and not less than shall be customarily paid for labor of like character, and requiring like skill or experience.

Another illustration of a type of labor provision suitable for a franchise contract is the clause in the new Kansas City street railway settlement franchise adopted in 1914, which provides that "in the employment of its employes and servants, the company shall not discriminate either in favor of or against any person because of his or her affiliations with any labor organization." The typical provisions just quoted are clearly designed to protect the employes, but have no direct bearing upon the protection of the public against strikes except as they tend to prevent the development of certain grievances which frequently cause strikes. More important for this purpose would be the inclusion of a provision, of which no actual illustration has come to our attention, establishing a definite procedure for the settlement of disputes between the company and its employes. This might merely provide that under given circumstances the company should act or offer to act in a prescribed manner calculated to lead to a peaceful settlement of disputes, or it might even go to the extent of prescribing the form of contract to be entered into between the company and its individual employes, by which the latter, in accepting employment, would be bound to accept and abide by the terms of the franchise relating to the settlement of disputes. We are of the opinion that provisions affecting the physical conditions of work, such as the requirement of enclosed vestibules for motormen, may properly be included in franchise contracts in so far as they relate to matters which are not subject to frequent change.

We favor the use of general laws and ordinances to establish standard conditions of employment where franchise provisions do not exist or are not applicable, and particularly to establish modes of procedure for the settlement of disputes and the limitation of the right to strike. We do not favor the appeal to legislative bodies to settle disputes directly, without full investigation, by the passage of laws fixing wages, hours or conditions of employment in a given utility or class of utilities. Legislation, especially state statutes, should be very general in character. It is permissible for municipal ordinances to deal with details more specifically, as such ordinances apply to a single community and are adopted by legislative bodies to which the facts are relatively accessible. Indeed, in cities like Seattle and Los Angeles, where a utility department or board is maintained, one of whose functions is to draft and recommend regulatory ordinances, these may properly be both specific and detailed, though even in such cases they should concern themselves with the establishment of general rules, the application of which should be left to administrative officials.

We believe that wherever well-equipped public service commissions exist, the duty of establishing detailed standards and rules relative to the relations of the public service corporations and their employes may properly be imposed upon such commissions. This is quite apart from the settlement of particular disputes and the fixing of specific wages, hours and conditions of employment in particular cases, as to which we shall speak later on.

In brief, so long as the control of public utilities continues to be effected by different methods in different states and cities, we are of the opinion that the control of the relations between the utilities and their employes may properly be effected by the same methods. Thus, franchises, state laws and local ordinances and the orders of regulatory commissions may all be made use of for this purpose at different times, and in different places, according to the circumstances and the inherent possibilities of each case.

Question 5. If the ultimate protection of the employes of public utilities is to be assumed by the community, what particular means ought to be adopted for dealing with them? Should the unions, with the right to strike curtailed, be continued as the most advantageous means of getting the grievances and demands of the employes formulated and presented to the employers, and when necessary, to the public authorities on appeal?

In our opinion, the advantages of collective bargaining to all parties concerned are so great and so obvious that at the very least no public action should be taken to discourage the organization of the employes of public utilities for all legitimate purposes. We take this position fully recognizing the fact that the assumption by the community of the protection of the employes, like the regulation of rates and service, is a step in the direction of ultimate public ownership, and that any methods of settling labor disputes established with public approval under private ownership will be likely to be carried over into the public service if at a later time the community undertakes municipal operation. We believe that from the point of view of the public itself, the best results can be obtained when intelligent representatives speak for a group or union, rather than leave every individual employe to speak for himself. This will probably hold good even where complete municipal operation obtains.

Question 6. Shall the ultimate adjustment of specific difficulties between public service employes and their employers be referred to a tribunal established for the adjustment of similar questions between employes and employers generally, or to special tribunals improvised in each particular case, or directly to the public service commission or other regularly constituted authority, as such difficulties arise from time to time?

We have more serious doubt as to the correct answer to this question than as to any of the preceding ones. The Cleveland street railway franchise and the latest New York rapid transit contracts provide for the settlement of disputes between the city and the company by reference to an arbitration tribunal to be established specially on each particular occasion. The efficacy of this plan has not been fully tested as yet, and moreover it does not form an exact precedent for compulsory arbitration between employers and employes. Permanent general tribunals for arbitration and conciliation, even if given authority to reach definite and binding decisions, have to deal for the most part with situations not quite analagous to those which prevail in connection with public utilities. It might readily happen that the reduction of rates by one tribunal and the raising of wages by another would subject a public service corporation to a ruinous squeezing between the upper and the nether millstones. On account of the intimate interdependence of rate regulation and wage regulation in the case of public utilities, a great deal can be said in favor of giving both functions to the same body. The advantages of this policy are emphasized when we reflect upon the fact that the performance of the wage-regulating function as well as the establishment of the hours of labor and the conditions of labor, requires the collection of data and statistics based upon continuous observation. For the collection of the facts the public service commissions are already fairly well equipped. For the reasons given, we are of the opinion that experimentally the power to fix wages and to settle disputes between public service corporations and their employes should be conferred by law upon the public service commissions, in terms calculated to secure promptness in the rendering of decisions and finality for definite though comparatively short periods of time.[2]

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[2] A very interesting memorandum was addressed by the National Consumers' League to the joint legislative committee investigating the New York public service commissions on "The need of legislation empowering commissions to regulate hours of work and wages of employes of public utilities companies." It was prepared by Pauline Goldmark and Samuel J. Rosensohn.

THE CITY SECRETARY'S OFFICE OF FRANKFURT-ON-THE-MAIN

BY MARTIN H. DODGE
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A HIGH official in American city government recently said: "After all there is no genius in German city government. It is different to be sure, and interestingly so for the American student; but beyond this it is only an historic growth, encompassed by ubiquitous German system, applicable only to German conditions, and without a solution for American municipal ills." Such an opinion comes somewhat as a shock to the ardent city reformer of this country, who has seen in German municipal efficiency the incarnation of all the virtues of municipal administration. It has been generally believed that American cities have much to gain from German experience. But wherein the gain consists is a question which demands closer scrutiny of details and comparison of conditions than reformers have generally felt themselves obliged to consider.

An interesting example of German municipal administration is found in the department known as the *Stadtkanzlei*, or city secretary's office, of Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Although this department, in one form or another, is common to the governments of French and English cities, it is rare in Germany and practically unknown in the United States. From the American point of view, in fact, it stands as a novel device of municipal organization. It is Frankfurt's "private secretary." It opens the government's mail, writes its letters, receives its visitors, oversees its employes, checks official inconsistencies, and supplies the qualifying adjectives as well as many of the data for official utterances. In short, the city secretary's office is at once the agent, the clerk, and the critic of the city administration.

To carry out its functions it is divided into seven bureaus and employs about 85 men. This somewhat extensive organization, however, is a matter of recent development. The office began its history in 1869, without special organization, employing less than a dozen men. The actual work was in charge of a director who was responsible to the mayor. The functions were simple, involving for the most part the care of the communications and accruing documents of the administrative board or *magistrat* and the mayor.

The development of the office came with the growth of the city. In the thirty years following 1869, Frankfurt's population increased by more than 300 per cent (from 90,000 to 280,000). Its administrative problems increased accordingly, and by 1900 the enlarged demand upon the secretary's office had crystallized this branch of the administration into a well organized department of four bureaus: Civil service and secretarial, clerical, accounting, and registration and correspondence. By 1904 further demands made it necessary to add two more bureaus: magistrat's writing room, and messenger service. Two years later the seventh and final division was created—the book and document binding bureau.

As the names of these various bureaus suggest, the work of the office during these years of development became identified with the essential elements of a German city administration—that is, with the complicated features of administrative routine. In this capacity the city secretary's office performs three functions, which will be considered in turn.

CLEARING HOUSE FOR ROUTINE

The first and most striking function that the office performs is to act as a great clearing house for intra-governmental routine. Ordinary clerical operations, which in most cities are carried out separately in the various governmental departments, are in Frankfurt centralized in the city secretary's office. Specifically under this head comes the handling of government mail. Every parcel of government mail of whatever nature is delivered first of all to the city secretary's office and is received by the bureau of messenger service. That part of it which is expressly addressed to a particular department is immediately delivered by the messenger service to that department. All other mail is turned over to the registration and correspondence bureau, which opens and classifies it, and with the aid of messenger service, delivers that part of it about which there is no question as to appropriate destination. The remainder (about 50 per cent of all mail) is turned over to the city secretary himself who answers about half of it on his own authority and refers the remainder to the mayor, or through the mayor, to the magistrat.

In a similar manner the city secretary's office disposes of all official documents. Legislative proposals, amendments, departmental reports, and all other official papers which naturally come to the magistrat, as the most important arm of the city government, are sent first of all to the city secretary. It is his personal duty to examine them as to form and substance, make necessary corrections, and set them up as the "orders of the day" for the magistrat's meeting.

Further, under the "clearing house" function may be cited the work of the magistrat's writing room. The writing room is a central office to which all city departments go for official letter-writing and multiple printing of circular letters and notices. Although not the most important bureau of the department, it employs twice as many men as any other, having a force of forty employes including a director and two assistants, a clerk of the bureau, four lithographers, and thirty-two typists. The administrative procedure followed by the writing room is so typical of that of the whole department that it is perhaps worthy of somewhat detailed description.

In the first place, whenever a department wants a letter written it sends a copy of the same either in long hand or shorthand to the writing room. Here it is stamped to show the exact time at which it was received. Next it is entered in a book of record called the *Kontrolle*, and the following data are recorded: date of receipt, department for which work is to be done, number of pieces, short description of contents, and name of typist to whom the draft is now submitted for writing. Upon finishing the work the typist signs his name to the draft and submits the original and the finished copies to one of the two assistants to the director, whose business it is to inspect the finished work. If he finds it satisfactory, he signs his initials at the bottom of the original draft and then records these further data in the *Kontrolle:* The time at which the material was returned by the typist, number of half sheets written or time consumed for the work and the proofreading, and any remarks that are necessary. The finished work is then sent on through the messenger service to the department for which it has been done.

This is the procedure for writing single letters. For multiple printing and lithographic work it is much the same. The form of the work, in all but special cases, is determined by ordinance specifications. Payment is made monthly to the city secretary's office by the various departments, and the prices for different kinds of work are likewise determined by ordinance.

From the standpoint of efficiency of the service, the work of every employe is carefully guarded and measured. This is accomplished largely through a system of reports. The typist who receives a piece of work must record in a special report folder or "assignment book" the following facts: time at which he receives the matter, department for which he writes, identification number of the letter or document, time at which he returns it to the inspector, and number of half sheets written or the time consumed. In addition to these items there must also be recorded a certification by another clerk as to the correctness of the statement. At the end of each week these facts must be summarized in a report in accordance with the specifications of the city ordinance. This report becomes the first basis for the measurement of work. A week's work for the employe consists of five and four-fifths days, and each day the typist is supposed to deliver thirty-two half sheets of completed work. If he delivers more than this amount he is awarded extra pay; if less, he is reprimanded or perhaps dismissed. In either case it is essential that the exact amount be recorded. In case the employe's work is such that it can be measured only by time, as is true of much of the lithographers' work, then the employe must fill out a special blank which includes an equation method of transforming time into half sheets.

At the end of every month the facts of the weekly reports are summarized into a monthly report, the relevant facts of which are in turn transferred to a general statement for the entire bureau. It is upon the basis of this last statement, drawn up in accordance with an ordinance classification, that salaries are paid. Before this statement is sent to the finance department, however, all employes to whom money is due are required to sign their names opposite the amounts accorded to them. The statement is then recorded by the accounting bureau of the city secretary's office and from there sent to the finance department where it is recorded in a similar manner. Finally, when the finance department is ready to make payment, one clerk from the writing room is sent to the department. He signs a certificate for the receipt of all moneys and then delivers to each employe the amount which is due him. So much for the administrative procedure of the writing room.

It is natural that the department which handles official documents and correspondence should be occupied also in preserving these materials. The office, through its document and bookbinding bureau, for instance, puts into permanent form the copies or the originals of correspondence, minor reports of committees, and stenographic or typewritten memoranda of all official conversations and interviews. This branch of the service employs fourteen book and document binders. The civil service and secretarial bureau, employing six men, administers the magistrat's special library of documents and reports, as well as the circulating library of books of governmental and local interest. It is the custodian of the official "book of ordinances" (*Bürgerbuch*), and a book of record for all resolutions and actions of the magistrat's deputations and commissions. It also gathers and files for reference copies of speeches, magazine articles, and newspaper clippings on matters of particular governmental interest.

Finally, in connection with the clearing house function, the city secretary himself acts as the official recording secretary at magistrat meetings. In this capacity he becomes a confidential and authoritative center of information on all magistrat business. The secretary or one of his assistants acts likewise as the recording secretary at the meetings of the numerous magistrat commissions. Besides this work the office performs important administrative duties for all special committees on celebrations and municipal entertainments, the insurance commission, the general commission on charity and aid institutions, the art museum commission and the commission on the historical development of the city.

CIVIL SERVICE FUNCTIONS

The second general group of duties performed by the city secretary's office may be summed up under the head of "civil service functions."

Frankfurt's civil service is regulated by both state laws and municipal ordinances. A commission on civil service examinations and another on courses of study for employes are appointed by the magistrat. But beyond such duties as the actual hearing and passing upon the examination and the teaching of the courses offered, the city secretary's office performs all the routine work involved. It receives and answers inquiries concerning positions and employment, furnishes the somewhat elaborate blanks which are required to be filled out by applicants, examines these blanks on their return, accepts or rejects them as they measure up to requirements, and then arranges with the applicants for the time and place of their examination. In the examination itself the office has charge of similar routine duties, leaving no more work to the examination commission than is necessary to the exercise of its judgment as to the fitness of the candidates. But it should be added that the director of the civil service and secretarial bureau is also one of the five members who constitute the examination commission referred to above. Consequently the city secretary's office is represented on the side of policy as well as that of administration of the civil service.

Following the acceptance of the candidates into the government service, the city secretary's office enters into further relations with them. The secretary himself, for instance, acts as the general supervisor of the entire civil service. By this it is not meant that he has power to interfere directly with the work of any department over the head of its chief; but rather that he is an efficiency expert whose business it is to establish and maintain an *esprit de corps* and a high order of service throughout the organization. In accordance with this object the secretary keeps in touch with the general standard of service as well as the work of the individual employe through the efficiency and service records already referred to. He also maintains an effective co-ordination of the whole through the shifting of clerks and office employes according to the changing needs of the different departments. This method of transfer tends to eliminate the stress and waste of seasonal variations of work and establishes an equilibrium of service.

The secretary, through the different bureaus of his department, is also responsible for the following civil service functions: furnishing of necessary information upon which grades of compensation are established, securing proper publicity for the classifications determined upon, verification of the employment budget and city payrolls, and administration of accident and sickness insurance funds for city employes as well as widow and orphan moneys. Since insurance is such an essential factor in the life of the German citizen, this last operation constitutes an important service of the secretary's office.

EDITORIAL WORK AND DRAFTING

The third, and from the standpoint of governmental policy, the most important function of the city secretary's office is editorial work and legislative drafting. It was pointed out above that all government mail passes through the central office and that the secretary himself answers about one fourth of it and exercises some discretion in disposing of the remainder. This is an incidental authority, but it is none the less important; it is likewise exercised in the matter of official documents. The government is scrupulously careful about the form of its official utterances and communications, and the advantage for this purpose of having a central expert under whose inspection all such matters come is obvious. The gain is equally clear of having a central figure whose relation to the entire legislative and administrative activities of the city is such as to constitute him a competent critic of ill and well-advised proposals. The practical effect of his activity is seen in the fact that less than six per cent of the legislative proposals that reach the magistrat are rejected by that body.

An examination of incoming documents shows that on an average 60 per cent of such matters are reports from the city department and other reports from committees and citizens sent in at the request of the magistrat. These reports are made out on forms furnished by the secretary's office or provided by the department itself. The city secretary, in transmitting them to the magistrat, does not alter their substance; he sees to it, however, that they are in proper form and classifies them to facilitate logical consideration. The remaining 40 per cent of the documents are matters of initiative and original suggestion, and as such require more careful attention. About one fourth of these are not acted upon by the magistrat at once but are made subjects of research and investigation by the secretary's office, or through this office, by technical experts, as the case may require.

As stated above, the secretary or one of his assistants acts as the recording secretary at magistrat-commission meetings. In this capacity the office writes up the minutes of such meetings and thus furnishes much of the material which constitutes the reports of these bodies. It performs similar functions for the *Stadt-Bibliothek* and the *Stadt-Archiv*, the two other departments, besides the secretary's office itself, which are directly under the mayor's supervision; it writes all reports and recommendations of the commissions on aid and charity institutions and on hospitals; and lastly, it puts into final form for the consideration of the magistrat, the annual budget proposals of the finance department and all reports pertaining thereto.

These operations of the city secretary's office relate to documents coming to the magistrat from outside sources. But a similar practice is followed in regard to those issuing from the magistrat. As is true of the incoming material, much of that which goes out is also of a routine nature and concerned with frequently recurring matters. To facilitate the handling of such affairs, printed forms, known as *Akten* or *Protokolle*, are provided. These are filled out by the secretary's office and sent to their proper destination in accordance with directions from the magistrat. For some matters the forms are very complete, requiring the addition of only a few words; for others, they consist merely of an outline. Among the items for which they are used, the most common are formal announcements from the magistrat to the city council and notifications to individuals concerning election to office, appointments, pensions, and contracts.

Work requiring somewhat more initiative and discretion on the part of the secretary's office is that of investigation and research on legislative proposals coming from the magistrat or from individual magistrat members. In this connection the secretary, assisted by three officials from the civil service and secretarial and the clerical bureaus, prepares briefs, and signs the resolutions of the magistrat and magistrat-committees, and drafts the magistrat's reports, communications and statements.

Besides the actual work of composition, this involves ultimately the editorship of four publications. The first of these is the report of the magistrat to the city council. This report is concerned with the immediate affairs of government about which the magistrat thinks the council must or ought to be informed. It is issued whenever such matters arise, which experience shows to be about six times a month. The nature of the reports varies. Sometimes they are mere reproductions of ordinances passed by the magistrat; at other times they are paraphrased accounts given by the secretary on the magistrat's procedure on a certain point. Sometimes they constitute pamphlets of twenty or thirty pages; at others they are only single sheets of one hundred words or less.

THE "ANZEIGE-BLATT"

The second publication edited by the city secretary's office is the *Anzeige-Blatt*, a semi-weekly official announcement by the government to the people. It is concerned with those matters about which the magistrat decides there should be publicity. A copy taken at random, for instance, includes on the first page a notice to merchants and another to manufacturers requesting the proper observance of the occasion of the Kaiser's expected visit. On the remaining dozen pages of the bulletin are found such matters as announcements of births, deaths, marriages, and engagements, notices from the magistrat and several of the city departments on matters relating to streets, municipal rooming and apartment houses, the city pawnshop, and the *Römer Rathaus*.

The third and fourth publications edited by the secretary's office are, respectively, the annual report of the magistrat to the city council (*Jahresbericht*), and the official book of ordinances (*Bürgerbuch*). The former is a comprehensive volume of some 450 large-sized pages, presenting a careful review of the entire activity of the government for the year. It is compiled from detail reports from the various departments, bureaus and commissions, with a general introduction by the mayor. The latter is a compilation of all the laws and ordinances governing the city, which are subject to constant change and are published in book form annually or biennially. The complete revised copy constitutes a book of 975 pages.

The three general functions which have been sketched above are obviously of sufficient importance to bring the city secretary's office into considerable prominence in city affairs. It remains to speak of one further activity which illustrates its unique and pivotal position. The city secretary's office stands literally at the door of the city government; it is the administration's "outer office." If a visitor or citizen wishes to interview the authorities of Frankfurt he is directed first of all to the city secretary's office. And frequently he need go no further. If, however, the functionaries of this office cannot satisfy his needs, he is then escorted by one of the secretary's city messengers to a more appropriate authority. At all events, the city secretary holds the keys to the offices of his fellow officials, including even that of the mayor. It seems, however, that his responsibility is such as to prevent any despotic use of the power involved. In the position of official "hand-shaker" for the city government, he stands as a man of business ability, of tact, and of all-knowledge on city affairs; the city secretary is probably better acquainted with the details of Frankfurt's administration than any other city official, not excluding the mayor.

In conclusion, it seems obvious that the hand of genius is not apparent in the city secretary's office. The department is unique and interesting. But it is not the deliberate invention of an all-seeing mind. Its present organization is not based on theory; it is the natural outgrowth of the exigencies of operation and management. The office has seven bureaus but it performs only three general functions. It is an example of extreme centralization of activities generally administered by separate departments. But its success, for it is admittedly successful, and the lesson of German municipal government which it has to offer, lies neither in its organization nor its functions, but in its operation. The illustration from the magistrat's writing room is sufficient to show the nature of its operation. Every detail of work is standardized that can be standardized. The administration becomes habitual and runs of itself. The energies of the directing staff are expended in inventing new methods of standardizing new duties. Though such a system does not preclude progress, it does not on the other hand encourage the initiative of the employe. It has been a success in Frankfurt; but that it might be a success in this country depends upon whether or not the character of the American rank and file can be reduced to the necessary calibre of the martinet. It is a splendid illustration of German method, German precision, German detail. Most Americans would regard with question a fabric woven so largely of red tape.

MUNICIPAL RECREATION—A REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE

BY GEORGE A. BELLAMY[1]
Cleveland, Ohio

THAT recreation is grasping the minds of the thinkers is shown by the number of surveys being made throughout the country by recreation associations, private organizations, boards of commerce, etc. Gradually there is dawning the realization that "recreation is stronger than vice and recreation alone can stifle the lust for it."

And now comes the survey "Education through Recreation," [2] a section of Cleveland's school survey, with the statement that play is nature's method of growth while recreation is the relief from exertion in some other line of activity. Play is more than the striking of a balance, but its educational value has not been utilized beyond the kindergarten because we did not know how to relate the play of children to the subject matter of the schools. Play has been defined as the rehearsal of the interests and activities of our ancestors, the records of which form the subject matter of the schools. Consequently play forms the logical approach to what the schools have to teach.

The schools occupy the largest field of municipal recreation. Important facts regarding its weaknesses and accomplishments are brought out in this survey. Physical equipment and supervision for recreation were found to feature more prominently in the Cleveland school system than is usual elsewhere, but these features might be still further developed if the recesses were to be supervised and organized, if the rest periods assigned in the first five grades were to be taken out of doors, and if the apparatus were to have year-round usage. Athletic tests for boys are substituted in the elementary grades for inter-class and inter-scholastic games. Under present city conditions, athletic games are the only means of supplying an element of personal competition and of sudden crises which must be met by the supremest effort, physical and mental. It is considered most important that teams and games be organized in the elementary schools since it is at exactly that age that hardy games should begin and no other agency exists capable of doing what needs to be done at this time. Similarly the importance of group games for elementary school girls cannot be over emphasized, for girls with adequate opportunity come quite as readily under the moral and social influence of group games as do the boys. The Cleveland girl at this age fares no better than her brother. Play interests are the prototypes of achievements in adult life and educational work to-day. They have the same origin as those interests which determined the supremacy of the race and are fundamentally related to physical vigor. Baseball is social as well as physical and should be played on well organized elementary school teams. Rooting should give way to playing. Cleveland high schools do better by both the girls and boys than the elementary schools but some agency is needed to see that all children of ten and over have the opportunity for the right exercise of their social instincts, incidentally pre-empting the gang instinct in the constructive channels of creation, nurture and the other fundamental instincts, for the gang and the street do not wait for the high school age. The school is the only institution which reaches practically every child, and this responsibility falls naturally upon its shoulders. Competitive games and dramatic play, at present too little used, are suggested as an antidote for the street and the movies. The orchestra is cited as one of the easiest types of social activity for a school, both in organization and maintenance. Its special value lies in the complete co-operation demanded and in the subordination of self to the whole. There should be ample scope for the exercise of constructive interests. Children like to make things, for children, like primitive man, follow lines of human action by instinct long before they follow them as conscious work. Always in the history of the race play preceded work, supplying an interest by appealing to the emotions. It is the problem of play in education as the forerunner of work to find the basis for this emotional background in educational activities.

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[1] Chairman of the public recreation committee, chamber of commerce.

[2] "Education through Recreation," by George E. Johnson, Cleveland foundation, Cleveland, O. 25 cents.

The survey recommends for every city of Cleveland's size, problems and opportunities:

(a) A supervisor of play and recreation on the same basis as the superintendent of instruction, whose business it should be to correlate education and recreation.

(b) A director with greater authority than now exists to organize and direct active plays, athletics and pastimes of the system in both elementary and high schools.

(c) A duly appointed officer of the division of physical education to supervise the play of kindergarten and grade children up to 9 years of age.

(d) Officers trained to organize and direct, each in his own field, the dramatic interests, the musical interests, the nature and nurture interests and the æsthetic interests.

The monograph on "Educational Extension,"[3] which is a part of the Cleveland foundation's survey of Cleveland's public schools, deals with what is done for the child in the homes after school, with what is done for him in addition to giving him an acquaintance with the three R's. Cleveland's leisure time is unprovided for so far as organized recreation is concerned and consequently much of what is done even in the socially minded schools stands the chance of being negated after school hours.

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[3] "Educational Extension," by Clarence Arthur Perry, Cleveland foundation, Cleveland, O. 25 cents.

"The opportunity to realize, develop, and exercise special ability is one of the greatest safeguards against ill-spent leisure."

The discovery of this special ability is more often than not the result of chance, and the more varied the opportunities given to an adolescent the greater the likelihood that he will find himself. Leisure is the time when the boy or girl does what he likes to do, the surest method of discovering his own special ability.

The "wider use" of the school plant developed to the maximum of social center activity wherever this seems wise is encouraged, and this policy is incorporated in the newly created division of school extension which administers the use of the school buildings for all purposes other than night schools, this division to be eventually in the department of education since its function is to use the school facilities for educational and social ends. The evening school, coming at the close of the day and having similar aims and activities, should be combined with the community center for administrative economy. The monograph closes with a justification of the wider use of the school plant to extend to adults and children alike and to include all activities which prepare for useful citizenship since "to take any common but vital human activity that may be well performed by the few but is carried on imperfectly by the many and lift it universally to a higher plane is the essential function of public education."

The "Madison Recreational Survey"[4] is a commendable effort at "preparedness for peace." Armed with the conviction that proper play life for the child and proper recreational facilities for the adult mean better citizens and a more prosperous city in which to live as well as to work, the survey committee, by dint of painstaking observation and investigation, has pointed the way to a better Madison for employe as well as employer, for the taxpayer as well as for the city budget. Carefully prepared charts show the distribution of the entire population by wards and of the children by age periods. The prevalent mode of building as it affects the planning of the city is shown, the house near the street leaving large back yards now given over to chicken coops, sheds and trash heaps. This means lack of play spaces except in the street, with the consequence that the best kind of play is discouraged.

The park and pleasure drive association now promotes whatever municipal recreational facilities and activities Madison now possesses, such as celebrations, open air concerts, and the maintenance of some park land

[4] "Madison Recreational Survey," Madison board of commerce, Madison, Wis. 50 cents.

and playfields. A park board with authority to receive and expend public funds in developing and maintaining parks is recommended. Park playgrounds under single control should be developed and municipal gymnasiums and natatoriums established—facilities which would be supplied were there a department of city government as much interested in the study of the needs of adults as the board of education is in the needs of children.

A series of charts compares Madison's schools as to the density of the population served, the nature of the recreational equipment, the supervision of school recreation and its relation to other available facilities in the neighborhood. One hundred square feet per child was held to be a fair minimum for estimating space for Madison's playground and one fourth of a mile suggested as the distance a child may be expected to travel to a playground. Fixed apparatus is important as giving opportunity for the development of personal achievement. There should be a variety and enough pieces to accommodate about one fourth of the children in school at the same time. The playground should be in a safe and wholesome environment and should at all times be supervised and organized, to an even greater extent during the summer than during the school year.

Patronized by all classes, by the family as a unit and to a great extent on Sunday, the universal day of leisure, the "movies" fill a decided need in Madison's recreational life. Out of 110 film stories studied, 68 contained features of good influence, 72 traces of bad influence, such as drinking, cigarette smoking, vulgar flirtation and the like. Cheap comedy films are the chief offenders while films of the white slave traffic, if greatly increased in number, would tend to become objectionable. The survey suggests a more enthusiastic support of the National Board of Censorship; a more careful supervision by exhibitors of their program films and greater emphasis on feature films, since these usually were found to contain fewer objectionable features; the institution of children's days and children's theaters, selections of films to be made by the exhibitor; a more extensive exclusion of children from programs suitable for adults and an enforcement of the 9 o'clock curfew.

"Public dances, the roughest of them known locally as 'pig races,' are the worst single feature of commercial recreation in Madison." The inadequacy of the present ordinance and the carelessness of the police has resulted in failure to license halls. It is recommended that all halls rented for dances be considered as public dance halls and required by ordinance to be licensed, that pass-out checks be forbidden, that chaperons for each dance be appointed by the mayor, and that they report their suggestions to him, that mask balls, costume parties and shadow dances be forbidden at public dances, that a proper position in dancing be defined and enforcement provided and that families, churches and communities supply unofficial chaperons. Fifty-eight per cent of the pool and billiard halls surveyed were loafing centers. In almost all of the halls some form of gambling is among the attractions. Cigarette smoking is almost universal among the patrons from 18 to 22 years of age. Profane and obscene language abounds. The most important single element of the problem is reported to be that of removing objectionable characters who operate places used for loafing. In the 33 loafing places observed, such as pool rooms, barber shops, fire stations, lunch wagons, switch houses and the like, 30 per cent of all the loafers were estimated to be under 21 years of age. The solution lies in the education of the public and the provision of proper supervised recreation for young men.

Dr. Healy of the Psychopathic Institute of Chicago, in an article interpretative of local conditions, says:

"Practically all confirmed criminals begin their career in childhood."

Most of the time of the impressionable period is spent in the home with the parents stimulating the mental interest of the child. The condition of the homes, then, and the education of parents as to the proper mental pabulum to give their children becomes an immediate problem, for the mental vacuity of those showing criminal tendencies has been one of the most impressive findings in studying the causes of delinquency. Congested districts without outdoor play spaces were found to contribute the largest share of disease. Similarly those wards showing the presence of the laboring class and crowded housing also show much the highest death rate. Dr. Gillin states that an investigation of juvenile delinquency in Madison from September, 1912, to April, 1915, shows that those wards having least opportunity for proper recreation furnish the most delinquents. Sixty-two per cent of the cases resulted from lack of play and recreation facilities, 65 per cent had had bad home conditions and surroundings and 57 per cent show house congestion, lack of play space and supervised play.

From a most able and complete summary of Madison's conditions and needs, the following deductions are made. Madison needs more playgrounds under trained directors and winter gymnasiums for children, more athletic and aquatic facilities for the young men and women, more meeting places and better organization of the same for the constructive use of the leisure time of young people. A committee is suggested to consider the securing and conserving of more space in further city planning. For the recreation of adults, provision should be made for facilities, organization, promotion and direction of recreation if a large body, mainly of the untrained laboring class having no recreational agency outside of the saloon, are to be conserved for society. The public welfare demands an agency that will consider commercial recreation from the standpoint of the public good, not from the box office receipts. It demands a public agency to organize and co-ordinate the force for public good now existing less effectually among private philanthropic and social agencies. A play and recreation association operating with the park board in creating facilities and with the board of education in directing activities especially of children is urged until the city by statute appoint a permanent commission.

Statistics taken in the Ipswich survey[5] on two different days after school hours revealed that 40 per cent of the young people observed were idling, most of them in groups; that of 82 girls, eleven years of age and over, 81 were in the street; that 60 per cent of all the children observed were in the street.

Given the athletic badge test only one of 172 Ipswich boys was able to fulfill the three requirements and 66 per cent failed to measure up to even the lowest passing mark in any of the events. As the boys grow older the records show them falling still farther below the normal standard, and in the pull up their records were from one third to one half of what the boys ought to do normally. When compared with statistics for the same grade in New York city, the city boy who had had definite physical training and properly guided play was found to far outstrip his Ipswich competitor. This defect can be remedied, the survey states, by extending physical training in the schools at least to the extent of requiring it for both boys and girls during the first two years of high school and supplementing this by a program of organized group games and team work as a part of the regular school work. The recess, at present a form of social leakage, should be turned to active account by organization and supervision.

Ipswich, a typical New England industrial town showing a steady increase in the proportion of foreign born until at present one third of its population is composed of Greeks and Poles, has a problem of assimilation on its hands which merits serious consideration. The Greek Coffee House offers a unique type of recreation. To this room equipped with small tables, chairs and pool tables come groups of Greeks to play cards or pool while drinking their coffee and enjoying the music of the orchestra. Sometimes it is a native folk song sung by a girl and every one joins in the chorus; sometimes it is a folkdance and several of the men will dance the steps. The drinks served do not intoxicate and no discourtesy is evident.

There is a real contribution to recreation in "Community Drama and Pageantry."[6] It treats of that most social of the arts, pageantry and pageant drama, not with the idea of professionalism but with the purpose of developing in a democracy steeped in industry a finer appreciation of art and of providing a sane outlet for the play spirit. Efficiency systems and labor unions have demonstrated the value of co-operation in labor. Men have still to learn the art of playing together. The social value of pageantry lies in the opportunity it offers for individual and community self-expression. The educational value of the study preliminary to staging a pageant and the community co-operation in recreative work secured in the production are the very elements of social reform.

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[5] "Play and Recreation in a Town of 6,000," by Howard R. Knight, Russell Sage Foundation, New York. 25 cents.

[6] "Community Drama and Pageantry," by Mary Porter Beegle and Jack Randall Crawford, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. $2.50.

Descriptions of the various types of pageants are included and the perplexed leader of this form of community celebration will do well to familiarize himself with the chapter dealing with the technique peculiar to the pageant in composition and production, for each page is teeming with concrete suggestions, the result of splendid labor by those who have won their spurs in pageantry. The book is well illustrated. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature in a book abounding in them is the excellent bibliographies which it gives, listing books on such subjects as open air theaters, production and scenic art, dramatic, folk and festival music.

"The Practical Conduct of Play"[7] deals primarily with the technique of recreation, from the big wheels of the machinery needed to operate a city's recreation system to the tiniest cogs in the individual playground. In a plan for laying out a city's playgrounds such problems as dimensions, surfacing, lighting, equipment, division of children by sex and age, and kindred others are concretely handled. That most fundamental basis of any play system, the play director, is discussed in terms of what he should bring to his work by way of personality, training and education, and of what he should receive from it in the way of remuneration.

Information is offered to prospective play leaders as to institutions now offering courses in play and to municipalities conducting their own play courses as to the ground which should be covered. Dr. Curtis advocates a committee of sociological, psychological and physical training experts to effect an evolution in our common games by a modification of their rules which would standardize them and make them "more of a game and less of a spectacle." This he would supplement by a play institute in charge of experts where new games could be tried and old ones modified. There is a short practical bibliography of books on play and related subjects. Appendix I gives the usual procedure in the formation of a playground and recreation association from the necessary initial survey to a provisional constitution for the association. Appendix II deals with the various methods of securing funds.

Many individuals and organizations are now studying recreation not always municipal yet with play as a foundation. A most noteworthy book to be mentioned in this connection is "Play in Education."[8] Mr. Lee has studied thoroughly the foundation principles by which the life of the child should be moulded in order that he may develop tastes and

[7] "Practical Conduct of Play," by Henry S. Curtis, Macmillan Co., New York. $2.00.

[8] "Play in Education," by Joseph Lee, Macmillan Co., New York. $1.50.

habits which, expressed as an adult, shall make him crave those forms of recreation helpful in fitting him into a useful life in a democracy.

A highly constructive work on the moving picture is "The Art of the Moving Picture."[9] To the community alive to the possibilities of the "movie" in a recreational program the chapters on "Progress and Endowment" and "The Movie, a Substitute for the Saloon," will be of interest.

A stepping stone in interesting the church element in the importance of recreation municipally directed is the book "Character through Recreation."[10] Ministers will find many chapters of value in dealing with the recreation problem of their local church groups.

A book having its contribution to offer to the municipality while dealing with the technique of recreation is "The Playground Book."[11] More limited in scope than Dr. Curtis's book, it deals more fully with games, dances, stories and books for recreational workers, but includes brief, excellent articles on "The Meaning of Recreation," "Value of Playgrounds to a Community," and "Qualities for a Playground Director."

Communities interested in community centers will find it worth while to refer to the pamphlet on "Community Centers"[12] and to the article on "Organizing the Neighborhood for Recreation,"[13] both brief but valuable contributions to a concrete solution of a vital municipal problem.

A remarkable compilation of statistics is given in the February issue of the *Playground*[14] for this year. Four hundred and thirty-two cities reported supervised playgrounds and recreation centers, 182 were supported by municipal funds, 112 by private funds, 130 by municipal and private, 1 by county, 3 by municipal and county, 1 by private and county, and 1 by municipal, private and county funds. A total of $4,066,377.15 was reported, of which $1,922,687.20 was paid for salaries. One hundred and thirty-two cities report lighted playgrounds for evening use. Fifty-six cities showed buildings especially for recreation. Twenty-six cities set aside streets for play space. Eighty-four cities permitted coasting in streets.

There are many other valuable statistics given in this report. When compared with the meager beginnings twenty years ago, it indicates the position of importance play and recreation is assuming in our municipal life.

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[9] "The Art of the Moving Picture," by Vachel Lindsey, Macmillan Co., New York. $1.25.

[10] "Character through Recreation," by Howard Palmer Young, American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia.

[11] "The Playground Book," by Harry Sperling, A. S. Barnes, New York. $1.80.

[12] "Community Centers," by Raymond V. Phelan, General Extension Division, University of Minnesota.

[13] "Organizing the Neighborhood for Recreation," by Lee F. Hanmer.

[14] *The Playground*, 1 Madison Ave., New York City.

HOW NOT TO PLAN CITIES[1]

BY J. HORACE MCFARLAND[2]

Harrisburg, Pa.

THIS title may be said to be neither sarcastic nor humorous, but instead simply descriptive. Its basis is certain work done in the federal Department of the Interior, in laying out a townsite in Alaska. The Alaskan engineering commission is the direct authoritative body whose work I had in mind in writing for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW some months ago, at the request of its editor, a statement which was then headed "City Planning—Minus."

To the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW there came in due course, under date of September, 1915, a blue-print of a map entitled "Alaskan Engineering Commission Map of Anchorage and Vicinity." It was accompanied by a courteous letter from Hon. Franklin Mears, the active commissioner in charge, who, explaining that Anchorage was to be the water terminal town of the new government railroad to make available some of the resources of Alaska, added: "It is, however, to the advantage of all that this is practically a made-to-order town, with the accompanying benefits that should accrue where all details are worked out and arranged on a uniform basis. . . . The town is now under the management of a townsite manager, Mr. J. A. Moore of the general land office, and a townsite engineer, Mr. J. G. Watts, a man who has had quite some experience in new town work; both of these officers coming under the final jurisdiction of this commission, acting for the secretary of the interior." The letter and the map were sent to me for review, and accordingly I wrote concerning it as follows:

> It is apparent from the plan that Anchorage is to be, or now is, a replica of the very worst elements in town-making, having no consideration at all for the people who must live in it.
>
> The plan is platted on a rectangle, with a triangular extension on the west, giving an approximate length of about a mile and an approximate width of a little over half a mile. It shows 121 rectangular blocks, each about 300 feet square, bisected by a narrow alley. It shows two central streets 80 feet in width, running east and west; all the other highways being, apparently, 60 feet in width.
>
> The plan of Anchorage discloses to the astonished eye no such thing as a civic center, and not a single radial highway. The arrangement is wholly that of endeavoring to make the distance between the corners of the town as great as possible.

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[1] Address delivered to the National Municipal League, November 24, 1916, at its meeting in Springfield, Mass.

[2] President, American Civic Association.

In the extreme northwestern corner of the plan, two of the blocks abutting on a water front are marked "city wharf reserve," and certain of the blocks of the town also seem to have been calmly platted into the swampy ground appurtenant to the water course. Blocks nos. 73 and 74, lying between Sixth and Seventh streets and between A and C streets, are marked "city park reserve." These blocks, having a street between them which seems not to have been vacated on the plan, include an area of approximately 300 by 700 feet, which is the total public reservation in the town plan, with one important exception.

Off to the southeast there is a conspicuous reservation. It is marked "cemetery reserve. Area 16.98 acres."

It is thus noted that Anchorage has been figured to be a place to die in, but not much of a place to live in, according to this plan. The recreational reserve is less than five acres in extent, whereas the cemetery reserve is 17 acres in extent.

These words are written without any other data than that supplied by the blue-print. They are warranted, it is believed, by the endorsement that the plan comes from the Department of the Interior and has been proposed or approved by the Alaskan engineering commission.

The point is made that there are no conditions admissible under which the federal government, in these days of knowledge concerning the importance of recreational provision, concerning the importance of radial highways, concerning the importance of planning a community for efficiency, should approve or permit on the public land the establishment of such a monstrosity of a town plan as this T-square community of Anchorage.

It seemed wise to the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW to submit this perfectly candid comment to Mr. Mears. Under date of December 30, 1915, Mr. Mears replied in a somewhat vigorous letter, from which I quote the essential paragraph:

> It is believed to be useless and inadvisable to attempt to comment upon this article. It was my understanding that the Municipal League was a serious-minded body, sincere in its effort to promote municipal improvement. The critical article on the Anchorage townsite, prepared without any first-hand knowledge of the subject, would tend to indicate that it is more the desire of your body to criticize in the matter of municipal planning than it is to assist towards the right end. Perhaps such articles "take" better. True, a man finds more enjoyment reading an article of this type than he does a plain statement of facts. It is the spirit of the times.

Meanwhile, contact with another official who has had much to do with Alaskan matters, brought out the interesting information that there had been no thought of using any modern town-planning methods in laying out Anchorage. This official, however, was concerned because Anchorage, established on land entirely owned by the government, had advanced so far as already to have, in its relation to the social evil, a "restricted district"!

It had happened also that I had contact with other offices in the department having to do with laying out townsites on government lands, and I had found among many estimable and able officials the most naive ignorance as to town-planning. They simply did not know that there was anything more than a T-square method of laying out towns. I felt warranted, therefore, in declining to withdraw what I had written in respect to the map of Anchorage, upon which all my statements had been based only on the plan itself.

Meanwhile, at Mr. Mears' suggestion, reference was had to Hon. Clay Tallman, commissioner of the general land office, and in a letter dated February 16, 1916, Mr. Tallman both explained and defended the situation. I quote the essential parts from his extended communication:

> Whether the best has been made of the circumstances attending the creation of this townsite in the way of city planning, I am not prepared to state, as criticism from a technical viewpoint was hardly to be expected with respect to a site located in the interior of Alaska and planned under conditions almost emergent. It occurs to me that a knowledge of the conditions leading to the founding of the town is essential in determining whether its plan may justly be made the subject of critical controversy.
>
> By the act of March 12, 1914 (38 Stat., 305), congress authorized the president of the United States to locate, construct and operate railroads in Alaska, with the special purpose of opening up the coal fields, the cost of the work authorized not to exceed $35,000,000. Following organization and determination of routes, withdrawals of public lands were made including tentative sites of towns to be established for the main and immediate purpose of accommodating the force to be employed in building the railroad. After definitely locating the site for a town, its survey into blocks, lots, streets, reservations, etc., was necessary for purposes of disposition. Anchorage was the first site surveyed and opened.
>
> The plans and their execution were accomplished as expeditiously as possible, but not before there had been an influx of persons seeking employment on the railroad and to establish businesses in the new town. These people located themselves in tents and other temporary shelters on lands needed by the commission for construction purposes, and with no adequate provisions for sanitation, police or fire protection.

Right here I break in to call attention to the fact that seemingly full authority was possessed by the government in respect to the handling of Anchorage. Nevertheless, as may be noted, no least thought of modern town development entered into the action which followed, as explained in the remainder of Mr. Tallman's letter:

> Under these conditions the work was pushed to the utmost limit and sales of lots in Anchorage commenced during the summer of last year, permitting the hundreds of "squatters" to move onto the site and erect permanent homes and places of business under more healthful conditions. The Alaskan engineering commission, anticipating the raising of funds for the purpose by assessment or otherwise, took prompt steps to main-

> tain sanitation and fire and police protection, graded streets, and built a jail, school house, and water works. Additional land adjacent to the townsite has since been surveyed into larger lots for truck gardening and residence purposes. Legislation is being sought that will enable the commission in the future to supply these towns with more adequate and substantial municipal improvements in the way of public buildings and water works.
>
> In addition to topographic, climatic and general frontier conditions to be contended with, it must be remembered that the primary purpose of these particular townsite locations is to subserve railroad building and operation; as examples of the latest thought in municipal planning they may be lacking in many respects, but I can assure you that everybody concerned in their building has in mind the substantial interests of their dwellers, and will do as much to promote the same as the law and conditions will permit.

Various other letters passed back and forth, including one from Mr. Mears, in which he pronounced himself thus: "I must again decline to consent to the publication of the review prepared by Mr. McFarland, and must also decline to consent to the publication of my letter of December 30, 1915." Mr. Mears evidently overlooked the complete freedom of the National Municipal League and its workers.

Later, a revised plan came, which showed distinctly the influence of the criticisms leveled at the T-square plan first promulgated. Notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Alaskan engineering commission, under existing federal departmental methods, really to do city planning as city planning is done in a modern way, its draftsmen, undoubtedly very excellent men, did pay some attention to the criticisms to which objection had been made.

Occasion affording the opportunity, I submitted the correspondence and the plans to Warren H. Manning, of whose standing as not only landscape designer but city planner I need make no statement to this audience. Mr. Manning took the plans away with him and gave to them the adequate critical attention warranted by his knowledge of the needs of communities and by his ability to sense the conditions from the contour maps which had later been received.

Indeed, Mr. Manning went so far as to make a tentative sketch of how the land might be subdivided so as to produce conditions which would tend much more nearly to the general public welfare than those probably already existing in connection with this Anchorage misfortune. I read Mr. Manning's letter, which is distinctly entertaining:

> I regret my delay in sending you my comments on the Anchorage town plan. It seems to me that the comments which you have made on the townsite were fully justified by the conditions presented on the plan which you submitted to me with your letter. You have not, however, gone far enough in your criticisms.
>
> You mentioned the rectangular arrangement of the roads, but you evidently did not realize that the proposed streets leading up from the

valley over the bluffs which separate the valley land from the upland plateau, are laid down in places where the natural surface has slopes of as high as 40 feet in a hundred. While an 8 per cent grade is quite possible, the usual maximum grade on the main roads, as taken from eight American cities, is from 5 to 6 per cent. The maximum grade on the military highways over the Alps is from 4½ to 6 per cent, and on French roads from 3 to 6 per cent. It might be possible to tear through these bluffs and fill into the valley far enough to secure the 5 per cent grades with the plan as laid down. Take K street, for example. If this bluff were graded to a 5 per cent grade, K street would extend 800 feet out into the valley and would have to be cut back 600 feet, or to the south side of the intersection of Fourth and K streets some 500 feet from the top of the bluff. This would involve cuts up to 25 feet deep through the bluffs and call for handling an average of 175 cubic yards of material per linear foot of road construction. If we were to figure out a mile of road at this rate and estimate that material could be handled for 20 cents per cubic yard, which is a low price, we should reach the astounding figure of $180,000, roughly, per mile for grading alone.

To show that a practical system of roads can be designed for this site, I have outlined a small plan with quite an ideal layout, with the residential district on the plateau and the business district in the valley, both being separated by a belt of reservations which would embrace the steep bluff that gives so much character to the location. The roads connecting the two districts could well be laid down on grades not exceeding 6 per cent, and involving only surface work.

You will observe from this sketch that it would be quite possible to reach the plateau from the valley by a 6 per cent grade with practically surface work from almost any point in the valley. Also you will notice that a road can easily be located so as to follow the top of the bluff, along which people could drive and get the view of the bay. On the gridiron plan this would be impossible. The road ends at the top of the steep bluff, and there would have to be a fence to prevent people from driving or dropping into the valley. From the contour of the plateau, I see no reason why a gridiron plan there would be objectionable, since undoubtedly it is the most economical in favorable situations. On the plan you have sent the main roads run east and west, so that half of the houses must face the north, whereas if the main roads ran north and south, as they could be just as readily run, the houses would have an easterly and westerly exposure, which would give each house a much better average of sunlight, which, I would suppose, would be particularly important in Alaska.

Again you will observe that the plan provides lots on the bluffs, where it will be quite impracticable to build. Such bluffs ought to be in reservations. The plan calls for 1,375 lots. Assuming that there are five people to each lot, this would represent a population of some 6,875 persons. The public reservations as outlined on the blue-print are about 10.33 acres, averaging one acre to every 666 persons. If these reservations were increased, as suggested in Major Mears' letter, it would reduce these figures to 299 persons per acre. These figures include the area of the townsite as shown on the blue-print, and the changes suggested for that part only. The large area in the east addition, reserved by Major Mears for recreation purposes, has not been included, as the south and east addition has not been included when speaking of the townsite. The ideal proportion of park area to the population of an American city is considered by experts to be 50 to 100 persons per acre, which means that there was only adequate provision of parks for 10 per cent of the people in the first plan, and for 25 per cent of the people when the plan was "revised."

Our sketch plan shows about 1,225 lots and 67.44 acres of park area. Assuming five persons to the lot, this would give an average of 88 persons to the acre of public reservations, a proportion which more nearly reaches the ideal proportion.

By eliminating the alleys alone, 15.8 acres could be added to public reservations or to salable land, or better still, the main thoroughfares could be made wide enough to give better circulation of air and more room for vehicles.

On the original plan, the city wharves preserve is at the base of the bluff, with private lots abutting upon it, and no street indicated to give access. My sketch shows a road leading around the business district, and located so as to be between the wharves and business section.

In the general arrangement of the streets and the location of the public reservations, they did not go so far as to accept the suggestions of Mr. Paul Witham in his pamphlet on the "Planning of Alaskan Ports," in which he does show at least one road climbing the bluff and following along its edge for a ways, with a continuation of the road as a diagonal through the rectangular street system. He also shows a shore road between the lots and the warehouses and wharves.

The first plan implies that the official colony may be reached only by aeroplanes. It looks as though they had discovered that it is so difficult to climb the 125-foot bluff upon which this colony is located that they would have to have some other expedient to get people there than vehicles that use roads.

I think I have gone far enough to indicate that there are several defects in this plan which make it wholly impracticable and unsuitable to meet the requirements of a modern town or city.

Mr. Manning's last paragraph is one which ought to be repeated. He finds "that there are several defects in this plan which make it wholly impracticable and unsuitable to meet the requirements of a modern town or city."

It is this conclusion of a man who knows what he is writing about which has warranted the title of this address. Obviously, in order to discover how not to do city planning, it is only necessary to observe the methods now being used by the federal bureaus which have complete control of the areas which Uncle Sam is arranging to have his children begin living upon in communities.

It is well known that the federal government possesses no organized engineering department other than that included in the war office. The United States army engineers are the only men in the government service who are trained by it in engineering. That they are able and fine-spirited men I would be one of the first to insist, because I know that to be the fact. Their training, however, at West Point, is, if you please, as *army* engineers. They are concerned primarily with works of war rather than with works of peace. It is known that in the curriculum at West Point there is no teaching of city planning. How, then, should these men, when their services are availed of, succeed without knowledge or special training where the best volunteer skill, fully trained, finds it hard to succeed?

I wish it clearly and distinctly understood that I am making no reflection whatever upon the spirit, ability, knowledge or achievements of the army engineers in these remarks. I have, indeed, every confidence in their rectitude and ability in those problems for solving which they have been trained. They are altogether too few in number, and the system under which they are handled is one which does not make for the greatest efficiency in arts of peace. That they can accomplish as much and do it as well under the conditions, is a commentary on their quality, spirit and industry.

But if this government of ours is to conduct works of peace; if it is to build roads and dams and dig canals; if it is to plan townsites and do the other things which it might not be improper to expect to have the nation do, considering what it now does for the farmer at an expense of tens of millions annually, then why, in heaven's name, can there not be established an engineering body in the federal service completely trained in the arts of peace and for the service of economic development, rather than primarily in the arts of war?

SHORT ARTICLES

RECENT CHANGES IN TOWN GOVERNMENT

BY EDWIN A. COTTRELL[1]
Wellesley, Mass.

THE original New England town retained the powers of government in the town meeting, composed of the freeholders of the town who acted as a deliberative body on all matters of town government. The administrative duties were vested in a small body of selectmen or overseers of the poor who were elected by the freeholders for short terms. Legislative and administrative discretion was lacking. The town meeting could act only upon the articles presented in the warrant and the administrative boards were limited in their actions to the directing votes of the town meeting. This form of government was applied to the small town unit and is described as the nearest approach to a pure democracy which has existed in this country. Political writers have extolled its virtues as the training ground of statesmen and despair over its decline in later years.

Many influences have been at work in the New England town to cause changes in its form of government. Local interests, geographical situation, the changing character of population and industries, the influx of foreign elements, the centralization of financial, health and educational powers in the state, and principally the rapid increase in population, have all tended to make the old system unsatisfactory and more complex.

With these changes came expanding functions, and the creation of more or less irresponsible officers, boards and commissions to perform these functions. The powers of deliberation, election of the principal officers, appropriating money, levying taxes and passing legislation were retained in the town meeting. Discretionary powers were delegated to the selectmen, supervisory boards, and some elective officers. These powers included the appointment of subordinates and determination of policies and methods of operation. With the increase in the size of the body of electors came the addition of an advisory committee of ten to forty members appointed by the moderator. The function of this committee is to go over the articles of the warrant before the town meetings and recommend reductions in the department budgets or the acceptance or rejection of legislative measures. It thus acts as an executive committee for the town meeting and presents the warrant in a more or less decided condition. This committee has also been called upon to advise the electors on questions submitted to them for decision by the legislature. The centralization of powers in state boards has made uniform the methods of operation of many of the functions of the towns. The most important and far-reaching is the unification of financial methods. This legislation includes the regulation of sources of revenue, issue of town notes under certification, and the uniform system of accounting and reporting of financial statistics.

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[1] Lecturer in government, Wellesley College; efficiency expert, Newton, Mass.; member advisory committee, Wellesley, Mass.

Two other influences have acted upon this form of government. The first and more often found is the cut and dried caucus for the nomination of elective officers. This caucus also discusses legislative action and thus places the stamp of political party affiliation upon the free deliberation of the meeting. Many of the towns now hold their election on the day regularly appointed for the annual town meeting in March or April and keep the polls open the greater part of the day. The deliberative business of the meeting is adjourned to a day one week later and in many cases three or four meetings are necessary to finish the business presented in the warrant.

The second influence is the general character of the board of selectmen. This board has too often been of the professional political element and bureaucratic in operation. There has been a lack of harmony and administrative unity between the board and the other elective officers. The members of the board are not paid for their services and can devote but a small portion of time to the town. They are usually men of no technical skill and cannot act in a supervisory capacity over their appointees. This general unpreparedness for office tends to inefficiency of operation and wasteful expenditure and leads us to the growing belief that we should first, either find a better class of men for supervisory officers, or second, abolish the election of administrative officers and place the selection of experts in the hands of the board of selectmen.

Both of these methods find expression in recent changes made in Massachusetts towns. Brookline has attempted to meet the increasing number of voters and apathy of the population by the installation of the limited town meeting. Norwood is the only town to meet the need of more efficiency by installing a town manager. Wakefield has consolidated its many boards and commissions into smaller working units. Attleboro, Leominster, Marlboro and Peabody have recently become cities and accepted one of the optional charter plans but rejecting the one providing for a city manager. Framingham is now planning to become a city. Needham and Winthrop have voted against the town manager plan. Wellesley and Winchester have well defined plans with this feature included which will be submitted for a decision in the near future. Andover, Hudson, Lexington, Longmeadow, Lynnfield, Milton, Walpole, Watertown, and West Springfield have committees at work and seem favorably impressed with the town manager plan.

A population and elector summary of the smaller cities and larger towns of Massachusetts will show the great need of immediate action along either the limited town meeting, town manager or optional municipal charter type of government.

Total number of towns in Massachusetts—207.

Under 1,000 voters	147
1,000–1,500 voters	27
1,500–2,000 voters	20
2,000–2,500 voters	7
2,500–3,000 voters	5
Over 5,000 voters	1

Total number of cities—38.

Under 3,000 voters	6
3,000– 4,000 voters	9
4,000– 5,000 voters	2
5,000–10,000 voters	11
10,000–20,000 voters	8
20,000–30,000 voters	1
Over 50,000 voters	1

Towns having over 2,000 voters—13.

	Voters	Population
Arlington	2,701	12,000
Brookline	5,478	30,000
Clinton	2,500	15,000
Framingham	2,832	15,000
Gardner	2,000	16,000
Greenfield	2,119	12,000
Milford	2,025	15,000
Natick	2,149	10,000
Wakefield	2,167	12,000
Watertown	2,609	15,000
Westfield	2,524	18,000
Weymouth	2,461	15,000
Winthrop	2,318	12,000

Cities having less than 3,000 voters—6.

	Voters	Population
Attleboro	2,745	18,000
Leominster	2,535	19,000
Marlboro	2,777	15,000
Newburyport	2,497	15,000
Peabody	2,670	17,000
Woburn	2,715	16,000

Other towns proposing changes in form of government:

	Voters	Population
Andover	1,400	7,900
Hudson	1,200	7,000
Lexington	1,000	5,000
Longmeadow	200	1,800
Lynnfield	400	1,000
Milton	1,500	8,600
Walpole	796	5,000
Watertown	2,609	15,000
Wellesley	1,184	7,000
West Springfield	1,500	11,400
Winchester	1,797	11,000

None of the towns mentioned have town halls large enough to hold more than five to nine hundred voters and a small percentage of the population might easily control the deliberations of the annual meeting. Brookline has met this problem of accommodating 5,478 voters in a hall which seats 900 by the adoption of the limited town meeting. This plan was proposed many years ago and received its trial in Newport, Rhode Island, where it displaced a small council and for ten years has struggled along in an indifferent manner. Newport as a municipality has gone backward gradually under this system and has one of the most expensive and inefficient governments of eastern cities. Brookline starts with the reduction of a large body by the selective process and might be more successful in operation. This town is unique in that its population of 30,000 with 5,500 voters makes it the largest town in the country. It votes 18.3 per cent of its population as compared with 14.5 per cent average for Massachusetts. It has an assessed valuation of one hundred and sixty millions of dollars and an annual budget of approximately one million dollars.

An act of the legislature in 1915 divided the town into eight to twelve voting precincts (nine used) and provides for the election of twenty-seven members of the limited town meeting from each precinct, nine to be elected annually for three-year terms. This makes an elective body of two hundred and forty-three precinct members to which is added twenty ex-officio members at large, consisting of the two representatives in the legislature from this town, the moderator, town clerk, five selectmen, treasurer, and the chairmen of the board of assessors, school committee, trustees of the public library, trustees of the cemetery, water board, park commission, planning board, planting trees committee, gymnasium and bath committee, and registrars of voters. This body of two hundred and sixty-three requires a majority quorum for action. It must hold open sessions at which any resident of the town may speak but not vote. The members are nominated by petition with thirty signers and a written acceptance of the candidate and serve without compensation. This body elects its own moderator, fills its own vacancies by precinct vote, and determines all the articles of the warrant. There is a provision for a referendum upon expenditures of more than twenty-five thousand dollars if the petition is filed within five days and carries the signatures of twenty voters in each precinct. I have estimated that the average town meeting attendance is between two hundred and fifty and three hundred and the limited town meeting of Brookline will undoubtedly be as representative and certainly more responsible than those usually found.

The opposite tendency of preventing inefficiency by the consolidation of functions in a town manager is found in operation in Norwood and will probably be accepted by Wellesley and Winchester during this next year. It is needless to mention the expensive and haphazard methods employed in many towns to-day. The conditions of high prices, obsolete tools, false economy, overlapping department functions and lack of skill and training are acknowledged in practically every town. The consolidation of functions and centralization of organization with the installation of good business methods seems to be the logical solution of these problems.

Norwood found itself in the worst possible condition and determined on the adoption of the town manager for the expressed purposes of inciting public interest in town affairs and of obtaining greater results for the town, at the same time reducing what was then the highest tax rate in the state. The board of selectmen is retained as the representative of the town meeting and serves without compensation. Many boards and commissions were abolished. The advisory committee continues to discuss the budget and audit the accounts. The general manager is appointed for an indefinite period by the board of selectmen. As in the city manager type of government, he may be chosen from outside the town if he be a man of merit and fitness to perform the public work and standardize the organization of the town departments. He is given full power to choose subordinates, install accounting and efficiency records, regulate wages and working conditions in the departments of highways, water, sewer, engineer, cemetery, forestry, electric light, police, fire, purchasing, school and library buildings, and supplies. Large savings have been made during the first year of operation and the manager has the expenditure of approximately one hundred thousand dollars exclusive of notes and interest out of a budget of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. A perusal of the accomplishments of the first year is somewhat misleading to one who does not know the condition of Norwood before this system was installed. Results obtained in Norwood in more efficient operation and plans for future development are of far more importance than savings in expenditures.

Wellesley proposes to return to the original form of town government by decreasing the elective or appointive officers, boards and commissions, and by concentrating the authority and responsibility of administration in the selectmen. This board is increased to five and the length of term from one to three years. The main purposes are to have a short ballot, a concentration of town records in one office, fewer salaried officers, and a single operating head all tending to a saving in operating expenses and a gain in efficiency. The main provision of this proposal is the creation of a superintendent of public works who shall be the administrative head of all the departments except fire and police, health, school and library. His functions will cover the construction, maintenance and repair of streets, parks, town buildings, playgrounds, water, light, sewers, and purchasing all supplies except library books. He is vested with power to organize the departments and divisions, appoint and remove subordinates, fix salaries and wages, and must submit estimates, an annual report and inventory.

Winchester takes the same step of consolidation of officers and boards and the addition of town manager and a finance commission. Only the selectmen, finance commission and school committee are to be elective. All other officers are appointed. The town manager has the same position and duties as the Norwood and Wellesley plans but expressed in more detailed terms. For instance, he is to keep record of all acts and publish an annual report which shall be "succinct and comprehensive." The finance commission is the advisory committee in another form. It is elected by the voters instead of being appointed by the moderator. It appoints the auditor, prepares and publishes the warrant, considers it and reports its recommendations. It collects and compiles the department estimates of income and expenditures for the budget and estimates the tax rate. It may make investigations of departments and compel attendance and testimony, and hire experts and counsel. It may investigate excessive or doubtful payrolls, bills and claims, and recommend action thereon.

Walpole is working out a plan to bring back the "cracker-barrel" discussion of the town grocery store. It is proposed to have sectional forums to discuss the matters coming before the annual town meeting and thus interest all the inhabitants of the town in its affairs. The installation of a town manager is also being favorably considered.

These changes bring the town government into direct comparison with effective business organization. The town meeting represents the shareholders, the advisory or finance committee—the executive committee, the selectmen—the directors, and the town manager—the superintendent. Scientific and business principles of budget making, accounting, reporting, records, purchasing, modern equipment and interchange of equipment and labor are possible. The expert and skilled administrator will bear the responsibility of the town's burdens by dependence upon his previous education, training and experience. Responsibility is centralized, continuity of office is possible, and more service may be obtained for the same amount of labor, equipment and expenditure. Training schools are thus established for perfecting young men in the business of public administration and inciting them to success and promotion to positions in large cities.

HOW THE COMMISSION-MANAGER PLAN IS GETTING ALONG, NO. 2[1]

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS

New York

IN THE year and a half that have elapsed since my last article on this subject, very little of new significance has happened. That fact in itself, while uninteresting, is rather important. "Happy is the land that has no history."

The situation continues to be more than satisfactory. The commission-manager plan is now five years old. In several cities it has survived elections without causing any earthquakes in the city halls. From all the cities come specific and circumstantial reports of economies effected, taxes reduced, new functions undertaken, politics eliminated and popular approval made manifest. Some of the older cities have now reached that most interesting stage where they present the fruit of their sowing in most impressive fashion. Dayton, especially, is beginning to reveal what good government really means. After you have got the politicians out of the city hall, after government ceases to mean a parcel of jobs to be contested for, after you have developed a public agency sensitive to the desires of the electorate and at the same time efficient and clean in administration; then what? The city having obtained at last a first class automobile instead of a stage-coach, where shall we drive? Does it mean merely a lower tax rate? Dayton is just beginning to answer that question by exhibiting a government which delights in undertaking high social service. Here is a city government which is beginning to undertake the responsibility of looking after the people of the city. It frankly and definitely proposes to abolish private charity within the city by gradually taking over every tested and necessary philanthropy. It tries to do something about the cost of living. It reduces infant mortality 40 per cent. It undertakes to restore human derelicts. It develops wholesome occupation for children in little farm gardens. It abandons the *laissez faire* policy and assumes responsibility for trying to make Dayton a nice place to live in. German cities look after their citizens in this way to conserve the national sinew. The job-holders in a typical American city hall have no such vision. Dayton seems likely to show how much, in human terms rather than in financial statistics, good government means.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 371.

The other commission-manager cities are still busy cleaning house, getting their finances in order, catching up with their public works problem, repairing old neglect. When they get this done, what will *they* do? Gild the dome on the city hall? Or will they call in the social worker and follow up their surveys of the administration by surveys of the people in the alleys? We know at least that Dayton, the pioneer city, is leading in the right direction, a fact which is due, I understand, largely to Dr. Garland, head of the department of public welfare under Manager Waite.

In this year and a half fifteen more cities have joined the list of commission-manager cities, *i.e.:*

Grand Rapids, Mich.	130,000	Webster City, Iowa	5,208
Alpena, Mich.	12,706	San Jose, Cal.	28,946
Santa Barbara, Cal.	11,659	Watertown, N. Y.	26,730
San Angelo, Tex.	10,321	Portsmouth, Va.	33,190
St. Augustine, Fla.	5,494	Albion, Mich.	5,833
Westerville, Ohio	1,903	Brownsville, Tex.	10,517
Elizabeth City, N. C.	8,412	Petoskey, Mich.	4,778
East Cleveland, Ohio	9,179.		

In this same interval fifteen cities adopted the commission plan and three others gave it up. In fact the commission plan has practically stopped spreading where the new plan is available and the torch has been passed on to the new plan.

The new cities, like the old, have chosen their managers in most cases from out of town. There has been one more case of transfer of managers, *i.e.*, Manager Carr of Cadillac, who was hired at increase of salary by Niagara Falls. There are several "lame ducks," managers who for one reason or another are managers no longer. Two or three of the men have unmistakably failed on their jobs.

It is still too early to tell what the average tenure of the managers is likely to be, but there is nothing to indicate that it is likely to be short or that cities will be disposed to change their managers frequently. No manager, I think, has yet lost his job as the direct or indirect result of a popular election in the town, but this may be largely due to the fact that most of the commissions have been re-elected.

Business men continue to take to the commission-manager plan like ducks to water. The old charters were subjects for lawyers to discuss. Here is something business men understand. One cannot imagine the rotary clubs all over the country discussing a charter of any other type than this.

There continues to be a tendency to make heroes of the managers. It is so much easier for the public to get a picture in their minds of one manager than of five commissioners. This tendency has its dangers. One manager, for instance, gets himself quoted at length in the daily papers nearly every day on some topic or other. Publicity is a good thing. The more a municipal government gets itself talked about, the better. But that manager would be less likely to be an issue in the next election if he would get the mayor to assume the glory—and the responsibility.

The city managers have now held their third annual convention. Of course the conventions are still small affairs but they are not as good as they ought to be. At present certain managers each take a subject, and with the aid of midnight oil and some reference books, prepare an essay, which if not actually amateurish, cannot honestly be claimed to be an authoritative contribution to the subject, for the managers are not specialists and do not pretend to be. The managers, however, can command the time and attention of the most eminent specialists in the country, and if they wish to discuss the problems of marketing municipal bonds, why waste time listening to Manager So-and-so's efforts on that subject when they can get a good wall street financier who handles bonds for hundreds of cities. The discussions that result when the expert and the theorists clash with the practical managers, who are face to face with immediate problems, would constitute real municipal reference literature of the most important sort, and the proceedings of the city managers' convention would become important, whereas now they are merely interesting. The governors' conference has developed the same idea that no one is good enough to address them but another governor, with the result that the governors' conferences have gone to seed.

The best feature of the managers' conference is the calling of the roll of cities, when the managers rise in turn and report the achievements of the past year. To a modest manager the procedure may possibly be painful, but it is a good thing for the managers and undoubtedly does much to determine the spirit of service which inspires the new profession.

Outspoken and organized hostilities to the commission-manager plan may always be expected to survive for a few years in every city, at least until there has been more than one election. In some cases the opposition controls newspapers. A reasonable amount of such opposition is a good thing, for it makes municipal officers careful to see that everything is properly and carefully explained to the public. Dayton has a delightful sheet known as the *Municipal Searchlight*, devoted exclusively to throwing mud at the government of Dayton. It says that Dayton is afflicted with expertitis, a municipal disease which I, for one, fondly hope will prove contagious. This ill-tempered little publication with its slender store of specifications and its enormous store of billingsgate furnishes to any open-minded man indisputable proof that the opposition in Dayton is terribly hard up for ammunition.

In Phœnix, Arizona, the first city manager lost his job for reasons which seem to be on the whole creditable to him, and it seemed logical to expect that his successor would be a man more amenable to political control. It has not worked out that way, however. The new manager has achieved a list of reforms which demonstrate high ability.

At Niagara Falls before the plan went into effect, the newspapers and the local political lights talked about the city managership as if it were a fat job for some local man. But the commission was true to the traditions of the plan and engaged a non-resident expert, Manager Carr of Cadillac.

In Newburgh, a rather weak commission engaged a high-class man from Cleveland. There was a legal tangle in the charter which prevented the new manager from reorganizing the city employes, and the commission removed him after he had been in office only five months, before he really got going. There was considerable indignation among the citizens and a demand for a statement of the charges. No charges were forthcoming and the commission gave no explanation. Even the manager was only able to obtain trivial excuses and justification. It was said that there had been a stormy private meeting in the councils of the local machine a short time previous because the manager "had done nothing for the Republican party." At any rate it was evident that the commission had another man in mind, a local business man and unsuccessful candidate in the election a few months previous, whom it promptly appointed.

The new manager seems to be getting more action, but I think Newburgh is one of the cities to watch.

I have saved Ashtabula for the last—Ashtabula with the unique city charter that is the ultimate ideal, with its council elected by the Hare plan of proportional representation. At the first election, this method of election caused an Italian saloon-keeper named Nick Corrado, to forge ahead of a young attorney named Rinto. Professor Hatton, who studied the election on the spot, commented that "the election of Rinto would have improved the council, but the election of Corrado made it more representative." The commission after quarreling long over the appointment of a manager, selected one of its own number who needed a job although he had no particular training for this one. He undertook at the same time to remain as a voting member of the commission. The town, of course, was properly indignant and mass meetings were held with the result that in a few days the manager withdrew, after which the commission compromised on the selection of the local postmaster, who had no special claims to fitness for the job, beyond good political connections, but who nevertheless is said to have proceeded to do well. Since this episode Corrado has been indicted for murder.

Proportional representation undertakes to guarantee to every citizen that he will have somebody of his own kind at the city hall to represent him. In achieving this purpose the Hare plan used in Ashtabula is unquestionably more scientific than the ordinary method, and its advocates have nothing to apologize for in Ashtabula. The tough element of a town is entitled to its due share of representation. But this first American demonstration of the plan in Ashtabula was almost too perfect!

NEW ORLEANS' EXPERIENCE UNDER COMMISSION GOVERNMENT

BY ETHEL HUTSON[1]

New Orleans[2]

NEW ORLEANS has just re-elected, after its first four years, her commission council. There is but one change: E. J. Glenny, a cotton broker, nominated in place of W. B. Thompson, commissioner of public utilities, who declined to run again.

When, in 1912, amendments to the city charter and the education law allowed New Orleans to replace her aldermanic council of 17 ward lieutenants by a commission council of 5, and the Orleans parish school board of 14 ward representatives by a board of 5, chosen at large, it was believed that two steps forward had been taken.

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[1] Editorial staff, the New Orleans *Item.*

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, pp. 522, 705.

True, the commission council charter had been frightfully man-handled in passage. Drawn up by the city attorney, when it became plain that some sort of commission government was demanded, it followed the old charter literally, except where it reduced the number of the council members, and made them administrative officers, elected at large. So it was painfully weak in many points, notably in its failure to give the council specific power to regulate public utilities, and in the ineffectiveness of its recall provisions.

Then, too, in electing its members and those of the school board, the reform party which had forced the passage of these laws went all to pieces. The "regular organization" (Democratic, of course) elected both bodies; but it had been forced by public pressure to nominate, instead of the old-line politicians originally slated for the posts, business men with little previous political experience, to serve both on the school board, and on the commission council with the mayor, Martin Behrman, re-elected for his third term.

The personnel of the school board has not been so constant as that of the council. Death, removals, and other circumstances have brought it about that not one of the men elected in 1912 was on the list of school directors endorsed by the regular organization for 1916; and elected, in spite of the new "non-partisan" school election law which, designed to prevent such control of the school board by the city "ring," went into effect this year.

Thus, for the fourth time, Martin Behrman, "boss of the fifteenth ward" and of the city, becomes mayor, with a council and a school board friendly to his interests; with the state administration, the national committeeman, and the four New Orleans newspapers again apparently reconciled to his rule; and the city re-financed by a $9,000,000 fifty-year serial bond issue, against which no serious fight was made except by a few women who feared it would endanger the basis of the school finances. The strong opposition of four years ago, led by John M. Parker, Governor Luther E. Hall, the New Orleans *Item*, and the *Times-Democrat*, has completely melted away. To all appearance, New Orleans is in the trough of a reactionary movement. In the election, Mayor Behrman received more votes than President Wilson; and of the three commissioners re-elected, the ablest and most progressive received the smallest number of votes!

Yet it was the record of this commissioner, E. E. Lafaye, quite as much as the parlous situation in state politics, which enabled the commission council to go into the election absolutely unopposed.

Even with a reactionary governor at Baton Rouge, had the commission council had no constructive achievements to its credit, the latent discontent over mismanaged schools, heavy municipal debts, official subservience to moneyed interests, encouragement of racing, and police incapacity—or worse—might have crystallized into active opposition.

But it was because one active, conscientious official has earned his $6,000 a year, attempted a number of genuine reforms, accomplished a few, held his colleagues in line on critical occasions, and now and then dragged them out of messes they have gotten into, that the record of the council as a whole shows up as well as it does.

Indeed, it has done better than any one dared hope. At least three of its members can point to flagrant abuses in their departments more or less rectified, and if they do not do more in the next four years, the community will be disappointed—far more than had they done nothing in their term just past.

For little was expected of any of them when they went into office in 1912. Four "shirt-front" commissioners put up at the last moment, when it was found that the heads of city hall departments originally slated to be the mayor's colleagues had records too vulnerable—the general prediction was that they would give a few hours of their time each week to the city's business, and that behind their backs the ward bosses would pull the wires and roll the logs as merrily as ever. But only one of the four—he who has dropped out this time—fulfilled this prediction. The other three have been on their jobs, kept office hours, made many obvious improvements; and one at least has achieved two big victories for the municipality and the people, against graft-entrenched corporations.

The hopeful part of the situation is that these agreeable surprises have been almost as unexpected by the commissioners themselves as by the public. They took office with the idea that they could satisfy the public and their own consciences, retain all their private business connections, and make $6,000 apiece with little personal exertion or sacrifice. Their first official act was to retain in office all the heads of municipal departments. Notoriously unfit men in the board of health, the city engineer's office, the department of public works, were kept, at their original salaries, and are still in office. It seemed as though commission government would mean simply that $24,000 a year would be paid for the "shirt-fronts" while the same old bunch drew down their same old pay and ran things as usual.

Before the new government had been in office six months, two things had become plain. One was that the commission council legislated for the city as a whole, and was swayed little by local ward boss influences. The other, that the jobs were no sinecures, after all, and that at least three of the new officials realized this.

The succeeding months have shown that the commission form of government, even under such handicaps as here, has given a free hand to the active, honest, capable official; that, under it, even the less aggressive type of man has felt responsibilities he could not shirk; and that a professional politician like Mayor Behrman has been brought to support his more progressive colleagues even at the cost of certain valuable political alliances.

It has been the two younger members of the commission who have led the way, and won the admiration of the community, including political opponents. And the youngest and least politically experienced of all, like the youngest brother in the fairy tales, who wins the leadership by performing the despised and impossible tasks, has set the pace for the others.

Commissioner Newman, who has had (in the department of public safety) the fire and police departments and the board of health under him; and Commissioner Lafaye, who (as head of the department of public property) has had charge of streets, markets, parks, bridges, cemeteries, public buildings, the municipal repair plant, garbage disposal, and the city engineer's and city architect's offices, were both ambitious and energetic, as well as young. Mr. Newman is not yet forty-five, Mr. Lafaye but thirty-six. They belong to the type of young men going into politics in all parts of the country now, with a new vision of the possibilities of public service.

They responded like thoroughbreds to the public demand that the commission council should give the city a "business administration" and set to work to bring efficiency and honesty out of the chaos of negligence—and worse—which they found.

When they went into office in December, 1912, each was asked by *The Item* how much time he expected to devote to the city's work. Commissioner Lafaye, who as youngest had allowed the others to choose their portfolios, and had been assigned the most difficult and exacting, public property, replied:

"As much as may be necessary." In August, 1913, he resigned his position with the wholesale grocery firm which had employed him for 20 years, and gave up other business connections, making a considerable financial sacrifice.

"It was a matter of honor," he explained to his friends. "I had promised when I ran for office to serve four years, and to give such time as might be necessary. I did not know it would take all my time, but I see now it will." None of the other departments have proved so exacting—but none of the other commissioners has accomplished so much.

At his office or on the streets, from 9 a.m. or earlier till 5 p.m. or later, every day, often on Sundays, and many times late into the night, this energetic young business man has card-indexed with his own hand all the facts and figures he needs to know, to keep each detail of his big department under his fingers.

"If I had some one else to do it, I should not learn my lesson," is his excuse. Unexpected inspections of street-cleaning gangs or markets at midnight or at 5 a.m., long hours of figuring over electric rates, conferences with experts on city planning, or with market-gardeners and butchers on market conditions—these lengthen his hours of work far beyond routine requirements. His 'phone is always busy, his mail two or three times as great as that of the whole city hall used to be.

His native diplomacy has enabled him to put through measures in state and city legislation which would normally have roused opposition from one side or the other. "We hadn't the heart to kill that clever young chap's bill," some of the country legislators who usually go gunning for all city measures are reported to have said. He is equally successful in enlisting the support of his colleagues in the council or on other boards when he has something constructive to propose, because he does not espouse a plan until he has looked into its details and is sure it is feasible.

In his subordinates, too, he inspires a new ambition and fresh energy. Suave, courteous to all, especially to his inferiors; eager, nervous, sensitive to praise or blame, yet able to hold his course in the face of unjust and violent criticism, he is by far the most promising of the five men who hold the destinies of New Orleans in their hands. Some say he is the most dangerous.

For, mercurial though he seems, he keeps his own counsel, schemes deeply, bargains shrewdly, waits his time like a cat, and has swept out of power influences that long swayed the city's affairs. And this without active support from newspapers or any political ally.

Half a dozen herculean tasks has this young official undertaken; and in some he has been measurably successful.

"To pull New Orleans out of the mud," as he put it, was the first: and this he is doing literally, by reforming the paving law, once an invitation to corruption; and by bringing the municipal repair plant, long a scandal, and the street-cleaning department, up to a certain efficiency. He has thrice routed the combined forces of the paving contractors and driven them to reduce their prices. His paving law, while still open to criticism, has accomplished, under his vigilance, nearly all that he expected, reduced the cost of paving, and relieved the city of a burden which it could no longer bear.

After three years' bargaining, he has made a ten-year contract with the local lighting and power monopoly, by which the rates of small consumers are reduced about one-third, and the city secures its municipal lighting upon much more favorable terms, which will leave her, at the end of the ten years, able to dictate instead of being dictated to.

These are the two out-standing achievements. He has, besides, placed the departments of the city on a business basis in the purchase of supplies; kept the city noticeably cleaner than it has ever been kept before; handled the enormous accumulation of rubbish that was routed out by the clean-up campaign that followed the mild outbreak of bubonic plague here in 1914; revised the market ordinances so as to encourage the building of modern, sanitary markets.

His attempts to improve the public markets have been hampered by lack of funds and of intelligent co-operation; yet he has done something, and New Orleans has six of its thirty-odd public markets screened and partly modernized.

He has improved the conditions under which the city's waifs are cared for, but has not yet carried out his project of a permanent home for them along modern lines. Nor has he been able yet to beautify Canal street according to a plan he has for harmonizing the demands of present-day commercial life with the distinctive architectural features of the local past.

"A typical French creole," men called him in the beginning—a phrase that on the lips of the New Orleans business man is synonymous with picturesque, polite inefficiency. They see now that he is a creole who has reverted to the type of those adventurous ancestors who followed Iberville and Bienville to build New Orleans in a morass, who legislated with Carondelet, who fought under Jackson and Beauregard. In their spirit, and with all their gay daring, he checkmates corporation lawyers, defies political bosses, outbargains business men, persuades legislatures and levee boards into big constructive plans.

Equally ambitious is Commissioner Newman, and he, too, has done much to make New Orleans better to live in. He also has a genial personality, and inspires the men under him to increased efficiency and enthusiasm. His first outstanding achievements were a successful two years' fight to raise the assessment of the New Orleans railway and lighting company, and a reorganization of the methods and to some extent of the personnel of the recorders' courts.

He has made the police and the fire departments more efficient and more self-respecting, and given active aid in the enforcement of sanitation and safety laws. In fact, he has been a conspicuous leader in the nation-wide movement for securing better regulation of street traffic. But his reforms have been of the easy, superficial sort. He has made no real fight on fundamental evils.

Commissioner A. G. Ricks has been conscientious, but not aggressive, in the administration of the department of public finance. A modern system of book-keeping installed in the comptroller's department has removed a number of the weird entries that used to make its reports funny as a page of *Puck*. It is now possible to compare consecutive annual reports and gain some idea of the state of the city's finances. But there is not yet a complete account of the reserve fund, whose unaccounted-for balances, in the last eight years, must have totalled more than $200,000. And the budget is made only to be ignored.

Whereas in other cities it is claimed that commission government has brought drastic economies, here the best that can be said of its financial results is that it has revealed the staggering debts piling up under its own and former administrations. Prior to 1913, these were concealed by deceptive book-keeping, which masked a deficit of $600,000 laid bare when the books were audited just after the commission council was elected.

That deficit has grown to $1,350,000. It will be refunded if the bonds recently authorized are sold, and the city will start next year, it is promised, on a cash basis.

If it is to remain so, however, the commission council will have to put into effect some economies, and not continue, as in the past four years, to boost payrolls year by year. Almost the only sums listed under the head of "salaries," that have shown no increases under the commission council, have been those of the "inspector of prisons and asylums" and the "factories inspector"—who both happen to be women and not voters.

Tangles of litigation with the public belt and other bodies, strangling of the jitneys by an unreasonably high bond requirement, and a total lack of progressive activity in any field, make up the record of the commissioner of public utilities who dropped out this fall. His last important official act was to father a wholly ineffectual law creating a "public utilities commission" which so far has done just what it was expected to do—nothing!

Mayor Behrman, four times chosen by the electorate, is a typical ward boss: shrewd, generous with the people's money (and his own, too, it is said), scrupulous to keep the letter of his word once given, but capable of ruthless double-crossing, he holds his own, though shorn of much political power by the commission form—holds it by his ability to use abler and more scrupulous men.

Ward boss power is still entrenched firmly in its ultimate stronghold, the board of assessors, and the result of the election, which gave enormous "instructed" majorities for measures of a reactionary character, is believed to place genuine equalization of taxation fully eight years off.

THE BUFFALO CHARTER

BY MELVIN P. PORTER
Buffalo, N. Y.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION

THE long fight for a new charter for Buffalo became active in 1909 with the city's request by referendum for the submission of a commission charter. Early in 1910 a bill was introduced at Albany which contained the following ten important provisions:

(A) POWER CENTERED

(1) *in a single council of five,* executive as well as legislative,
(2) *in each member as head of a department,*

(B) CONTROL BY THE VOTERS

secured through, (*Prior to Election*)

(3) *a short ballot,* permitting intelligent voting,
(4) *preferential voting,* selection as well as election by the voters,
(5) *election at large,* control by *all* the voters,

(*After Election*)

(6) *the referendum,* voters' veto for misrepresentative acts,
(7) *the initiative,* voters' power to compel desired acts,
(8) *the recall,* voters' earlier replacement of a bad official,
(9) *publicity,* of meetings, etc., involving simple rules of procedure,
(10) *appointments subject to the merit system.*

This request of the city was flouted by its representatives in Albany in 1910. The municipal league published their records and insisted upon charter pledges in each campaign, and the voters kept on replacing them until by 1914 three fourths of the legislators from the county were pledged to "do all in their power" for submission. Then the legislature submitted a charter stripped of preferential voting, the initiative and the recall. This charter was accepted by the voters by 15,000 majority.

But we believe that good city government is based on two things: Centering of power permitting business to be done, or efficiency and control by the voters, insuring that business be done for the public interest, or democracy. Therefore, recognizing that our new charter is decidedly lacking in control by voters, the municipal league has kept right on fighting along the same old line of pledging candidates and submitting bills to give Buffalo the right to vote on the initiative, the recall and preferential voting. Last winter every assemblyman from our county begged the committee on cities to approve the bills, which had been indorsed by the city council and by 20 business men's associations, but the committee obeyed the bosses who see in these bills peculiar danger to the invisible government. All but two of the twelve state legislators elected this month from our county are pledged to "do all in their power" for these bills which will again be introduced at the opening of the next legislature and the fight will go on till victory is won and Buffalo has a charter with both centered power and control by the voters. Then it will rest with its citizens to make actual the good government thus made possible.

OPERATION OF CHARTER

January 1, 1916, the new charter became effective with a mayor holding over for two years from the old charter and four new councilmen elected through a non-partisan direct primary from 46 candidates.

While it is too early to judge the operation of the new charter, I believe there is general satisfaction with the conduct of all the departments, except the schools, which have been widely criticized. They had been grossly mismanaged under the divided authority of the old charter and the lack of the merit system of appointment of teachers. The new charter provided for a board of education appointed by the council on nomination of the mayor, and removable by the council, but unfortunately failed to give the board the appointment of the superintendent of education. To this board the council delegated practically all the power it could over the schools.

Instead of using its large powers to put the schools on the merit system to encourage the wider use of the school buildings and to make adequate plans for the coming school year, the board indulged in quarrels among members, and sought more power for itself and for four months ignored the communications from the commissioner at the head of the department. Then the council last July transferred the business affairs from the board to the commissioner, but left the board in charge of educational affairs. Since then more progress has been made in the schools, but no solution is to be expected until the powers of the board are clearly understood, until many incompetents developed by the old system are dismissed and the supply shut off by applying the merit system of appointment. Last February the municipal league urged the council when making school ordinances to compel the appointment of teachers from the three highest on the eligible list, just as the law requires in all other city departments. The council avoided the issue by turning the question over to the board, which has failed to act.

Unless the board renders better service it may be wise to change to the St. Paul plan of managing the schools directly like any other department in a commission city.

Under the old charter the parks were largely under the control of a park board, which, like our other numerous unpaid boards, did not give sufficient time to the city to understand the public needs. Now the parks are controlled under the council by a commissioner, who at small cost has greatly increased public recreation through ball and tennis grounds, swimming and skating facilities, street dancing and improved band concerts.

For the health department a sanitary code is being adopted which had been held up for six years under the old council.

The department of public works controls the largest amount of patronage and was a source of great criticism under the old charter. The municipal league and the chamber of commerce had scored its head severely for causing the spending of several millions of money in an unnecessary pumping station, and for using patronage to control the board of aldermen and to build up a political machine. This machine was strong enough to re-elect him repeatedly under the old charter and to nominate but not to elect under the new charter.

For instance, he had many clerks listed as assistant foremen or laborers because they could not pass the civil service examination for clerks. A few weeks after the new charter became effective, the new commissioner required the civil service commission to list those doing clerical work as clerks in so far as they had become competent through experience. The others, numbering about 70, he dismissed. He also abolished the useless waste and leak gang, of about 26 men. The old commissioner and the old council had grossly neglected the painting and repairing of several viaducts crossing railway tracks. The matter is now being taken up. This neglect will cost the city about $380,000 in replacing two viaducts.

It was found that various firms had been permitted by the old government to escape payment of their water tax for fire connections. Such firms are now being required to pay eight years' back tax. Inspection has been made of water connections throughout the city as a basis on which to figure rates more equitably, in order to make the water bureau self-sustaining.

In the department of finance and accounts, the new charter has made possible a prompt completion of a careful examination of all real estate. Real estate is assessed on the basis of a modified Somers system. It is expected that the new assessment rolls this winter will show about $125,000,000 increased valuation. About one fifth of it is made up of equipment and machinery heretofore untaxed, which the law requires to be taxed as real estate. The rest of the increase is due to more equitable assessments without any general increase throughout the city. In the last six years under our old charter the city tax rate increased 37 per cent and the bonded debt 65 per cent without adequate returns to the taxpayers. The tax rate had practically reached the legal limit. The tax rate under the new council for the fiscal year beginning last July maintained this high level of about 3 per cent on a valuation of perhaps 70 per cent. Much of this high tax rate was due to debts left over from the old government which had been in the habit of leaving large deficits from the preceding year, rather than facing them and making an honest tax rate. It is expected that the tax rate for the next fiscal year will be materially lower, due to the above increase in valuation, and to some saving in expenditures. Besides we expect to have a good deal more to show for our money.

The new council is paying off old bonds when they mature rather than reissuing them as had frequently been done under the old government. For several years all new issues of bonds have been in serial form.

The five city departments have co-operated without evidence of the log-rolling so common under our old charter. There has been no criticism of lack of co-operation of the bureaus in any of the various departments except in the case of the schools.

I believe the public generally considers the new government a great improvement. Business is transacted much more quickly. For instance, in the morning, a call came to the commissioner for a 300-foot pipe extension. In the afternoon the city engineer examined the situation and within four days the council had approved and the work had been begun. Under the old charter such a matter would probably have gone the rounds of the board of aldermen, reference to a committee, return to the board, reference to the councilmen and possible committee action there, and then reference to the mayor. All new matters had to run this gauntlet. I found it no easy course when securing public playgrounds.

The new council holds weekly public hearings where any citizen may address the entire council sitting as a committee of the whole. Each commissioner is on duty daily and accessible to all. The old aldermen and councilmen were on duty only a few hours at meetings once or twice a week.

The council decides too many important measures in secret conference, subject to ratification at the public meeting. For instance, how can the voters know the real attitude of each councilman on the street car rate investigation below, as indicated in the discussion and votes in the secret conference? How can they know whether the unanimous vote at the public meeting included a minority, who at the secret conference opposed a rate investigation and would still oppose if they had prospect of winning?

The new council has guarded the city's interests much better than the old in dealing with public service corporations. The independent telephone company here has not prospered and has just made a deal to sell out to the Bell, which required the consent of the city. The new council in giving consent finally imposed conditions vastly more favorable to the city than it had been accustomed to get from the old common council, or than were asked for by the chamber of commerce and the newspapers, though some requirements were omitted which many citizens thought should have been insisted on.

Our referendum was first used this November through a large petition to veto the council's action. This petition was secured by volunteer workers for the central council of business men's associations and the central labor council and no money was spent for publicity. The telephone interests, after failing to get the courts to throw out the petition, spent large sums for many half-page newspaper advertisements, for circulars to voters and for poll workers. They were aided by numerous editorials in all the local press and by the chamber of commerce. The voters sustained the council by 8 per cent majority in a vote which was 70 per cent of that cast for governor.

It would cost the city about $50,000 to defend before the public service commission, an action brought by the street railway company to secure a large reduction in its assessment. Our corporation counsel advised using the same evidence to convince the commission that the city was entitled to a car fare of less than five cents. All proposals to reduce street car fares were laughed out of court by the old aldermen. But the new council, after some hesitation, unanimously approved the plan of the corporation counsel, who believes he can prove that it does not cost the company two-thirds more to carry a street car passenger in Buffalo, than it does in her nearest neighbors, Toronto, Cleveland and Detroit.

THE PROPOSED NEW CHARTER OF ALAMEDA

BY WILLIAM J. LOCKE[1]
San Francisco, Cal.

OUT in California, a new charter was recently drawn for the city of Alameda, which contains a number of novel and interesting features worthy of the most thoughtful consideration. By way of introduction I will state that the constitution of California provides that any city of 3,500 population may elect a board of fifteen freeholders to frame a charter for its own government, or having a charter already, may, by the same method, frame a new one.

The present charter of the city was adopted in 1906. It was prepared without that care and consideration which the importance of such a matter requires, and time showing it to be defective in several particulars, a general demand arose about two years ago for a new instrument of more modern design, finally resulting in the council calling an election for fifteen freeholders to frame the desired instrument.

Profiting by past experience, the citizens decided to take every precaution against the election of incompetent men. Accordingly, an organization was formed, with the chamber of commerce and other civic bodies as a nucleus. Their efforts were so successful that there was practically no opposition to their candidates, with the result that a board of freeholders was secured of exceptionally high character and ability.

After their election, the board organized and went to work in a scientific manner collecting data, inviting the suggestions of experts, and proceeding with that system most conducive to the accomplishment of successful results. The charter was finally completed and signed October 25, and it will be submitted for adoption at a special election called for the eighth of January.

One of the most interesting features of the proposed charter is its brevity, the freeholders having taken special pains to avoid the use of all unnecessary verbiage. For example, the general powers of the city are expressed in a single paragraph, without enumeration or specification. Among other things it is provided that the city council shall consist of five members, one of whom shall be chosen by his colleagues to preside, serving also as ex-officio mayor, without any veto, however, or other additional powers except those of a ministerial character, such as are involved in the signing of warrants and representing the city in ceremonial functions, excepting also, however, that in case of riot or extraordinary emergency he shall be the executive head of the city with supreme control of the police department.

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[1] Executive secretary of the league of California municipalities.

The charter provides also for the use of the preferential system of election. Members of the council are to hold office for four years except those first elected, in which case the two receiving the lowest vote shall serve for two years only. The only other elective officers are the auditor, who shall be ex-officio assessor, the treasurer, who shall be ex-officio tax collector, and a police judge; thus providing a short ballot, as not more than six offices are required to be filled at any one time after the first election.

The council shall appoint a city clerk, also a city attorney, and in order to give a large assurance of continuity in office, provision is made that neither of the two officials mentioned can be removed except by a four-fifths vote.

The work of administration is to be under the supervision and control of a city manager appointed by the council. No residential qualification is required of the manager, and in order to safeguard as far as possible his dismissal for political reasons, it is provided that he cannot be removed except by a four-fifths vote of the entire council. It is also provided that no councilman shall in any manner attempt to influence the city manager in the making of appointments or purchase of supplies, a violation of this provision operating as a forfeiture of office.

The city manager is to appoint the city engineer, street superintendent and other subordinate officers of administration not otherwise provided for, also the chief of police, fire chief, health officer, a board of social service, a board of public utilities, and director of parks and playgrounds.

Now then, there are two provisions contained in the Alameda charter which, so far as known, are absolutely without precedent in this country, provisions, the novelty of which is only exceeded by their value and importance. The first, for want of a better name, has been entitled "publicity of candidates" and it is designed to provide a means whereby the electors may ascertain from a reliable source something of the comparative qualifications of the different candidates.

Where nominations are made by political parties, it is understood that the party stands sponsor for its nominees, a responsibility, however, of rather uncertain value. Be that as it may, partisan nominations for municipal elections were abolished in California ten years ago, on the theory that a man's views on the tariff or any other national question do not affect in any manner his qualifications for holding a municipal office. Consequently, candidates for municipal office in California have their names printed on the ballot without any party designation, and the electors are obliged to ascertain their comparative qualifications from newspapers more or less biased or from other unreliable sources.

In the proposed new charter of Alameda this defect is remedied by a requirement that every candidate shall furnish to the city clerk, at his own expense, printed copies of a verified statement as to his residence, place of birth, present occupation, what public office he has held, if any, and whether he is a taxpayer of the city. He may also give such other information regarding his experience and qualifications as might assist the electors to estimate his fitness to fill the office. Such statement shall contain also the names of not more than twenty residents of the city to whom the candidate refers the electors for further information as to his ability and character. Also, it shall have printed thereon a photo-engraving of the candidate, and he shall supply sufficient copies to the city clerk to enable one to be sent to each voter with the sample ballot.

This plan of publicity will, in the opinion of its proponents, enable the stay-at-home citizen to make a more intelligent selection. Moreover, it simply requires the candidate for an elective office to give the same character of information which would be required of him if he were seeking an appointment under the federal civil service or in a private corporation. Should not the public be entitled to know from the candidate himself something of his past experience and training? Heretofore the policy has been to let the people find it out the best they can.

Too well do we all know that under our present system of election it is not the man of ability and training, but rather the "good fellow" who invariably wins at the polls, due in a large measure to the fact that heretofore the people have had no means of ascertaining the comparative qualifications of the various candidates. We believe that the average citizen wants good government and that he will vote for the best men whenever you provide him with a reliable method for ascertaining who are the best men.

The other novel feature of the Alameda charter relates to the provisions for exercising the "recall." There has been much justifiable complaint against the "recall" from various parts of the country, and it will be universally conceded that some provision should be made to prevent a disgruntled minority from forcing a recall election against the wishes of the majority. In most states it is provided that upon the filing of a petition by a small percentage of the voters, a municipality is compelled to go through the turmoil and expense of a special election, and the official attacked is required to go through another political campaign and fight for his office all over again.

In California we have felt for some time that the basic machinery for invoking the "recall" is not set on a firm foundation. For illustration, it is provided that action shall be taken by the council upon the filing of a "petition," and all of us know that the average "petition" is not a document of very much significance. People will sign petitions without reading them, often to accommodate a friend, sometimes to get rid of a bore, and again to enable the circulator to earn the ten cents frequently paid for each signature. In several California cities these objections have been overcome in a large measure by providing that copies of the petition shall be deposited for a stipulated period in certain public places to receive signatures, notice of the fact first being given by publication. It is conceded that if a citizen will take the trouble to go out of his way to the place where a petition has been deposited to receive signatures, it is a pretty good indication that such a petition will reflect the true sentiment of the signers. And after all, is there anything unreasonable in such a provision? Is there any more reason why we should circulate a petition than circulate the ballot box on election day? However, on account of the large number of commuters living in Alameda, it was felt that in that particular case the plan of depositing petitions would make the recall practically prohibitive, so it was provided instead that petitions should be circulated, but only by sworn verification deputies. In addition to this provision it is required also that all copies of the petition shall have a parallel column provided in which those who oppose the special election or favor the retention of the official, may also attach their signatures. In other words, the petition is so arranged as to enable the voters to sign for or against the recall; and it is provided that the proponents of the recall must not only secure the required percentage of signatures but they must also secure more signatures than those opposed to the proposition, otherwise no special election will be called.

In most of our states the recall law gives the minority a right which it denies to the majority. The signature of one citizen, like his vote, should have no more weight than the signature of another citizen; yet under present laws 20 or 25 per cent of the voters may call a special election, notwithstanding the fact that the remaining 75 per cent may be opposed to it.

The proposed new charter for Alameda has been indorsed by the leading political factions now existing in that city, wherefore its adoption on the eighth of January next is practically a foregone conclusion.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN ASHTABULA

BY WILLIAM E. BOYNTON

Ashtabula, Ohio

WE HAD some rather unpleasant experiences in putting the city manager plan of government into operation in Ashtabula with our council of seven members elected by the Hare system of proportional representation. I do not believe, however, that we had any worse time if as bad, as that experienced in Sandusky with a commission of five members elected by the ordinary at-large plan.

While some of our Ashtabula people blame proportional representation, it is generally admitted that at bottom the cause of our trouble was that so few broad-minded, capable men were willing to become candidates for the council and that so few people took the interest they should have done in trying to get men of this kind to serve as councilmen. Perhaps one reason for this was that the people were not fully awake to the opportunity which the proportional method affords for the election of first-class men. I know of at least one very capable citizen, the superintendent of one of our largest industries, who has said, since the election, that if he had known that it only took about 300 or 400 votes to elect a member of the council he should have offered himself as a candidate, for he felt sure he would easily have received that many votes.

Another thing which stood in the way of the manager plan starting in at its best was that the people had not been educated up to the idea of putting the city managership on a professional basis. The fact is that the charter was adopted in Ashtabula without a single dollar being spent to educate the people as to the purposes and advantages of the new plan. The prevailing sentiment among all classes, business men as well as workingmen, was that we should not go outside the city for a manager. If public sentiment had favored going outside for a man who was an expert in municipal matters, I believe our representative council would have made a creditable selection without much trouble.

A further condition which was bound to cause more or less friction, regardless of the method of electing the council, was that numerous wet and dry elections had divided the people into opposing factions to such an extent that municipal elections had come to be in the main simply contests between the wets and drys for the control of the city government. In order that you may understand something of the extent to which this wet and dry factionalism entered into city matters in which it really had no part, I will mention an incident that occurred during the term I served as president of the council.

An ordinance had been passed by the council granting the Nickel Plate railway the right to put in a switch track for the use of a local coal dealer who happened also to be the chairman of the "county dry committee." The interests of the city were fully protected by the ordinance but in order to injure the dry leader the wet element held up the ordinance by a referendum petition and succeeded in having it voted down at the election, thus causing the dry coal dealer a great amount of inconvenience and unnecessary expense.

It was this wet and dry strife which was the immediate cause of the trouble our council had in appointing a manager.

The council was divided on this basis into three drys, three wets or liberals and one socialist who claimed to be neutral but really favored the liberal side. The trouble started when the three drys held a caucus and decided that for manager they would support a local man then director of public service.

Dr. Hogan, then president of the council and one of the leading members of the council-elect, was so incensed by the action of these three members in meeting by themselves and deciding on a man for manager instead of waiting for a meeting of all the councilmen, that he blocked the appointment of the service director, when this meeting was held, by nominating Fred Briggs, one of the councilmen-elect.

Briggs, who was badly in need of a job at the time, had been a member of the council for several years having been twice previously elected as councilman-at-large under the old form. It was well known in political circles that Briggs had aspired to the mayor's office, but before his ambition was realized, the office was abolished by the adoption of the charter. The council was now deadlocked as the socialist member refused to vote with either faction until the night before the new council was to be seated when he voted with Briggs, Corrado and Hogan, who represented the liberal faction, for Briggs.

The people made such a vigorous and continued protest against Briggs getting the appointment by the aid of his own vote that he finally declined the appointment and retained his seat in the council. Another short period of deadlock now ensued which was broken on January 24 by the socialist member voting on the one-hundredth ballot with the three liberals for Warren Prine, a local man of considerable executive ability but with no training or experience in municipal matters.

The performance of the council in appointing a manager can hardly be said to afford an argument in favor of the method by which this council was elected, but it would be as unreasonable and unfair to condemn proportional representation on this account as it would be to condemn the referendum because of the use which was made of it in Ashtabula.

The factional spirit which appeared to dominate the council to a large extent during the making of appointments seemed to disappear with the appointment of Mr. Prine as manager by the vote of Briggs, Corrado, Earlywine and Hogan. From that time until the present not a single measure has been passed by the vote of these four councilmen with the other three opposing. Most of the important ordinances have been passed by a unanimous vote. On measures regarding which the council was divided the deciding majority has not been composed of the same members twice in succession. It can now fairly be said that the experience in Ashtabula has proved that it is entirely possible for a council elected by the proportional method and composed of representatives of the different and opposing elements in a community to work together for the best interests of the city as harmoniously as could be desired.

The work of the council since the appointment of the manager has met with general approval. Only one ordinance has had any open opposition. This was an ordinance providing for the regulation and licensing of boxing exhibitions. In the past such exhibitions have been held without any authority of law and overlooked by the city authorities. Representatives of the ministerial association were present at the second reading of this ordinance and protested against its passage but it was passed by a vote of four to two, one member being absent.

The church people held up the ordinance by a referendum until the recent election when it was approved by the voters by a vote of 1,785 for and 1,432 against. This would seem to indicate that the sentiment of the people on questions of this character is pretty fairly represented in the council.

I have watched the proceedings of the council pretty closely and believe that it seldom if ever makes a decision on any question that would not be upheld by a majority of the people of the city.

Regarding the administration in Ashtabula I would say that our city manager is one of those men who have the faculty of getting things done. We had a good illustration of this during "clean-up week" last spring. Previous administrations had made attempts to carry out the clean-up day idea, but it had always been mostly a failure. Under Mr. Prine's leadership the people entered into the spirit of the occasion and "clean-up day" was a great success, the idea being carried out on a scale never before known in Ashtabula.

For city solicitor, we have an able and experienced attorney, and this adds greatly to the strength and efficiency of our administrative organization. In the past, Ashtabula has nearly always had some young, inexperienced lawyer as city attorney, the people electing a new one every two years in order to give the young man a start in life.

Under the mayor and council plan there were quite a number of offices that did not afford an opportunity to earn the salary connected with the office. It was mainly the desire to remedy this condition that made the people of Ashtabula favor the adoption of the charter.

Some of these offices have been combined and others abolished so that the work which was formerly distributed among sixteen different offices is now covered by nine, including that of city manager.

While salaries have been increased to some extent, the net result has been a reduction of over 20 per cent in salary cost.

In common with other cities that have adopted the manager plan, Ashtabula has a good degree of efficiency and economy in city government and, may I add, Ashtabula has also secured democracy in government by adopting proportional representation and having a council of seven members.

STATE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE MEETINGS[1]

BY WILLIAM PARR CAPES[2]
Albany, N. Y.

IF ORGANIZATION and co-operation will wipe out the stigma which has been placed upon American municipal government, we are in a fair way to make the city the most efficient unit of our government, for we are rapidly assembling and setting up the machinery which is linking together all American municipalities into one compact working force. We at least are determined to give the theory of co-operation a fair trial, and whether it fails or not we can never be accused by future generations of procrastination. Its success, however, is already being indicated by the results of the labors of the various organizations and the effects of these results on individual municipalities.

During the past year the mobilization of municipal forces in the United States has gone steadily forward until now we have fifty municipal leagues —national, state, inter-state and intra-state. The activity of this organized force is now a prominent factor in the effort underway in all sections to raise the standard of municipal service.

Our municipal organization is not yet complete, but the progress we have made in the last seventeen years has been remarkable. The United States to-day has three national municipal organizations and Canada one.[3] Thirty-two states have organized their municipalities into leagues or kindred bodies.[4] With the exception of the New England states all sections of the United States have been quite thoroughly organized, those states which have not yet organized being scattered. But even in some of these the seed of co-operation has already been planted by the organization of either inter-state or intra-state associations.[5] Of the fifty organizations now devoting their time and effort exclusively to city welfare, five were established during the last year, the Cloverland association, the leagues of New Jersey, North Idaho and New Mexico and the mayors' association of the South Atlantic and Gulf states. Canada has nine provincial leagues. All national bodies are active and the majority of the state and provincial leagues are alert and aggressive to help their cities. Only a few have not yet realized their opportunity. To complete our plan we need to prod these, to organize the cities in the few states which have no leagues and either to establish or to designate a central co-ordinating body which will act as a clearing house for all the organizations, especially the state bodies.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 66.

[2] Secretary, New York state conference of mayors and other city officials.

[3] The National Municipal League, the League of American Municipalities, the American Society for Municipal Improvement and the Union of Canadian Municipalities.

[4] Indiana, North Carolina, Texas, New York, South Carolina, Alabama, Ohio, Mississippi, Louisiana, North Dakota, Colorado, Tennessee, Arkansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Utah, Michigan, Montana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Connecticut, New Jersey, Nebraska, California, Iowa, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Washington, Wisconsin, Virginia, New Mexico.

[5] Association of commission-governed cities of South Dakota, league of third class cities in Pennsylvania, North Idaho municipal league, the mayors' association of the South Atlantic and Gulf states, Cloverland association of municipalities embracing the cities of upper Michigan and the league of Northwest municipalities.

The general work of the organizations during the year has been about the same as in previous years, with the exception that here and there some extraordinary activity has been undertaken to meet some exceptional or local condition. All have held annual meetings at which almost every municipal activity and various phases of each have been discussed by experts and city officials. The reports of the committees working during the year on particular municipal problems have been received and acted upon. Legislation to meet municipal needs has been drafted and advocated, and some has been enacted into laws. The leagues have taken both the offensive and the defensive in their legislative work, and their effort to defeat objectionable legislation has been quite as important as the remedial legislation they have sought. It has also been more successful.

Most of the leagues have issued printed reports of their annual meetings and these have increased the volume of the municipal library which these organizations are gradually building up in America. Some leagues have regular publications, Minnesota being added to this list during the year. These are Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington, Texas, California, Carolina, Louisiana, Kansas, Iowa and New York and the Union of Canadian Municipalities and the National Municipal League. Two others contemplate the establishment of publications this year.

In addition to the propaganda and legislative work, sixteen leagues either have maintained bureaus of information or have co-operated with some university in operating such an institution. These are the leagues in California, Illinois, Iowa, New York, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, Texas, Washington, Northwest municipalities, Wisconsin, Minnesota and the League of American Municipalities and the National Municipal League. New Jersey's bureau was established during the year, and the unique experiment begun in 1915 by the New York state conference of mayors and other city officials has been declared by the cities in that state to be a success. The state bureau of municipal information, which the empire state cities established to test the practicability of a co-operating plan of obtaining municipal data, has, therefore, become a permanent institution and is now being operated on an extensive scale. This is significant, for New York has demonstrated that cities will liberally use and support an institution of this kind, and that a bureau exclusively for the use of city officials can be made to stand on its own feet without outside support. The empire state cities have blazed an important trail. Oklahoma is starting the same way as did New York. The president, vice-president and secretary of that western league have perfected plans to make a tour of the cities of the state this year for the purpose of studying municipal conditions and gathering data for the establishment of a bureau of information.

The discussions at the annual meetings of the organizations have made available a vast amount of valuable data. A review of these and a comparison with the work of previous years shows that the variety of subjects and phases of general problems about which cities are thinking are increasing. Several new problems were added to the programs of the leagues last year, among them being proportional representation, traffic regulations, civil service and fire insurance rates. Each of these subjects has been discussed by one or two leagues in the past, but during 1916 consideration of them became quite general.

In almost every section of the country seven municipal problems have been discussed within the year. These are paving and paving materials, city planning, public health, taxation and assessment, home rule and municipal accounting and financing. During 1916 particular attention was given to paving, public health and taxation problems. A most pronounced gain in popularity was made by city planning. The western and some of the southern cities still continue to lead in the discussion of municipal ownership and public utility rates.

At least four states, Missouri, Wisconsin, Michigan and North Carolina, are studying commission government and have discussed this subject at their annual meetings. Nearly all of the Canadian organizations and all of the national organizations in the United States have considered the several forms of government under which cities are now working, particularly the commission and the commission-manager.

Home rule still occupies a prominent part of the discussion in Missouri, New Jersey, Michigan, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois and New York. And, judging by the legislation sought by leagues, the subject should receive serious consideration in several other states. When cities have to seek legislative authority to build stockades on municipally owned property outside their limits, it is about time that they thought about increasing their powers by constitutional amendment. New York again asked for legislative approval of a home rule constitutional amendment and failed. Its sponsors, however, were encouraged by the popular support which the measure received. Plans have been completed to renew the campaign this year.

Municipal accounting and financing are live problems in every state, but constructive work has been undertaken during the year in Missouri, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Idaho, California, Iowa, Kansas, New York, and

Wisconsin. Uniform accounting systems and uniform bond laws are the remedial measures now being sought, New York, Kansas and Wisconsin being interested in bond legislation and several states in uniformity in accounting. The state comptroller, co-operating with the New York conference, perfected during the year an accounting system for the third class cities in that state, and he is now installing the system in the forty-eight municipalities in that class. When this work is completed all empire state cities, with the exception of the three first class municipalities, New York, Buffalo and Rochester, will be working under approved uniform systems, as a uniform plan is already in effect in the second class cities.

The national and state leagues have not been far behind the few progressive American cities which are investigating the practicability of the activated sludge method of sewage disposal. The American Society of Municipal Improvements had an exhaustive discussion of the process at its recent annual meeting. The leagues of Texas, California, Illinois and New York have also considered the plan and other recent developments in sewage disposal. An unique movement in connection with the sewage disposal problem was undertaken during the year by the Iowa league. As a result there has been established a league of American cities having sewage disposal plants to combat the claims for royalty on the septic process of disposal.

One of the newer subjects that is now commanding the attention of cities is the regulation of motor and other traffic. The New York state cities, through their conference, have decided to ask the legislature for a uniform code of regulations. The proposed code has been drafted by the state bureau of municipal information. The American Society of Municipal Improvements and the California league have also developed an interest in the problem.

In reviewing the reports of the year's work the special efforts that most of the leagues have made to strengthen their organizations and to popularize co-operative municipal work cannot escape notice. Most of the leagues report an increase in membership and financial support and at least eight have attempted to convince the public of the value of municipal organization and co-operation.

While consideration has been given to peculiar conditions in Canadian cities resulting from the war, it was not so pronounced during the last year as in 1915. All of the municipal organizations in Canada have resumed consideration of the general problems, particularly of forms of government. One feature of all the annual meetings, however, has been the advocacy of municipal preparedness, indicating the farsightedness of the Canadian cities. If this campaign is continued as vigorously as it has been begun, the cities will be ready to meet emergencies when the great conflict is called off.

Have the results of the year justified the existence of the leagues? The review of their work leaves no room for doubt that they have. It is not only what the organizations accomplish in any one year, but the accumulative effects of their efforts for a number of years that must be considered when judging the value of their labors.

SOME TENDENCIES OF RECENT MILK LEGISLATION

BY HARLEAN JAMES
Baltimore, Md.

MANY of us can remember a time when, even in our large cities, milk was dipped or poured from cans into receptacles set out by purchasers. In that day the cows usually stood (when they were given shelter from pasture) in a general-purpose barn covered with dust and cob-webs. Cows were seldom groomed. The hired man, in soiled woolen clothes, milked into an open-top milk pail which had been rinsed with cold water from the well and poured the milk into cans which were transported by wagon direct to the consumer. Refrigeration was not dreamed of.

Since that day the bacteriological origins of many diseases have been discovered. Milk, the scientists tell us, is an ideal medium for the rapid multiplication of bacteria. By means of contaminated water used in washing utensils, through the introduction of particles of manure, through the handling of milk by "typhoid-carriers," disease bacteria may reach the trusting consumer by the milk route. Milk has been in the past, and too often in the present is, exposed on its journey from cow to consumer to the deadly machinations of the house and barn fly.

The working hours of bacteria, however, are very irregular. A farmer may truly say that he and his wife and seven children have thrived on milk produced in the old way. But city health officials in recent years have realized that they must endeavor to protect the public from the possibility of disease carried by milk.

The first efforts of cities to control their milk supplies were mainly in the direction of preventing adulterations. The time-worn farmer jokes concerning water in the milk reflected an all-too-prevalent custom. The tendency of milk to sour quickly in warm weather brought preservatives into common use. Some of these were distinctly harmful; others, less so, if we may believe certain chemists; but it is now generally against the law to put preservatives of any kind in milk. The federal pure food movement to insure proper labeling also has had its effect in local laws setting up chemical standards for whole milk in order that consumers may be informed concerning their purchases of whole and skimmed milk.

These precautions are all desirable and necessary to-day; but, in the light of recent scientific knowledge, they do not properly protect the public health. The city ordinances and regulations which have been put into effect during the past few years seem to indicate distinctly new tendencies.

The larger cities have been compelled to draw their milk supplies from increasingly long distances. Since milk is peculiarly sensitive to deterioration due to age and high temperature, the long haul has multiplied the difficulties of protecting the health of the consumer.

There are two schools of sanitarians: those who believe that infants should be fed on pure raw milk and those who believe that pasteurization is a necessary form of insurance against disease. Most public health officials now agree, however, that the general milk supply of large cities must be pasteurized if the public health is not unnecessarily to be endangered. Pasteurization, little more than a decade ago, was in the public mind a sporadic business experiment, discredited by scientists. To-day, in many cities, it is a recognized requirement for some part of the milk supply.

Methods of pasteurization were at first crude. It was the custom to use the "flash" method of heating the milk for a few seconds or few minutes. The temperature used was often so high that the cream line was destroyed and the taste affected. Later the "holding" process came into vogue. By this method the milk is heated to a temperature of some 145° for about thirty minutes. This kills practically all of the pathogenic organisms and greatly reduces the numbers of all bacteria.

By inspection and instruction of dairy farmers city health officials have endeavored to secure better practices on the farm. Clean cows, clean barns, clean milkers and clean utensils together with immediate cooling of the milk have operated to bring better milk to the city. Wherever possible, the word "clean" is used in its technical sense of "sterile." Utensils, especially, are held to be "unclean" if they are not washed in boiling water or its equivalent.

When the practice of pasteurization came into general use, it was feared by some sanitarians that the producers of milk would become careless in their methods and argue that, since pasteurization would kill the disease germs, all the trouble and expense to secure cleanliness on the farm were wasted.

Experiments made by Dr. Park in New York city have shown that, even when recognizable disease germs are not present, large *numbers* of bacteria in raw milk (indicating dirt, age or high temperature) will, after pasteurization, often cause intestinal diseases in infants. For this reason, in addition to the elaborate systems of "farm scoring" and "city dairy scoring" based on equipment and practice as recommended by the bureau of animal industry of the United States department of agriculture, some of the large cities have adopted a system of "graded" milk, which divides the supply into two or more classes according to its *sanitary* character and the purpose to which it is safe to put it. By this method the dairy farmers are classified into groups with the result that good equipment and careful practice may command the price which it costs to secure them and poor equipment and careless practice will suffer an economic penalty.

The results of grading are even more satisfactory to the consumer. With the growth of large distributing companies, the practice of mixing all the milk—good, bad and indifferent—in the same vat has immensely increased the dangers from bad milk. Typhoid fever germs in one farmer's milk may easily contaminate the milk of a hundred farmers when mixed with it. It is true that *effective* pasteurization will kill these germs, but sanitarians are forced to realize that commercial pasteurization of large quantities of milk in bulk is not uniformly successful. If the commissioners of health in those cities that have tried "graded" milk may be believed, "grading" has stimulated the production of cleaner milk when pasteurization, though necessary, might easily have worked exactly the opposite result.

In smaller towns, publicity in the form of printed dairy scores and bacterial counts in the newspapers or health bulletins, or free access of the public to dairy examinations and records, has brought similar results. "Grading" is simply a device for meeting conditions in the large cities where the consumer would only be confused by the enormous mass of detail necessary for individual dairy publicity.

In September, when the newly organized milk producers in Maryland requested an increase in price for their product, the organized dealers of Baltimore made answer that they would be forced to pass any increase on to the consumer, which would bring them into further unequal competition with cheap raw milk of low sanitary quality. Both organizations approached the milk committee of the Baltimore women's civic league for assistance.

The milk committee had made an intensive study of the cost of producing milk in Baltimore and Frederick counties in the summer of 1915. Since, at that time, the average cost of producing a quart of milk in Frederick county was 3.5 cents and the selling price was 3.8 cents, showing an average profit of $^3/_{10}$ cent, and since the average cost in Baltimore county was 4.5 cents and the selling price 4.2 cents, showing an average loss of $^3/_{10}$ cent, the milk committee felt justified in backing the request of the producers.

The committee also backed the request of the dealers in a hearing before the mayor, who promised to use his best efforts to pass an ordinance excluding unsanitary milk from Baltimore and providing better methods for handling the admitted supply. At the request of the milk committee, the mayor invited Dr. William H. Park of the research laboratories of the New York health department to address a hearing in his office. As a result of this the mayor appointed an advisory committee to recommend provisions for the proposed ordinance. This committee, headed by Dr. William H. Welch, has on it the city solicitor, representatives from the city health department, state board of agriculture, women's civic league and seven councilmen.

The proposed Baltimore ordinance is not yet completely drafted, but it is hoped that its provisions will be in line with the recommendations of the national commission on milk standards and the tendencies of recent ordinances and regulations in other cities where similar conditions of climate and milk production prevail.

The following table shows the tendencies in pasteurization, grading and bottling of milk in six cities that have recently changed their ordinances or regulations:

City	Ord. or regulation	Pasteurization	Bottling	Grades	Bacteria per cc.	Chemical standards	Farm score	T-T	Phy. ex. cows	Delivery after milking or pasteurization
Albany	Reg. pub. 10/1/13.	158° 3 m. to 140°20 m.		Selected A.	50,000	3.5% f.	80	t-t	x	
				Pasteurized.	b. 500,000 a. 50,000	3% fat 11.5 sol. 88.5 wat.				
	Revised 9/1/15.		Sealed container req. B.	A-Raw. A-Past. B-Raw.						
			Dip'd milk prohibited after 4/1/17.	B-Past.						
				C-Raw.	500,000					
				C-Past.	300,000				x	
New York	Reg. revised to 3/30/15.	142° to 145° not less than 30 m.	Req. A.	A-Raw.	60,000		75	t-t	x	36 h. a. M.
			Permitted for B.	A-Past.	200,000 b. 30,000 a.		68		x x	36 h. a. P. do
	Grades revised to 12/21/15.		Prohibited for C.	B-Past.	500,000 b. 100,000 a.		55			
				C-Past. or boiled 2 m.	300,000 for past.outside city.		40		x	48 h. a. P.
Newark	Ord. 12/2/13.	Permit A. Req. B. 140° 30 m. cooled to 50°.	Req. Guar. and A. Permit B. Prohibit C. 20 qt. min.	Certified.		13% sol.				
				Guaranteed.	30,000	3.5% f.	85	t-t		
				A-Inspected	100,000	11.5 sol.	65	t-t		
				B-Past.	1,000,000 b. 50,000 a.	3% fat 8.5% s. not f.	40			
				C-Cooking and Ind. heated 200°.						
	Amend. 8/4/14.			Certified. A-Raw.	500,000 1 yr. then 100,000		65			
				A-Past.	200,000 b. 30,000 a.					36 h. a. P.
				B-Past.	1,000,000 b. 50,000 a.		40			
				C-Boiled.			40			
Philadelphia	4/27/09 Amend. 6/9/11.	142° not less than 30 m.	Dip'd milk forbidden exc. dealers dairy products.	Raw— Inspected.			80	t-t	x	
				Certified.						
				Pasteurized.	50,000 a.	88% wat. 12% sol. 3.25% f.	50			

City	Ord. or regulation	Pasteurization	Bottling	Grades	Bacteria per cc.	Chemical standards	Farm score	T-T	Phy. ex. cows	Delivery after milking or pasteurization
Rochester	Gov. St. Sanitary Code.Reg. effective 11/16/14.	145° not less than 30 m.	Sealed container req. A.	Certified. A-Raw. A-Past. B-Raw. B-Past. C-Prohibit'd.	60,000 200,000 b. 30,000 a. 200,000 300,000 b. 100,000 a.		25 equip. 50 meth. 43 meth. 23 eq. 37 meth. 20 eq. 35 meth.	t-t	x	36 h. 36 h. 36 h. 36 h.
Kansas City	Ord. ap. 7/7/15.	140°-145° 20-30 m.	Final container req. A-Raw.	Certified. A-Raw. A-Past. B-Raw. B-Past C-Past.	100,000 50,000 a. 300,000 100,000 a.	8.75%s. 3.25%f.	25 equip. 50 meth. 20 equip 40 meth.			

COMPARATIVE COSTS OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN POLICE

BY LE GRAND POWERS

Washington, D. C.

IN THE April REVIEW[1] the writer presented some comparative statistics of British and American cities which indicated a much greater relative cost for the cities of the United States than for those of Great Britain. Since the publication of the article, the writer has received a number of inquiries as to the factors of this greater cost. Some of the correspondents have called attention to the different salaries paid all classes of employes in the two countries and inquired how far this difference explains the higher governmental costs noted. The answer to these inquiries has come to hand, with reference to costs of municipal police, in two recent publications. They are (1) a book published by the Century Company of New York entitled "European Police Systems," written by Raymond B. Fosdick, former commissioner of accounts of New York city, and (2) a volume on general municipal statistics issued by the census bureau as for the fiscal year of 1915, although most of the figures presented relate to the calendar year 1914. From the two publications is compiled the following table of minimum and maximum salaries of patrolmen of twelve European and thirteen American cities:

City	Minimum salary	Maximum salary	City	Minimum salary	Maximum salary
London:					
Metropolitan force	$336.96	$436.80	New York	$1,000.00	$1,400.00
City of London	355.68	549.12	Chicago	900.00	1,320.00
Liverpool	336.96	449.28	Philadelphia	821.00	1,095.00
Manchester	336.96	449.28	St. Louis	780.00	1,080.00
Glasgow	313.04	436.80	Boston	730.00	1,400.00

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 252.

City	Minimum salary	Maximum salary	City	Minimum salary	Maximum salary
Berlin	$333.20	$499.80	Cleveland	$1,000.00	$1,218.00
Hamburg	464.10	666.40	Baltimore	780.00	1,040.00
Dresden	404.60	499.80	Pittsburgh	960.00	1,200.00
Paris	405.30	482.50	Los Angeles	900.00	1,200.00
Vienna	283.18	503.44	Milwaukee	960.00	1,140.00
Amsterdam	292.60	344.85	Washington	900.00	1,200.00
Rome	231.60	231.60	Minneapolis	900.00	1,080.00
Madrid	180.00	225.00	Seattle	1,020.00	1,200.00

From the foregoing exhibit it may be seen that the salaries of police patrolmen in the European cities were the highest in Hamburg and next highest in London. They were lowest in Rome and Madrid being less than one half as great as in the two cities first mentioned and not much more than one half of those of most other cities referred to in the table. It may be mentioned, however, that they were equally low in other Italian, Spanish and Portuguese cities.

The salaries paid by the American cities mentioned in the table, all with populations exceeding 300,000, may well be studied in connection with those of the minor cities, with populations between 30,000 and 300,000. In none of them did the minimum salary of patrolmen fall below $700, and in but few was it less than $800. In Oakland, California, the maximum salary was $1,404, and in Jacksonville, Florida, it was $1,460, or more in both cases than in any large municipality. For the minor cities as a whole the average salary was not greatly different from that of St. Louis, Baltimore and Minneapolis.

In turn comparing the salaries of European and American patrolmen, it is to be noticed that the highest paid policemen of the largest European cities receive only about one half the compensation of those of the average American city. Further, it is to be seen that the patrolmen of Italian and Spanish cities receive as a whole not more than from one fourth to one sixth of the policemen of the American city of the same population.

The salaries quoted are in all cases *cash*. In British cities and in some other European municipalities, unmarried policemen are lodged, either without expense or with small expense to them, and married and unmarried men are provided with some if not all their meals at cost. In these and other ways, the purchasing power of police salaries in Europe, as compared with American salaries, is somewhat larger than is indicated by the figures of the exhibit.

As the compensation of patrolmen constitutes for all cities, European and American, from one half to three fourths of all expenses of police departments, it can readily be seen that the different compensation of police employes is the principal, if not the only material cause of the greater cost of police service in American cities to which I called attention in the April NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

THE "AREA OF PROJECTION" AS A BASIS FOR THE TAXATION OF BILLBOARDS

BY BERNICE V. BROWN[1]

THE problem of regulating billboards, especially in the larger communities, is one that deserves all the consideration it has been receiving in recent years. Legislators have tried to solve it by law, city councils by ordinance and administrative officials by a stringent exercise of their regulating power. This medium of advertising, although once little used, has grown in our day to gigantic proportions. Every form of merchandise and business appears to be adaptable to the bill-poster's art and every meadow, vacant lot, public square and park offers possibilities for the location of new billboards. The more frequented the spot the more it is desired by the advertiser and a billboard that obstructs a natural vista is regarded as a particularly valuable one.

Advertising is a legitimate business and to it may be attributed the initial success of many a worthy enterprise. It would be unwise and futile to seek the abolition of the billboard. Within proper bounds it serves a useful purpose, and a genuine demand for it exists at the present day. There is no reason why publicity should not have its due place in modern business enterprise. But regulations may well be imposed upon any form of publicity which thrusts itself upon us at all hours of the day and night, which hampers all efforts to make our streets, parks and public places more attractive, and which virtually takes from the citizen his constitutional guarantee of the "pursuit of happiness"—his right to enjoy in peace the beauties of nature.

Of the many attempts at the regulation of billboards such as taxation, local option, zoning and licensing, taxation is by far the most effective. Its use tends to reduce the number of billboards and enables the city to regulate more effectively their size, construction, location and general character. Most of the commissions which have investigated the subject advise some such measure and the American Civic Association has endorsed taxation as a "fair and effective method of regulation."

But the problem arises: how may the tax best be levied? The common method has been to tax the billboards at so much per square foot. In most cases the tax has been so heavy as to be declared confiscatory or unreasonable and the ordinances imposing the taxes have been declared illegal. St. Louis once proposed a tax of three cents a square foot per year on billboards, New York one of twelve cents, and Los Angeles one of fifty cents. The square foot of area, however, is not a good basis for the billboard tax. The value of a billboard to the advertiser is determined not so much by its size as by its location. A flat tax of so many cents per square foot neglects altogether the vast differences in the revenue-value of billboards arising from differences in location. Ten cents a square foot may be an unreasonable tax per annum upon billboards in unfavorable locations which yield only a dollar or less per foot in annual rental; but several times that tax would be quite within the limits of reasonability when imposed upon billboards which stand at the head of a great business thoroughfare and bring in annual revenues running into the thousands of dollars on relatively small surface areas.

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[1] Miss Brown was graduated from Radcliffe College in 1916 and is now bibliographer in the Harvard bureau of municipal research. As an undergraduate she was in two successive years the winner of the William H. Baldwin prize, offered by the National Municipal League. The present article is an excerpt from her essay on "Effective Billboard Regulation" which was awarded this prize in 1916.—EDITOR.

The chief factors determining what a billboard brings in revenue, which, again, determine its value and in consequence the reasonability or otherwise of a tax laid upon it—the chief factors are the number of people passing it whether on foot or in trains, the area over which a sign may be projected, due to the height at which it is placed, and the amount of open space in front of it. In point of value per foot frontage for advertising use (not for business or residential use), there might be a great difference between a lot at the head of a long broad avenue and its unseen neighbor right alongside. In levying the tax on a billboard the size, height above the street level, amount of traffic and area of projection should all be considered. A system which allowed for variations in these factors would prove a far more equitable way of securing revenue from billboards than a tax levied at a flat rate per square foot and would be far more likely to stand the test of constitutionality.

In a word, the value of a billboard is not appurtenant to the land on which it is erected. The board may occupy a space only two feet wide on the edge of a lot and yet project its reading matter a hundred feet or more across a public street or square. This area of projection is at least quasi-public property. If the sign were painted on the inside of the board toward the lot it would be worthless. The increment of value comes from the use of a public area and if the billboard pays no tax or a tax which is levied without reference to this factor, it is using public property without adequate compensation. How great this projection area is in the case of illuminated signs on high buildings would be hard to estimate. It must often cover several square miles. Such a use of public or private property without the consent of the people affected would not be tolerated in the case of over-hanging eaves, underground tunnels or like encroachments. If this point were fairly recognized, a tax levied by the city in return for the use of its property would seem a perfectly natural thing. Care should be taken to make the system of assessment as workable and free from complication as possible. To insure payment, such a tax should be levied in advance of the period during which the sign is to be displayed.

It should be, in other words, of the nature of a license. A label of some kind should be attached to the billboard when the tax is paid and all unstamped advertising reported by the local patrolmen to the proper authorities. The area of the sign as reckoned for assessment should be the extreme height multiplied by the extreme length. Otherwise advertisers might attempt to reduce the tax by round or irregular shaped signs which would make the skyline even more unsightly than at present.

Billboard companies make use of what is virtually public property, that is to say, the landscape, skyline, vista, an area of projection or whatever you like to call it, and there is no reason why they should not be taxed as are other users of public property. We have been too apt to take as our basis of billboard taxation the area or the structural value of the billboard or the enhanced value of the land upon which it is located. By so doing the whole matter becomes one of taxing private property and the levy must be kept within strict limits. Would it not be better to urge the "area of projection" basis, to take the ground that the projection of advertisements or of light from signs into the public thoroughfares is a use of public property, and should be paid for on that basis?

ELECTORAL REFORM

Through one of those mistakes which are inexplicable and which tend to add to the burdens of the editor, the author of the article on "Election Reforms" in the October issue of the National Municipal Review (page 611) failed to give credit to Melvin P. Porter, the secretary of the Buffalo municipal league, for the outline reproduced under the heading, "Ten city charter essentials." This article was printed in the *Civic Searchlight* of Detroit (March, 1916) as was stated in the article, but the credit to Mr. Porter was omitted. Mistakes have one advantage, however, in that they enable the editor to call attention again to important material, and he is glad to avail himself of this opportunity to call to the attention of students and charter reformers the very interesting suggestions of Mr. Porter and widely distributed by the Buffalo league.—Editor.

EDITORIAL

After five years of the most helpful sort of co-operation, Professor John A. Fairlie of the University of Illinois has resigned as an associate editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. The editor takes this opportunity of paying tribute to the work which Dr. Fairlie has done for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW during its formative period. Thoughtful, accurate and courageous, he has been a valued adviser and an industrious collaborator. A multiplicity of other duties including the editorship of the *American Political Science Review* has made his withdrawal imperative, but it is a pleasure to be able to announce that he will continue as a member of the advisory board.

Dr. Fairlie will be succeeded as associate editor by Dr. C. C. Williamson, the municipal reference librarian of New York city, who brings to the performance of his task not only a wide experience and a careful training, but a deep interest in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW which has been manifested in many ways in the past.

Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, who has been an associate editor since July, 1912, and who during all of that period has prepared the admirable bibliography which has been one of the features of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, has felt it necessary to retire from all duties outside of her official ones at the New York Public Library. The editor desires to take this opportunity to say publicly what he has many times said privately, that Miss Hasse has been one of the most effective of the regular contributors to the pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. It is with regret that he notes her retirement as associate editor.

Miss Alice M. Holden, for a number of years an assistant to Professor William Bennett Munro of Harvard and connected with the bureau for research in municipal government, and now instructor in municipal government at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., will succeed Miss Hasse as associate editor and will prepare the bibliography.

In this connection it is interesting to note the new names on the advisory editorial board: W. S. McNeill of the Richmond, Va., bar, a member of the faculty of the Richmond Law School; Charles Mulford Robinson of the University of Illinois and author of sundry works dealing with questions of municipal improvement; L. D. Upson, director of the Detroit bureau of municipal research and formerly director of the Dayton bureau; Frederick Trigg of the *Kansas City Star* editorial staff, and Dr. Fairlie. These new members of the board, of which Professor L. S. Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania is chairman, will bring to the editorial management a deep interest in municipal government and intelligent suggestions from widely differing points of view. Dr. Clyde L. King of the University of Pennsylvania, after a helpful service as a member of the board since its creation in 1912, has resigned.—THE EDITOR.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revisions.—*Alameda County.* A local government document of unusual significance has recently been issued by the city and county government association of Alameda County, Cal. It contains a plan for a charter to put into effect a federated city and county government in Alameda county and its cities. For the past five years the waste of public funds, owing to duplication of officers and services in Alameda county, have been under discussion. The strong local feeling of the various constituent municipalities in the city seems heretofore to have stood obstinately in the way of any very thoroughgoing readjustment of local government. The proposed charter undertakes to preserve the identity of the various units and at the same time eliminate the duplications of officers.

The plan which the charter proposes is therefore that of federation rather than consolidation. Each of the municipalities within the proposed city and county, comprising all of Alameda county, in certain instances with the addition of certain territory at present unincorporated, will preserve its name and identity as a borough, as for instance the borough of Oakland, the borough of Alameda, the borough of Berkeley. Each of these boroughs would exercise, through an elective borough board, extensive legislative powers which would include the police ordinance power and exclusive power of appropriation for purposes of street and sewer construction and maintenance, control of parks and playgrounds and of police and fire departments within the borough.

Under the proposed charter, all powers not specifically imposed upon boroughs, are reserved to the city and county. The governing body of the city and county would be a council of twenty-one members nominated and elected by districts. It is to be noted that the powers of the several boroughs are exclusively legislative in the broad sense of that term, while the administration of both borough and city and county policies would be in the hands of the city and county organization. At the head of the centralized organization would be a city and county manager whose relations to the city and county council would be similar to that of the city manager in cities where that office has been erected.

There would also be a mayor to be elected by the people of the city and county who would act as the ceremonial head of the city government and appoint, subject to confirmation by the council, certain officers and boards whose independence of the administrative organization is deemed desirable, *e. g.*, the auditor, civil service and efficiency commission, judges of the municipal court, etc.

For the present system of justices of the peace and police courts, the charter substitutes a municipal court of five well paid judges appointed for long terms. The welfare functions of the city and county would be in charge of a director of public welfare.

All positions except boards and commissions, the manager and the employes in his immediate office and certain heads of departments and teaching forces, are included in the classified civil service.

It will be noted that the Alameda county plan has elements in common with the government of the metropolitan district of London where the most important functions of local government are entrusted to the county council while at the same time the identity of the historical boroughs composing the city is not by any means obliterated.

City Manager Movements in California.—While the city and county government association was promulgating its county charter, the city council of Berkeley submitted to the voters a proposition to incorporate the office of city manager into the city government. This amendment was voted on November 7 and lost by about six hundred votes. No campaign for the adoption of the amendment was made, nor is the result seriously regretted by those citizens who have at heart the larger scheme of city and county federation.

During January, 1917, the citizens of Alameda,[1] Cal., will vote upon a straight city manager charter, the drafting of which was begun some time before the county plan.

On November 21, the citizens of Pasadena voted upon an amendment similar in purpose to the one rejected by the people of Berkeley. The Pasadena amendment was also defeated by a vote of 4,640 to 4,041. A local correspondent states that it was felt by many of the business men of the city that the regular commission form of government had not been given a thorough trial since it had not been in force more than four years.

No Commission Plan for Bridgeport.—A commission government charter was voted upon in Bridgeport, Conn., on November 25 and was defeated because the vote of 6,603 for to 839 against was insufficient to comply with the law requiring 60 per cent of the registered vote to be cast.

St. Paul.—Two amendments of St. Paul's charter were voted on November 7, one pertaining to a method of paying for improvements in parks and playgrounds, and the other providing for a repeal of the civil service chapter of the charter. The former was adopted by a small majority and the latter was defeated. The St. Paul association of commerce was particularly interested in retaining the merit system. This chapter was prepared in the main by Elliot H. Goodwin, who at the time of the adoption of the charter was secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League. In the opinion of one correspondent: "A mistake was probably made in designating the comptroller, who is an elective official, ex-officio civil service commissioner, and vesting in him considerable discretionary power. Aside from this possible defect the charter conforms to the accepted principles of administering the merit plan. Up to the present time the chief examiner has been given a free rein, and therefore the criticisms that might arise because of outside interference were not a point at issue in the movement to repeal the charter. The petitioners who were primarily interested in its repeal were the representatives of organized labor. Opposition from this source appears somewhat unusual. The charter and the administrative rules of the bureau are in every way consistent with the principles of trade unionism. The charter provides for classification of employes into vocations, standardization of work, and pay, uniform salaries for the same work, appointment, promotion and removal on ascertained merit. What more could organized labor ask for? The investigation that the association made of the department showed very clearly that the bureau was honestly and efficiently administered."

Springfield's Attempted Charter Revision.[2]—At the November 7 election the federal form of charter was preferred to the city manager plan by a slight majority, and at the municipal election on December 5 the existing form was preferred to the federal form by a vote of 7,344 to 4,425.

H. S. Gilbertson.

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Proportional Representation.[3]—An amendment to the St. Louis city charter providing for a non-partisan ballot in city elections, nominations by petition, preferential voting for the three administrative officers elected by the people, and proportional representation for the board of aldermen, was submitted to the people at the regular election November 7.

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[1] See article by Wm. J. Locke on p. 84.

[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 304.

[3] Apropos of Mr. Werner's article in the October issue of the National Municipal Review, Mr. C. G. Hoag writes as follows:

"The description, on page 629 of the October Review, of the system of proportional representation voted on in St. Louis was, unfortunately, not quite correct. It would have been correct if the first sentence on the page were changed to read as follows:

"'Members of the board of aldermen are to be elected upon lists, each list to be shown separately on the ballot, to be designated only by a number, and to be entitled to have declared elected its proportional share, according to the number of votes cast for its candidates, of the fourteen aldermen being chosen. For example, a list supported by more than six-fourteenths of the voters would have six of its candidates declared elected.'"

A month's active campaign was conducted by a general citizens' committee, known as the non-partisan ballot committee. The proposal was defeated by a vote of 47,416 for it to 62,051 against it. The total vote cast in the election was about 150,000. It would have been necessary to get a three-fifths favorable vote of those voting on the proposition to carry.

The advocates of the measure did not expect to win at an election with prohibition on the ballot. Furthermore, the subject was practically new to the voters. It had never been actively agitated before.

Although the non-partisan feature was emphasized most, in the effort to free city elections from national party politics, proportional representation was given the next big emphasis. In a city controlled by the Republican party organization it was felt that all the other groups would unite in support of an amendment which would give them representation in the law-making body. The Socialists, organized labor, improvement associations, some commercial bodies, the civic league and many among the Democratic party organization supported it. Of the newspapers, two afternoon dailies supported it and one mildly opposed it. The *Globe-Democrat* (Republican) was openly hostile, and the *Republic* (Democratic) noncommittal. The German newspapers and the foreign-language press were heartily in favor of it.

The form of proportional representation embodied in the amendment was the list system. The amendment was prepared by a committee of the civic league with the assistance of the secretary of the American proportional representation league.

The movement for non-partisan city elections and proportional representation will be continued. The committee may ask the legislature, which meets in January, to provide for proportional representation, submitting the other features later at the city election in April.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

Progress of Preferential Voting.[1]—The progress of the preferential ballot (Bucklin system) to date (December 1, 1916) can be seen from the following list of fifty-two cities which have already adopted it:

Preferential voting adopted—primary supplanted:

Date	*Cities*	*Population in 1910*
1909	Grand Junction, Colo.	7,754*
1910	Spokane, Wash.	104,402*
1911	Pueblo, Colo.	44,395*†
1912	New Iberia, La.	7,499*†
1913	Duluth, Minn.	78,466*
1913	Denver, Colo.	213,381*
1913	Colorado Springs, Colo.	29,078*
1913	Portland, Ore.	207,214*†
1912	Nashua, N. H.	26,005
1913	Cleveland, Ohio	560,663‡
1913	La Grande, Ore.	4,843†§
1913	Fort Collins, Colo.	8,210†
1913	St. Petersburg, Fla.	4,127
1913	Cadillac, Mich.	8,375†§
1914	Vineland, N. J.	5,282*
1914	Ridgewood, N. J.	5,416*
1914	Nutley, N. J.	6,009*
1914	Millville, N. J.	12,541*
1914	Long Branch, N. J.	13,298*
1914	Phillipsburg, N. J.	13,903*
1914	Thirteen cities of New Jersey, each under 5,000 population	13,955*
1914	Union, N. J.	21,023*
1914	Orange, N. J.	29,630*
1914	Atlantic City, N. J.	46,150*
1914	Passaic, N. J.	54,773*
1914	Trenton, N. J.	96,815*
1914	Columbus, Ohio	181,548‖
1914	Jersey City, N. J.	267,779*
1915	Asbury Park, N. J.	10,150*
1915	Irvington, N. J.	11,877*
1915	New Brunswick, N. J.	23,388*
1915	Bayonne, N. J.	55,545*
1915	Hoboken, N. J.	70,324*
1915	Paterson, N. J.	125,600*
1915	Portland Water District, Me. (Portland and So. Portland)	66,042
1916	Montclair, N. J.	21,550*
1916	Newton, Mass.	39,806
1916	San Francisco, Cal.	416,912
		2,913,728

* Commission form charter.

† Restriction to one vote in the third column for each office to be filled. The provisions in this respect of La Grande and Fort Collins are not quite clear.

‡ Twenty-five hundred signatures required for nomination of mayoralty candidate.

§ Commission city manager plan.

‖ Applied only to mayor, city attorney and auditor.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 483.

Preferential voting adopted as adjunct to primary:

1913 Houston, Texas	78,800*
1915 Toledo, Ohio	168,497†
Total population of cities using preferential voting	3,161,025

No city once having adopted the Bucklin system has ever voluntarily given it up. Duluth was forced to give it up by a divided decision of the state supreme court declaring it to be in violation of the Minnesota constitution.

Lewis J. Johnson.

⁂

Owensboro, Ky. (population about 20,000), at the election on November 7, 1916, voted to be organized and governed by a commission of three commissioners, and the county of Daviess (having a population of about 40,000), of which Owensboro is the county seat, voted at the same time to be organized and governed in its fiscal affairs by a board of three commissioners to be elected by the county at large, and a county judge in lieu of eight magistrates elected from separate magisterial districts, and a county judge as heretofore. The changes will be effective January 1, 1918.

⁂

The New York Trolley Strike.—The succession of trolley strikes during the past year, added to the threatened nation-wide railroad strike, makes more urgent than ever the need of legislation to prevent the tying up of public utilities while labor disputes are being settled. Even where wages and working conditions are not wholly fair to employes, there appears to be ample machinery in existence to-day to get matters improved, through public service commissions, state arbitration boards, responsive public officials and legislative bodies, and numerous citizens always alert to take up the cause of the laboring man. Continual interruption of public transit facilities simply must not be tolerated; and for this reason even those who are generally in sympathy with the workingman must view with satisfaction the collapse of the New York trolley strike.

The amalgamated association of street and electric railway employes of America had long desired to get a foothold in New York city, but never got further than organizing one or two of the suburban companies until the strike fever struck the city last summer. The refusal of the Yonkers company to arbitrate a dispute, followed by a walkout of their men, gave the amalgamated association the opportunity to organize the New York city employes; and a series of sympathetic strikes started to spread throughout the city with alarming rapidity, checked only by the prompt intervention of Mayor Mitchel and Chairman Straus of the public service commission. The companies, not being prepared for such an emergency, were obliged to arbitrate the amalgamated, but chafed under the restraint; and, when the men, flushed with their first success, broke their arbitration pledges and initiated a second strike, the companies declared unrelenting war on the unions, refusing all further dealings with them.

Although winning once, the strikers lost out completely the second time. After alienating public sympathy by the second tie-up, they next tried violence, including an attempt to blow up the subway; but the splendid efficiency of the New York police reduced the disturbances to a minimum, and service was gradually restored on all lines, except in one town where police protection was refused, and in Yonkers where the unions had obtained the passage of an ordinance preventing the running of cars by strike breakers or any outsiders.

The value was again demonstrated of immediate intervention by the public authorities. Chairman Straus of the public service commission had the strike leaders and the company officials on the investigating stand before each strike was hardly a day old, and Mayor Mitchel was equally energetic in effecting the first settlement and suppressing the final disorders, adding more than ever to the record of his remarkable administration.

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* Commission form charter.

† Toledo uses preferential ballot both in the primary and final election.

The final defeat of the amalgamated association in New York city may turn the tide against union interference with public service. Even the municipal tramway systems of England, where labor conditions are ideal, had to fight unionism a few years ago, with the use of strike breakers, public bonuses to loyal employes, and the assistance of public-spirited citizens to keep the fires going in the power houses.

If unions wish to avoid public interference, they would do well to consider the attitude of the municipal trolley employes of Toronto, who unanimously passed the following resolution last spring when the question of a wage increase was under consideration. "While there has been a large increase in the cost of living in Toronto since the present standard of wages was fixed, we realize that any increase that we would receive at this time would mean increased taxation on the ratepayers, who are at present heavily taxed, many of them being working men like ourselves, struggling to maintain those dependent on them and to hold their homes which they were forced to buy during the time of the boom in order to keep a roof over their heads. Therefore, we will refrain from making any requests at the present time for increased wages. We pledge our loyal support and co-operation to make the service as congenial for the public as circumstances will permit, and as efficient and inexpensive to the municipality as careful operation and attention to duty can accomplish, with a view that developments will later warrant an acceptable readjustment."

John P. Fox.[1]

⁂

Discriminatory Water Rates.—A special water rate to St. Louis manufacturers, established by ordinance last spring, was recently held to be discriminatory by the Missouri public service commission in a case brought by the civic league, which contended that not only were the rates to manufacturers three times less than the rates for the same amount of water to other users, but that the city was selling water to manufacturers below cost. The manufacturers' rate, however, has not been suspended. The commission, when the matter was first presented, questioned the rate, but, for some unexplained reason, allowed it to go into effect. A recent decision gives the city time in which to change the rates. The city has announced that it will test the commission's decision in the courts, if necessary taking it to the supreme court.

St. Louis manufacturers enjoyed a special rate for many years, protected by a decision of the supreme court, but the new public service commission act of 1913 prohibited discriminatory rates between the consumers for the same service by any utility, whether publicly or privately owned. The St. Louis water works are publicly owned.

This is one of the cases in which water users of a municipally-owned utility had no protection against an unfair rate except by an appeal to the state commission. It raises an interesting question as to the value of state control over the rates of a municipally-owned utility. Relief to water users might have been secured by use of the referendum, but it would have involved not only expense, but a bitter public controversy over a complicated question of rate-making, not best settled at the polls.

Roger N. Baldwin.

⁂

A Municipal Electric Light Plant in St. Louis.—An engineering survey to determine whether a municipal electric light plant is practicable in St. Louis has been authorized by the board of aldermen, which appropriated $12,500 for the purpose. The investigation will be made by the department of public utilities. It is expected that the complete report will be ready in nine or ten months.

The agitation for a municipal electric light plant in St. Louis has been going on for four years. It was undertaken first by the St. Louis *Star*, an independent afternoon newspaper. It was an issue in the last municipal campaign; all local parties and candidates being pledged to it.

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[1] New York city, transportation expert of the New York city club.

The policy of the city in lighting public streets must be determined very shortly, for the present ten-year contract for gas lighting expires in 1920, and there is strong opposition to the renewal of any franchise for street lighting by gas. One result of the agitation has been to make electric light rates an issue; and there have been successive reductions in residence rates by the electric company. The city already owns a small lighting plant for lighting public buildings.

R. N. B.

✠

City Planning Progress.—Under the Pennsylvania act of 1913 (P. L. 752), cities of the third class in that state are required to establish city planning commissions. Sixteen of the thirty-one such third-class cities have complied with the requirement. A state organization of the representatives of these cities has been effected, with A. B. Farquhar of York as president, and J. Herman Niceley of Harrisburg, secretary.

The first conference on city planning in the state of Washington was held at Everett, October 12–14, in conjunction with the seventh annual convention of the league of Washington municipalities.

The third California conference on city planning was held at Visalia, October 11–13, 1916.

Well defined city planning movements are on foot in the following cities: Sacramento, Cal.; Walpole, Mass.; Kingsport, Tenn.; Ojibway, Ontario; West Duluth, Minn.; Kistler, Pa.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Langeloth, Pa.; Camden, N. J.; Ottawa, Canada; Westchester County, N. Y.; Akron, Ohio, and Allwood, N. J.

There are also extensive housing developments in the following places: Kenosha, Wis.; Waterbury, Conn.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Indian Hill, Worcester, Mass.; Kahkwa Park Realty Company, Erie, Pa.; Acipco, near Birmingham, Ala.; Irving Park, Greensboro, N. C., and Marcus Hook, Pa.

✠

Philadelphia Commission on Districting and Zoning the City.—The mayor of Philadelphia has appointed by authority of councils a commission on districting and zoning the city. It consists of the directors of the departments of public works, public safety and health, the president of the Fairmount park commission, the chief of the bureau of surveys, a representative of the bureau, of the comprehensive plans committee and of the following organizations: real estate board, operative builders association, the Philadelphia chapter of the American institute of architects, the Philadelphia housing association and the Philadelphia chamber of commerce.

✠

Instruction of Policemen.—In 1915 Raymond B. Fosdick of New York gave a course of six lectures to the police of Washington. There were two lectures to sergeants and patrolmen on methods of patrol, use of weapons, methods of supervision, etc., two were devoted to the detectives on matters relating to their department, and two to the higher offices of the department, all illustrated throughout with references to European methods. Mr. Fosdick has been invited by Professor William Bennett Munro of Harvard to deliver the same addresses to the policemen of Cambridge, and especially to consider criminal identification, methods of patrol and supervision, and the scientific detection of crime. This course has been inaugurated at Harvard at the suggestion of Mayor W. D. Rockwood of Cambridge.

Plans for the establishment of a school for policemen and another for firemen of San Jose, Cal., are being made by City Manager Thomas H. Reed. The courses for the firemen will include lectures by prominent fire chiefs and experts from the coast, and will include administration and practice in climbing, jumping and rescue work and study of the lighting methods. The policemen will be required to make a study of the ordinances of the city and the laws of the state and of the whole penal code, and will also be given a thorough training in first aid work. One of the most important parts of the course will be the study of criminal identification, including finger prints, the

Bertillon system and the *modus operandi* system.

The faculty of the law school of Northwestern University has offered a course of systematic evening instruction to the members of the Chicago police force.

✤

Smoke Abatement: It Can Be Done.—The smoke abatement week in Pittsburgh is without precedent. Never in the history of the city has there been more plain, straightforward talking on a municipal problem than was done during the week October 23–28, 1916. The object of the smoke and dust abatement league, under whose auspices the events took place, was to show that it is both possible and feasible to burn bituminous coal without smoke, and to demonstrate to industrialists how greater efficiency could be secured in their establishments. It was a call to all citizens to persevere in demanding that Pittsburgh be freed from this unnecessary and expensive nuisance.

The league, which is composed of twelve of Pittsburgh's most representative civic, commercial and educational organizations, reviewed the five years of important work already accomplished. A supplementary report of an investigation which was made by the league to check up the work of the smoke bureau was made public at this time. The findings did not differ materially from that presented by the chief of the bureau. This review of the past revealed startling facts regarding the decrease in the number of violations, and the vast improvements being made. There are a few who never will remedy the conditions unless they are taken into court, and it is the purpose of the city to resort to the only course open to insure their co-operation.

Every day some phase of the smoke abatement was presented by Osborne Monnett, who spoke on the engineering side of the question, and J. W. Henderson, chief of the bureau of smoke regulation, who presented the situation as it exists in Pittsburgh, and named without fear or favor the firms violating the ordinance in the most vivid, scathing, and at the same time, humorous manner imaginable.

Pictures "before and after" and "it can be done" were thrown upon the screen followed by violations and the homes of the chief violators. As they passed in succession they kept the majority of those present on edge not knowing whose turn would be next.

The most notable event of the week was the meeting of the manufacturers, held under the auspices of the smoke bureau, the principal feature of which was the announcement made by Chief Henderson that prosecutions will be entered after December 15, 1916. Very attractive leaflets giving the objects and accomplishments of the league were distributed by the thousands, and the press gave columns of publicity. A display in five windows in the city was arranged by the Allegheny county civic club. There was not an hour of the day or evening that the space in front of these windows was not crowded.

The committee in charge of this week were: Dr. A. A. Hammerschlag, president of the league and director of the Carnegie institute of technology; O. P. Hood, chief mechanical engineer of the federal bureau of mines; John O'Conor, Jr., Mellon institute, University of Pittsburgh; Miss H. Marie Demitt, secretary of the civic club, and J. W. Henderson, chief of the bureau of smoke regulation, department of health, Pittsburgh.

✤

Chicago Commissions.—The following is a list of the municipal commissions now at work in Chicago: Chicago plan commission; citizens' traffic and safety commission; commission on downtown municipal improvements; special committee on gas litigation; railway terminal commission; traction and subway commission; committee on municipal taxation; the liquor problem; municipal art commission; commission for the encouragement of local art; harbor and subway commission; commission on public ownership of public utilities; public safety commission; city council crime commission and neighborhood centers and residential districts.

We are not certain of the status of the

commission on the encouragement of local art and it is possible that the latter is no longer in existence, having failed to be reappointed by the city council in April, 1916. The foregoing are all temporary commissions.

We also have a board of election commissioners, a small parks commission and a civil service commission, but these commissions are permanent bodies, having all the functions and prerogatives of city departments.

FREDERICK REX.[1]

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Dallas Municipal Farm.—The department of public welfare has been pushing a propaganda for a municipal corrections farm for about a year. This has been going on quietly, but effectively, and finally there was a full week of publicity definitely directed toward such an institution. L. A. Halbert of Kansas City spent a week in Dallas and after several luncheons with various interests, there was a citizens' mass meeting in the municipal auditorium, presided over by Mayor Lindsley, and in addition to Mr. Halbert who was the principal speaker, Mayor Ben Campbell of Houston spoke of the practical value of the municipal farm established there in October, 1915. This meeting was very excellently attended by perhaps 500 interested citizens; and the general opinion is that public opinion is quite favorable toward the establishment of this farm. The only difficulty now is the question of finance. It is believed that a sale of the present city jail property may yield sufficient not only to establish the beginnings of a correction farm, but also to provide for a hold-over.

*

Engineers in Dayton, Ohio.—City Manager Waite has found it difficult to obtain a sufficient number of engineers because some of the temporary men have returned to universities and in other cases outside firms have offered them more money than the city can pay. He therefore got in touch with the dean of the engineering school connected with the University of Cincinnati, and as a result has secured two engineering students to act as inspectors of public improvements now in progress. It seems that these are all that will be needed for the present. They will alternate between inspection and studies every two weeks.

II. POLITICS[2]

State's Attorney Re-elected in Chicago.—The power which independent voters hold in reserve for future use, Graham Taylor points out in the Chicago *News*, was nowhere shown to be readier at hand and more effectively used than in the vote for state's attorney.

The city administration staked all its interests upon adding the public prosecutor's great power to its own fast and loose use of the police department for partisan political purposes. Although State's Attorney Hoyne in some particulars had conspicuously failed to regard and administer his office as a great public trust, yet he gave promise of so much more improvement and independence that independent Republicans joined with the Democrats in giving him the great plurality which snowed under and buried out of sight not only his opponent, but also city administration's political influence.

If any one would measure the balance of power ready for use in the hands of independent voters let him contrast the plurality of 147,477 votes cast for Mayor Thompson with the 40,000 or more plurality of votes for Hoyne and many more thousands of votes cast for Cunnea, all against Mayor Thompson's candidate for state's attorney. Add to this aggregate the votes cast against the park consolidation, the waste disposal proposition and the bathing beach bond issues, which were defeated by the friends of these measures rather than have them fall into the hands of the city administration, and you will see what independent voters are determined to do with officials who play personal and partisan politics with the public trusts committed to their care.

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[1] Municipal reference librarian.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

Our national, state, county and city administrations may one and all reckon upon just such use of the balance of power as independents hold and wield at will, either within their respective parties or, if need be, between the parties. The disappearance of the Progressive party, so far from reducing independence in American politics, demonstrates such growth and reserve power of the independent movement within each party, that this third party was regarded by most of its members as less effective than for independents to swing the balance of power within and between the parties as occasion requires.

⁂

The Proposed Removal of Memphis Officials.—A reliable correspondent writes that: "No one questions the integrity and efficiency of our city government. Our mayor is probably more popular than he has ever been. The prosecution under the ouster bill is politics pure and simple. Our mayor has, however, laid himself open to such action by failing to enforce the liquor laws. He lets it be understood that since the ouster bill was passed he has been endeavoring to enforce them, but I cannot believe that he has been endeavoring to enforce them as actively as he might. You must bear in mind that prohibition does not exist in Tennessee. For perhaps a generation we have had a four-mile law, that is, a law prohibiting the sale of liquor within four miles of a church or school, but this law did not apply to incorporated cities. All that the so-called prohibitionists have recently done in Tennessee, was to repeal that exception, so that if you can find in Tennessee a place which is four miles from a church or school, liquor can be legally sold.

"The repeal of the exemption has never been popular in Memphis and until recently I have believed that the mayor was carrying out the wishes of the people in ignoring the prohibition law. While today I do not believe the people of Memphis would vote for prohibition if the question were submitted to them, I do think that an overwhelming majority would vote for the enforcement of the law, as they are becoming very tired of the political annoyances due to its non-enforcement. The mayor takes this view I think and will hereafter enforce the law to the limit. In this trial the question was raised as to whether the defendants were entitled to a jury. The trial judge decided in the negative, thereupon the mayor said that for the purpose of getting the matter before the supreme court, he would plead guilty. The lower court entered a decree of ouster and the case is now before the supreme court. The mayor was anxious to have this court pass upon the question because he was re-elected last summer as mayor for four years beginning January 1 next, and I suppose he wants to understand just what power his political enemies will be able to hold over him for the future. If he were to enforce the liquor laws he would by no means be safe unless the supreme court holds that the case would have to come before a jury; for there are many other laws, such as selling cigarettes, printing a Sunday newspaper, movies and theatricals on Sunday, etc., which this community would be opposed to the rigid enforcement of and yet which a judge might feel compelled to oust the mayor for failing to enforce. A jury, of course, would feel that it possessed wider latitude.

"While these proceedings, which had been instigated by the governor for the purpose of lessening the influence of the city government on the senatorial primaries, were pending, some fifty prominent business men of the city went to Covington, where the governor happened to be, and presented a petition requesting the abandonment of the ouster proceedings, pledging themselves in that event to see that the liquor law was thoroughly enforced. The governor declined to take any action, claiming, among other things, that he had no power, but if the enforcement of the law had been his only motive, I think he would have received our petition in a very different manner.

"The mayor and the police commissioner were the persons ousted and their places were filled by the three other commissioners as follows: The commissioner of streets and sewers was made mayor, his position and that of the commissioner of police being filled from outsiders—friends of the administration, so that the control of the mayor over the city government is as great to-day as it has been at any time. The liquor law is being rigidly enforced and I understand it is the intention to continue such enforcement. I sincerely trust he will enforce all other reasonable prohibitory laws, thereby making his case before the public opinion of the state so strong as to dissuade his political opponents from attempting to use the ouster against him after he has taken his seat in January.

"Some weeks before these ouster proceedings were brought by the attorney-general at the suggestion of the governor, ten citizens filed an ouster bill alleging all manner of irregularities. That suit was never brought to trial; in spite of the most vigorous protest by the mayor who wished an opportunity of introducing proof in reference to these allegations, the bill was withdrawn and the state's allegations were purely with reference to the non-enforcement of the liquor and similar laws.

"The supreme court decided that any violation of law committed after the officer had been given his certificate of election—even though the term had not begun—could be made the basis of ouster from such term. Having admitted in the previous trial (to get the case to the supreme court!) that he and the police commissioner were guilty, the court said that admission could be used. These officers were sworn in and resigned before ouster proceedings could be brought. We now have good officers and peace and the liquor law is well enforced.

"The prosecuting attorney—called attorney-general—and the criminal court judge were impeached and found guilty and better men have their places but the city government had nothing to do with choosing the old officials. The net result of the upheaval is distinctly good and the governor has just been re-elected.

"The former mayor was elected to one of the most lucrative county offices in an election of great bitterness in which he had very unsatisfactory newspaper support. The feeling was that he had made a good mayor, had sacrificed his interests to those of the community, and should have an opportunity to recoup."

*

The Taxpayers' Association of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., was organized June, 1915. The continued increase in the assessed valuation of real estate, tremendous increase in the yearly budget, and the general unbusinesslike methods employed in the conduct of the city business, proved that there was much work for such an association.

From the very start the common council refused to recognize the association, contending that they were legally elected to conduct the business of the city; that the taxpayers have no right to interfere with their work; that the only alternative is to elect, or defeat, the man you desire to conduct your business at the annual election. The common council of Poughkeepsie is elected from the several wards.

One of the early efforts of the association was the defeat of a proposition, presented by the administration at a taxpayers' election, for the expenditure of $260,000 for the laying of new water mains; also to defeat a proposition to bond the city for the purchase of a defunct private school property. The climax was reached when the city budget for 1917 was before the council. The association made several suggestions relative to this budget, sending them to the council, and advising that a committee from the association would attend the October session to discuss the proposed budget. The council, recognizing the presence of this committee at their meeting, decided immediately to go into executive session, ordering the committee from the room. The association, viewing the situation, decided to rebuke this attitude of the council. For nearly a week the association ran half-page advertisements in the newspapers, telling the true condition of the city government. This proved effective in crystallizing public opinion. A committee of ten citizens was appointed to secure counsel, and stop, if possible, the expenditure of $25,000 for making over an old city hall; and finally a committee was appointed by the association to investigate the different forms of government.

The time seems ripe, and the association is determined to educate the people of Poughkeepsie to the importance of a change in the present form.

⁂

Judge Lindsey's Re-election in Denver.—Apropos of Judge Lindsey's re-election on November 7, 1916, the woman's non-partisan juvenile court association issued the following statement:

> The woman's non-partisan juvenile court association wishes to inform the friends of the juvenile court that after one of the hardest contests ever waged against Judge Lindsey and his court, he again triumphed on November 7, 1916, by the magnificent majority of 10,000.
>
> On account of this office being the very last on the ballot, and due to the terrible storm that raged on election day, the vote for juvenile judge was several thousand less than that cast for president and governor. Notwithstanding this great disadvantage, Judge Lindsey received nearly seven thousand more votes and majority than the aggregate vote cast for the other successful county candidates.
>
> This election thus completes what is perhaps one of the most unusual records in the history of municipal politics: out of nine elections through which Judge Lindsey has had to pass—which does not include the very expensive effort to force him to one recall election, and the three appointments—he has, in every single instance, received the largest vote and majority given any candidate for a county office.
>
> In view of the bitter attacks made upon him by the powerful interests he has opposed in Denver's community struggles, it is only fair that the general public throughout the country should know of his magnificent victory and how Denver has always stood by Judge Lindsey, his activities and his work.

⁂

Suggested Recall of City Manager Reed.—Petitions having for their object the removal from office of City Manager Thomas H. Reed of San Jose, Cal., with his assistant, Paul Eliel, are being circulated. The basis of the petition is that Mr. Reed was not a resident of the city at the time of his selection. Those backing the petition are also working for an amendment to the charter making it necessary for all city office holders to have lived in the city for three years before being eligible for positions.

⁂

The Oakland Recall.[1]—The superior court of Oakland has decided that a recount of the ballots cast on August 1, 1916, is permissible. At that election, according to the count then, the majority voted that there should be no recall of the commissioner of health and safety.

⁂

Public Spirit in Jacksonville, Fla.—A very striking illustration of public service has developed in Jacksonville, where nineteen prominent citizens have signed a statement declaring their willingness to serve on the board of bond trustees, provided they are so honored by the city manager. The statement with the names of the men is published in full because it represents such an unusual action.

> *To the President and Members of the City Council of Jacksonville, Fla.*:
>
> Gentlemen: Having been informed that the opinion has become prevalent in the city of Jacksonville that citizens having large interests in the city are unwilling to serve the city, and having been requested to state whether or not, if elected, we would serve, we, the undersigned citizens of Jacksonville, bearing in mind the duties of good citizens, having at heart the welfare of the city of Jacksonville to render such services as they may be called on to perform, hereby consent and agree that if your honorable body should deem it advisable to elect any of us to the office of bond trustees, we will render to the city in that capacity our best services.
>
> Respectfully submitted,
>
> George B. Foster, J. G. Boyd, C. B. Rogers, Charles Blum, Jay H. Durkee, E. M. Sanderson, George W. Parkhill, H. B. Minium, W. D. Jones, George O. Holmes, F. Meyerheim, W. A. Bours, H. Drew, Charles H. Mann, Frank Richardson, Edward E. Spencer, J. W. Brice, George L. Drew, Paul J. Saunders.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 674.

The bond trustees are a far more important body than their name would indicate, corresponding in a way to a board of public works and in certain other aspects to a city commission.

⁂

The Commission Form in Columbia, S. C.—For the last three years quite a little dissatisfaction has been expressed by the citizens of Columbia, S. C., about the failure of the commission form of government to carry forward constructive work. An effort was made to recall the mayor but the petitioners were unable to get the requisite number of signatures. Another group of dissatisfied citizens then undertook to recall two members of council, but they also failed to get the recall election ordered, on the ground that they did not have enough signatures. Thereupon all dissatisfied elements combined and under a section of the commission act which provided that after six years upon proper petition the question of recalling the form of government could be voted on, an effort was made to recall the government. They secured the election. A vigorous short campaign was put on by both sides, and the commission form won out four to one. This ratio was obtained in every ward of the city except one, where a large cotton mill vote was against the present form of government.

"The retention of the commission government is a strong testimonial to the belief that our people think," a correspondent writes, "the commission form is vastly superior to the old aldermanic form. There is a great deal of dissatisfaction here about the actual working of the commission form, but the voters properly took the view that they should look to the members of council and recall them if necessary rather than give up the entire form of government. The *Columbia State* in a strong editorial two days after the election warned the members of council that the retaining of the commission form was an expression of confidence in the form of government and not in the members of council and that the feeling was very strong in the city that unless council got together on constructive matters, some if not all of the council, including the mayor, should be recalled."

⁂

Boston's City Election.—Concerning the election on December 19, 1916, a well known correspondent writes as follows:

> The first superficial impression of our Boston election on Tuesday is somewhat confusing. First, with reference to the council: the good government association lost its grip undoubtedly and elected only two of its four candidates. One of the other two elected, Mr. MacDonald, can be explained on the basis of the strong city hall Democratic machine of which Mayor Curley is undoubtedly the head. With a growing feeling of resentment against the continued success of the good government association, which is after all a very close corporation and not a democratic body of citizens in any sense, it is not surprising that the machine should put over a candidate. But why the voters should give the second place in the list to Jerry Watson, the cheap demagogue, who was not earnestly supported by the Democratic machine, is one of the hardest things to explain. Of course there may have been a good deal of underhanded politics in the matter. My impression, as an outsider, is that the good government association has been trying to split hairs too much over men who were not supremely good instead of striking out boldly for mere men of large calibre like Storrow. It is obvious that they will have a big fight on their hands next year when they have a mayor as well as three councilors to choose.
>
> The license vote is still more difficult to explain. Here again it was not at all surprising that there should have been a great effort on the part of the liquor interests and that the city should have been held for license. But why there should have been actually 1,500 fewer "no" votes this year than last, when there was no campaign last year in the interest of "no," and when this year there was a general campaign not only by Mr. Sunday's cohorts but by the concerted action of many other groups, is difficult to answer. Is it possible that Sunday has so overdone the business of consigning bar keepers and drunkards to hell that people have sided with the under dog in the fight? One salesman at a popular counter remarked to me that he voted "yes" merely because he did not want to see the town go dry at the dictate of Eugene Foss and Billy Sunday. There must have been many others who had something of the same sort of feeling because the majority of

23,000 for license is far greater than the liquor men had any reason to expect.

In the election of school committee the very large vote for Mr. Abrahams, the representative of the central labor union, shows the trend of interest in many minds. We have always made a sort of an effort in this city to divide our five school committee members on the basis of two Protestants, two Catholics and one Jew. This ratio is accomplished again by the election this year. The public school association is satisfied so we may put that part of the vote down on the side of intelligence.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS[1]

Virginia Optional Charter Act.—The optional charter act,[2] passed by the legislature of 1914, allows the voters of any city under 100,000 inhabitants to select one of three plans for their city government. These plans are known as the "general council plan," the "modified commission plan" and the "general manager plan." In each case, the voters determine also, within certain limits, the number of members of which the city council is to be composed, whether they are to be elected at large or by wards, and whether or not they are to be compensated. This is much more far-reaching than the alternative charter act of Massachusetts and gives the electors considerable discretion. The act has not yet been tested in the supreme court but the circuit courts of Portsmouth and Newport News in ordering an election pursuant to the act thereby passed upon its constitutionality and declared it valid.

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State Regulation of Municipal Labor.—The United States Supreme Court has decided in *Heim* v. *McCall*[3] that the general power of a state over its municipalities extends to the regulation of the kind of laborers who may be employed in the construction of public works. The New York law[4] provides that only citizens of the United States, and preferably citizens of New York, may be employed. The case came up in connection with the building of the subway after the public service commission had declared certain contracts void for non-compliance with the labor law.

In the case of *Crane* v. *New York*,[5] the court sustained that portion of the same act making it a misdemeanor to employ aliens on public works, saying that it does not offend against the fourteenth amendment as violating the principle of classification.[6] This law makes one think somewhat of the exclusion of non-residents by some civil service commissions.

⁂

Eight-Hour Day for City Labor.—In *Elkan* v. *State*,[7] the judgment of the court of appeals of Maryland that a state law[8] limiting the hours of all laborers, workmen or mechanics employed by or on behalf of the city of Baltimore, except in emergencies, to eight hours was affirmed. The law also provided for increased pay in the same proportion if longer hours were required. Although there had been a number of decisions the other way, the case was decided largely on the basis of *Atkin* v. *Kansas*[9] where an eight-hour law applying both to state and municipal labor was sustained. The question involved was obviously a federal question, and the decision of the United States supreme court was, therefore, properly followed.

⁂

Abolition of Office by Changing Title.—A new city administration in Oakland, Cal., passed an ordinance abolishing certain old positions in the classified civil service and creating new ones. The incumbents were notified that their employment was terminated. Application was then made to the civil service commission for classification of the new positions. Investigation showed that the duties of the new positions were the same as the old, though different titles were used. In the case of *Barry* v. *Jackson,*[1] the old incumbents got a peremptory writ restoring them to office. It is distinctly encouraging to find the courts standing by civil service and guarding it against raids which come so often with political changes.

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[1] We are happy to be able to announce that Robert Emmet Tracy, Esq., secretary of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research, has taken charge of the department of judicial decisions, succeeding Thomas H. Reed, who by reason of his duties as city manager of San Jose, California, has been unable to conduct that department. Mr. Tracy is a graduate of Harvard, receiving his A.B. degree in 1906 and LL.B. in 1911.—EDITOR.

[2] Acts of Assembly 1914, chapter 81.

[3] 36 Supreme Court Reporter 78.

[4] Chapter 31, §14 N. Y. Consol. Laws.

[5] 36 Supreme Court Reporter 85.

[6] *Lee* v. *Lynn*, 223 Mass. 109, follows this case.

[7] 239 U. S. 634.

[8] Acts of 1910, chapter 94, §2–3.

[9] 191 U. S. 207.

◆

Distinction between Officer and Employe.—The office of stockkeeper was created by a resolution of city council and later the mayor appointed the plaintiff in the case of *Jones* v. *Battle Creek*[2] to fill the place. The next year Jones was reappointed and a few days before his year was up a new charter was adopted. This provided that appointive officers, whose terms had not expired, should continue until their successors were appointed by the commission. The court ruled that Jones was only an employe, that his employment ceased when the charter was adopted, and that he was not entitled to salary for service after that time.

◆

De Facto and De Jure Officers.—In *Thompson* v. *Denver,*[3] the court held that an officer *de jure* cannot recover from a municipal corporation for a period during which he has been deprived of his office and a *de facto* officer has been receiving pay. This is the general rule. In *Cleveand* v. *Luttner,*[4] however, the court reached an opposite conclusion on much the same set of facts. There was a strong dissenting opinion, calling attention to the line of decisions against this view. This was the case of a number of policemen who had been wrongfully dismissed and were suing for back pay. Possibly this decision, if followed, will have the effect of arousing public opinion against unwarranted discharges from the public service and of protecting civil servants from losses which they least of all can afford to bear.

◆

Initiative and Referendum.—An attempt was made to enjoin the holding of an election under the new St. Louis charter[5] on the ground that the provision for the initiative was invalid. In the case of *Pitman* v. *Drabelle,*[6] it was decided that the charter provision was not invalid, first, because it was permitted by the constitution, and second, because the single-chambered city council was given the powers of legislation in the first instance.

In *Perrault* v. *Robinson,*[7] a petition, bearing the requisite number of signatures of qualified voters, was presented to the city council of Boise asking for the opening of moving picture shows on Sunday nights. An ordinance permitting this was passed and approved. Later a petition for a referendum was filed. The plaintiff asked for a writ of prohibition to prevent an election. The lower court refused to grant it but the upper court reversed the judgment. A vigorous dissenting opinion argued that the calling of an election is a political thing and outside the jurisdiction of a court of equity.

◆

Zoning Ordinances.—In two recent cases, zoning ordinances failed to run the gauntlet of the courts. In *State* v. *Houghton,*[8] an ordinance establishing a residential district and forbidding the erection of stores within it was held not to prevent the building of a store. This, the court felt, was not a harmful use of the property although it said that the ordinance might apply to other buildings whose character would bring them within the police power. There was a very able dissenting opinion in this case, cautioning against following precedents with too much obedience, urging that judicial notice be taken of some of the things about property which everybody knows by experience and that the vested right of other owners not to have their values destroyed should be respected.

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[1] 157 Pacific 828.

[2] 159 N. W. 145.

[3] 158 Pacific 309.

[4] 111 N. E. 280.

[5] Article 5, §1–6.

[6] 183 S. W. 1055.

[7] 158 Pacific 1074.

[8] 158 N. W. 1057.

Largely on the same grounds as in the first case, a zoning law in Baltimore failed to prevent the building of houses closer together than ten feet because the court said, in *Byrne* v. *Maryland Realty Company*,[1] that there was nothing inherently menacing to the public health or safety in such houses and that since property rights, guaranteed by the constitution cannot be invaded purely for æsthetic purposes under the guise of the police power, the law was unconstitutional.[2]

⁂

Civil Service and Home Rule.—The case of *State* v. *George*[3] is consistent with the attorney general's ruling that Ohio cities having a home rule charter are not amenable to the state civil service law.[4] Section 19 of this act provides for the appointment by the mayor of a civil service commission. If the mayor fails to act within sixty days, the state commission may do so. In the case in point a commission was appointed after the sixty day period by one mayor who was followed in a few months by another who tried to appoint his own commission and oust the first on the ground that their appointment was void. The court held that the act was directory, not mandatory and that the first commission should remain. The court felt that statutes passed pursuant to the home rule amendment should be construed liberally. This is in line with the theory that good civil service must come through a popular desire for it and cannot be handed down from above.

⁂

Special Assessments.—An ordinance requiring two water mains in exceptionally wide streets and in streets occupied by car tracks was held in *Chicago* v. *Hirschl*[5] not so unreasonable as to constitute an abuse of discretion by the council or an arbitrary imposition of an unjust burden upon the owners of property. The confirmation of the special assessment by the county court was affirmed.

⁂

Municipal Wheelage Tax.—In view of the increasing cost of keeping up city streets the case of *Park* v. *Duluth*[6] is interesting. The court therein sustains a municipal ordinance, under a home rule charter, imposing a wheelage tax on vehicles, with automobiles especially in mind, the proceeds to be used in repairing and improving the city streets.

⁂

Abandonment of Commission Form of Government.—That there is a decided reaction in some quarters against the commission form of government is shown by the case of *State* v. *Lanier*[7] in which the Alabama court had before them a petition for a mandamus to the president of the commission of Huntsville to require him to submit at an election the question of abandoning the commission form of government and of returning to the aldermanic form. An act of 1915[8] provides a mode by which commission-governed cities might go back to the old form. The lower court sustained a demurrer to the petition, but the upper court reversed it on the ground that the act in question was not unconstitutional.[9]

⁂

Recall of City Commissioners.—A writ of prohibition was sought to prevent the operation of the recall under an Alabama act[10] providing for the recall of commissioners of Mobile under the commission form of government. This act was adjudged void in *Williams* v. *State*,[11] as violating a section of the constitution[12] which provides that municipal officers may be removed by certain courts for causes specified in section 173. The court's reason was that the act fixes the term of office at three years and the additional phrase "until his successor is elected and qualified" does not make the term indefinite or uncertain, nor does section 14 operate on the term to cut it down to an indefinite or unfixed term, but operates only upon the individual commissioner. Three judges signed a lengthy dissenting opinion, sustaining the law, largely on the grounds that under the rules of statutory construction, the subsequent provisions must control; that of conflicting provisions, the general must give way to the specific.

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[1] 98 Atlantic 547.

[2] Laws of 1912, Chapter 693, §1.

[3] 110 N. E. 951.

[4] 103 Ohio Laws 708.

[5] 113 N. E. 899.

[6] 159 N. W. 627.

[7] 72 Southern 320.

[8] Acts of 1915 770.

[9] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 662.

[10] Acts of 1911, p. 345, ¶14.

[11] 72 Southern 330.

[12] Constitution 1901, §175.

⁂

Regulation of Milk Supply.—In *Chicago* v. *Chicago & N. W. Railway Co.*,[1] an ordinance was declared unreasonable and invalid which penalized a carrier for transporting into the city milk of a temperature of more than 55 degrees. The court held that there must be some logical connection between the object sought by the ordinance and the means to accomplish the end. It appeared that much milk was collected at stations where there was no other business for the railroad and that it was left there some time before the arrival of the milk trains.[2]

ROBERT EMMET TRACY.

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Duluth's Grant of Municipal Power.—Duluth, Minn., adopted a second home-rule charter on December 3, 1912, which contains probably the briefest stated, and at the same time the most inclusive, grant of municipal power of any city in the United States. The supreme court of Minnesota sustained the validity of the grant, in a decision handed down November 3, 1916, in the case of *State ex rel. Isidor Zien* v. *City of Duluth*, the syllabus of which reads:

"The present charter, after continuing in force all powers previously possessed by the city, granted, in addition thereto, 'all municipal powers . . . of every name and nature whatsoever.' Held that 'all municipal powers' includes all powers generally recognized as powers which may properly be exercised by municipal corporations."

Duluth adopted its present home-rule charter primarily to install the commission form of government; but while doing it undertook to bring its municipal government strictly up-to-date, and adopted the preferential system of voting and the broad grant of power hereinabove referred to. The supreme court, in a reactionary decision, but by a divided court, held the preferential system of voting unconstitutional; but it has now, by a unanimous court, upheld the broad grant of power which in fact as well as in name makes it possible in Minnesota for "home-rule cities" really to have a home-rule administration of their government.

If this decision of the supreme court establishes a precedent which other state courts generally will follow, it plainly points a way to draft city charters in the future in order to avoid interference by the legislatures and courts with the local affairs of our municipalities. The law books are full of cases where the insufficiency of some specific grant of power, or the necessities of *Stare decisis* in the construction of some specific grant of power, has thwarted the desire of the people of our municipalities to legislate on their own local questions in their own way. All such difficulties may be obviated by abandoning the old phraseology in making specific grants of power and adopting the phraseology of the Duluth charter.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Fifth National Conference on Housing.—There was a time not so many years back when it was not uncommon to find intelligent, wideawake men to whom the words "housing problem" were nothing more than words. That time has now gone by. The conference on housing held in Providence October 9–11 has given unmistakable evidence that people are becoming more keenly aware that to provide good, sanitary houses with enough light and air for the working classes of our cities is a big undertaking that demands the earnest attention of all public-spirited men. The attendance was larger than ever before with a single exception. There were delegates from 17 states and 64 cities in the United States, as well as representatives of England and Ireland.

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[1] 113 N. E. 849.

[2] See article by Miss Harlean James, page 95.

Prominent among the new tendencies brought out was the interest in the question of constructing houses for workingmen, at low costs. Manufacturers and large employers of labor are coming to realize that they cannot get efficient, loyal service from employes who are compelled to live in shacks unfit for respectable human beings, and therefore they are giving careful attention to the advisability of undertaking to build attractive but inexpensive homes. Ample proof of the awakening is manifested in the large number of enterprises of this kind launched during the past year.

Then, too, the hitherto unparalleled development in manufacturing in New England cities since the beginning of the war, gave rise to a particularly distressing housing situation. The population of these cities increased by leaps and bounds and the workers attracted from all over the country by the almost fabulous wages offered, have had to huddle together with their families in cellars, shacks, improvised tenements—anything that would hold them. Delegates from these cities and representatives of large manufacturing plants came to find out what housing experts had to tell them about building low cost homes.

This demand was anticipated, and the program furnished a remarkable series of papers on the subject by such well-known authorities as Grosvenor Atterbury, designer of the Forest Hills gardens; John Nolen, the well-known expert on city planning; Perry R. MacNeille, one of New York's prominent architects; Owen Brainard, architect, engineer and advisor to the U. S. Steel corporation; Lawrence Veiller, director, National Housing Association, and Arthur C. Comey, city plan expert of Cambridge, Mass.

Construction is but one of the many vital phases of housing and although at the conference this year it was given unusual prominence, the other phases were by no means neglected. It was the aim, as in the past, to give a place on the program to each phase of the problem that interests particular groups of delegates. At one of the afternoon sessions devoted to the question of government and housing, Dr. Francis E. Fronczak, health commissioner of Buffalo, discussed the housing evils that confront almost every town and city in the country—the windowless room, the privy vault, the damp cellar, the filthy toilet, overcrowding, and so on through all the long list. Dr. Fronczak has had wide experience in the housing field and his efforts have met with uniform success. His discussion of ways and means of remedying the common evils in housing proved to be most effective.

A scholarly paper on "Housing and disease," by Professor Ford of Harvard, may perhaps be best summed up in this sentence, "Housing legislation is most effective in the prevention of disease in all probability, not because it provides means of reducing contact or destroying germs, but because of the part it may play in the building up of resistance."

On one subject at least there proved to be a practical unanimity of opinion—that the so-called "three-decker" is a serious menace and is doomed to take its place among the tabooed evils in housing construction. The "three-decker" has come to mean a frame building with wooden walls and built for more than two families—a type of construction peculiar to New England. Prescott F. Hall of Brookline, Mass., in his paper, the menace of the "three-decker," referred to the building of these wooden tenements as "only a habit based on a superficial study" of building construction. He presented the case so strongly that not a voice was raised in the defense of this form of building.

In marked contrast to the section meeting on the three-decker, Bernard J. Newman's paper on "Shall we encourage or discourage the apartment house" stirred up a lively debate, which clearly showed that "there is much to be said on both sides."

Considerable attention was given to the housing problem of Providence where a recent housing survey had unearthed a situation that well merited all the attention the conference devoted to it.

It would be impossible to conclude any description of the conference at Providence without calling attention to the masterful address of Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League, the well known tax expert and a member of the New York commission on building districts, on "The districting of cities." It proved to be one of the most popular subjects discussed at the conference and points clearly to the growing interest in districting as a means of preventing haphazard building and of helping to safeguard the health, safety and general welfare of our cities.

BLEECKER MARQUETTE.[1]

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Social Hygiene Meeting.—The annual meeting and conference of the American Social Hygiene Association was held jointly with the St. Louis social hygiene society and the committee of one hundred in St. Louis, November 19, 20 and 21, 1916, the first meeting of the association to be held west of the Allegheny mountains.

There were four public meetings. The first was presided over by George R. Dodson, Ph.D., president of the St. Louis society, the subject being the new public conscience. William A. Evans, M.D., professor of sanitary science in Northwestern university, spoke on public health and public morals. The subject of the second meeting was health aspects of social hygiene. At the third meeting the subject discussed was ways and means of public education regarding social hygiene.

The fourth meeting was devoted to a discussion of the repression of commercialized vice. Addresses were made by the attorney-general of Iowa, George Cossen, the author of the injunction and abatement law; Samuel P. Thrasher, superintendent of the Chicago committee of fifteen; Very Reverend Robert K. Massie, D.D., chairman of the vice commission of Lexington, Ky., and by Abram W. Harris, LL.D., president of the American association.

It was significant that physicians, lawyers, educators, clergymen and publicists joined in a frank and public discussion of social vice and diseases and suggested methods of prevention and attack. The public meetings were crowded and eager men and women listened for hours to what a few years ago would have been considered a subject to be shunned. Prostitution was condemned from the point of view of medicine, morals and religion, and the methods of attacking its ravages were explained by those most competent to speak. The key note was prostitution is not a necessary evil, but that education, public health measures, better living and working conditions and the constant repression of commercialized vice can and will prevent or reduce much of it. If there was any shadow of a doubt about the inadvisability of attempting to segregate vice it was dispelled by the most vigorous condemnation of the policy of segregation by every speaker.

Out of the meetings came the formation of the Missouri state social hygiene association, of which J. Lionberger Davis was elected president, which was organized to co-ordinate the efforts of the several local societies in Missouri and to co-operate with the American association.

Throughout the meeting of the association the press of the city was generous of space and intelligent in reporting the various addresses and the message of the speakers was carried to thousands who were awakened to the importance of the vital subjects discussed.

J. LIONBERGER DAVIS.

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Urban Universities.—The association of urban universities held its third convention in New York city, November 15, 16 and 17. At the organization meeting in Washington (under the auspices of the Bureau of Education), the discussion centered around such fundamental topics as: the need for universities maintained as part of the system of public education in cities; the functions of such universities; and the forms of service to the cities which they and the privately endowed universities of urban location should undertake. At the second meeting, in Cincinnati, in 1915, training for public service was the principal subject treated, while the New York meeting November 15–17, 1916, was given over primarily to a discussion of various aspects of field work.

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[1] Assistant secretary, tenement house committee, charity organization society, New York city.

The field work committee, appointed last year, made its report in ten sections, presented as ten papers as follows:

Nature of field work, President Charles W. Dabney of the University of Cincinnati; Grade of student employed in field work, President Hollis Godfrey of the Drexel Institute; Method of assigning field work, Professor J. Q. Dealey of Brown University; Methods of supervising field work, Professor Augustus R. Hatton of Western Reserve University; Training and assistance to public employes, Professor Clyde L. King of the University of Pennsylvania; Limitations on co-operation in field work, Professor Charles A. Beard of Columbia University; Agencies suitable for co-operation in field work, Miss Edith Abbott, Chicago school of civics and philanthropy; Methods of accrediting field work, Professor P. A. Parsons of the Syracuse University; Results obtained in field work, Dean O. W. Caldwell of University College, Chicago University; Financial remuneration for field work, Dean Everett W. Lord of Boston University.

The papers clearly indicated that field work is being used more and more by city institutions of learning as an instrument of education, but the pedagogy of the matter has by no means been standardized. The report will be further elaborated and published later.

Another topic of great interest was the training of employes in the civil service of the city. The work of New York city and the College of the City of New York were considered in some detail. There are nearly 100,000 persons employed in the New York city public service. They are admitted in the lower grades of the service and are advanced by promotion examinations. Since persons are recruited for the higher grades from the lower, it becomes obvious that the city or its college must do something to educate the advancing public servant if men of high calibre and training are to be secured for important places. The College of the City of New York courses conducted in the municipal building and in the college itself have approximately 1,000 students. The courses are designed to improve the efficiency of persons in service from the lowest to the highest in the clerical, accounting and engineering divisions.

Western Reserve University has just inaugurated courses similar in aim but more general in content. It is probable that colleges in large cities throughout the country will give some attention to the training not only of persons who expect to enter public service, but also of those who are already in that service and who look forward to advancement.

The general impression one gets from the convention is that colleges in urban centres are devoting themselves more and more to a study of the real needs of their communities and are trying to adapt their work to meeting those needs. Furthermore, conscious of the necessity for aggressive work for the public good, they are creating new departments to train public servants and also to elevate the general intelligence of the adult population of the cities.

FREDERICK B. ROBINSON.[1]

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Conference on Universities and Public Service.—An important set of topics for discussion, speakers of national reputation—an announced program of unusual interest. Attendance, on the other hand, surprisingly small, and entirely too local. Such in the main was the condensed impression on the mind of the observer, of the Third National Conference on Universities and Public Service, held November 15 and 16, at Philadelphia. The meeting was by no means a side show of the civil service reform circus, nor yet was it a group meeting of the "vocational guiders." Teachers and those primarily concerned with public administration met here on common ground, and the tone of all the meetings was refreshingly constructive and optimistic. The most striking addresses were those of Mr. Wehle, of Louisville, Ky., who pointed out the need of the introduction of the social viewpoint in legal education, and of Dr. McCarthy, of the Wisconsin legislative reference library, who closed the sessions with a stirring plea for keeping our halls of learning pure and undefiled as laboratories of the social sciences. The Philadelphia newspapers gave the meetings excellent treatment, and ample space was allowed by each of them for description and comment. It is too bad that the advance publicity was not so successful. Possibly a larger attendance might have been secured, also, had there not been a conflict of dates with those of the annual meeting of the association of urban universities.

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[1] Secretary-treasurer, association of urban universities,

Frederick P. Gruenberg.

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Indiana City Planning Tour.—While presidential candidates were scurrying back and forth over Indiana, in a mad rush for votes, another presidential tour was conducted in that state, which, for results to Indiana, may safely be said to be of equal if not of more importance to that state than the political tours. It was a presidential tour by the president of the Indiana real estate associations to include a visitation to all of the local real estate boards in that state. Lee J. Ninde, of Fort Wayne, Ind., was the president.

For years Mr. Ninde has been actively engaged in the development of new residential districts in Fort Wayne. Three or four years ago he became greatly interested in city planning and since that time has become one of the recognized leaders in its exploitation with especial reference to the participation in the movement of the real estate profession.

In arranging a visitation to his boards he wanted to carry some message of great importance to them, and he selected as the theme the general subject of city planning with a specific objective in view, namely, the passage by the Indiana legislature of an act to create city planning commissions in cities of 10,000. His idea was a new and brilliant one and while it was developed in a comparatively short time, it was successfully carried out with benefits to all of the cities visited and to the entire state through newspaper publicity.

The initial meeting was held at Fort Wayne, on Monday, October 9, and from there a party composed of members of various real estate boards, together with speakers especially invited from the east, left for a ten days' tour including stops at Elkhart, South Bend, Michigan City, Hammond, Gary, Kokomo, Logansport, Terre Haute, Crawfordville, Evansville, New Albany, Indianapolis, Muncie, Anderson and Marion. At each city arrangements had been made for either a luncheon or dinner meeting to which were invited all local real estate men and other citizens.

Mr. Ninde made the opening address in which he set forth the purposes of the tour and emphasized the appeal that was to be made directly to the real estate men as to their responsibility affecting the extension of city planning. Other speakers at these meetings were Flavel Shurtleff, secretary of the National Conference of City Planning, Richard B. Watrous, secretary of the American Civic Association, Tom S. Ingersoll, secretary of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, and John C. Lathrop, director of the American city bureau. At every city visited marked interest was shown in the subject.

It was truly a missionary campaign carrying a real gospel to a people who were ready to receive it. Whether Indiana, at the next session of its legislature, passes a city planning law, great impetus has been given to comprehensive city planning in that state.

Richard B. Watrous.

The Oberlin College Civic Club undertook a unique investigation, the new primary law in Ohio affording them the opportunity. Those familiar with the workings of the primary system realize at once the need of getting the numerous candidates and their views before the people, especially when as high as thirteen candidates run for the one office of sheriff, as was the case in Lorain County, Ohio. The club, under the guidance of Professor Karl F. Geiser of the political science department, attempted to meet this need and it is generally felt that they succeeded in no mean way. In fact this biennial investigation has given a new turn to Lorain county politics, and candidates with questionable records have been taught to think twice before placing their names before the voter. The investigations covered eight to ten weeks, the candidates being interviewed and hundreds of references secured. The results obtained were not the opinions of the men making the investigation, but the prevailing opinion of all the people talked to. Every statement made in the reports was backed up by evidence in black and white.

The club is again organized and it is going to take up some work in the second semester; thus far it has not decided upon any definite program.

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National Social Unit Association.—Announcement has been made of the selection of Cincinnati, Ohio, as a field for a national experiment in social organization, which will be conducted under the auspices of the National Social Unit Organization, of which Mr. Gifford Pinchot, former chief of the Federal Bureau of Forestry, is president.

The aim of the experiment is to ascertain how far it is possible to develop within a small district of not more than twenty thousand, nor less than ten thousand people, an organization democratically representative of the people who live therein and which is able to study and set in motion programs for meeting its social needs on an approximately 100 per cent basis. Through a corps of neighborhood social workers at first arbitrarily chosen, but eventually to be selected by small units of population (possibly four or five hundred people), continuous, sympathetic and intelligent contact will be established gradually with all the people living in the district. A system of municipal statistics would thus be rendered possible which later may be extended to the entire community.

Various social activities, public and private, will be grouped at a central headquarters which will serve as a local city hall. An attempt will also be made gradually to centralize the work of separate private organizations engaged in similar fields of social endeavor, with a view to increasing efficiency and economy and reducing overhead charges. All of the leading social agencies in Cincinnati have pledged their support to this plan. Each special department of work within the district will be supervised by a committee of specialists, elected by and responsible to its appropriate city organization. The medical work, for example, will be supervised by the medical profession; the social work by the profession of social workers; the nursing work by the nursing profession, etc. Heads of city departments, such as the health department, department of charities, etc., will be found on appropriate committees. These committees will be united, through their chairmen, into a city council which will conduct the experiment.

The National Social Unit Organization was created on April 11, 1916, in New York city. Realizing that the co-operation of social workers in the city selected for its experiment would be essential to the success of its plan, it made no attempt to go to the cities of the country with its plan, but waited for those cities to come forward and avail themselves of the aid which it was willing to offer. Sixteen communities wrote in making inquiries or asking for information. Among these were, Baltimore, Washington, Newark, New Haven, Kansas City, Providence, St. Paul, Syracuse, Poughkeepsie, Worcester and Santa Barbara. Cincinnati was selected because of its readiness for the idea, as evidenced by the quick understanding and remarkable co-operation which it extended and which came from Mayor Puchta, the heads of city departments, business men, social workers, women's organizations, educators and the public in general.

The estimated cost of the work for three years is $135,000. A portion of this budget will be devoted to the travelling and hotel expenses of national experts who will be called in to advise in the formulation of the local plans.

The organization of the work will begin some time in December and will be carried on by the executives of the organization, Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur C. Phillips.

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The Civic and Vocational League of Cincinnati.—In 1915 the Cincinnati chamber of commerce instituted a civic and vocational league. It brought a number of clubs existing in the public schools together into a federation under the above name. Since that time other similar clubs have been steadily formed and taken into the federation. The purpose of the federation as set forth in its constitution is: (1) to study the civic and vocational life of the city by firsthand observation; (2) to learn what opportunities the industrial life of the city offers to young people; (3) to teach its members to think seriously and wisely concerning various vocational studies; (4) to assist in preparing its members to take an active and efficient place in these vocations; (5) to connect more closely the work of the public schools with the life of the community; and (6) to teach its members to aid effectively in meeting the civic needs of the community and to assist the civic institutions in promoting the general welfare of the city. As an incident, the members of the federation are required to commit to memory the Athenian oath.

Under the auspices of the league, meetings and lectures have been conducted, industrial and civic excursions as well as free sight-seeing trips made, to stimulate the study of city affairs. In the latter part of September, a dinner was arranged for the federation which was attended by 140 principals and teachers, the superintendent of schools, members of the board of education, the president and directors of the chamber of commerce, and representatives of the woman's city club, with the object of bringing about a close co-operation between the business men and the schools of the city. This undertaking of the chamber of commerce of Cincinnati is not only a movement in the right direction but one that deserves general attention. It promises to afford a channel for a lively interchange of views between business men and teachers, and may be expected to do much to assist the schools in developing an ardent body of citizens equipped with sufficient knowledge to pass with understanding upon the civic problems of Cincinnati.

MURRAY GROSS.

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Public Service Exhibit Bureau.—Chicago is a central point for expositions, conventions, conferences. Over 475 were held there last year and national associations are establishing permanent quarters in the West. As a consequence the demand for exhibit service in the West to supply pictorial and three-dimension presentation of data has grown apace. To meet this, and at the same time, to serve as a central clearing house for educational material on civic and social activities, a public service exhibit bureau has been incorporated recently under the laws of Illinois, by Edward L. Burchard, secretary of the community center conference of Chicago and by Messrs. Leo Ranney and J. R. McFarland, managers of the former national exhibit bureau (now re-organized).

The new bureau has invented a photographic process for preparing exhibits, examples of which were shown at the recent Springfield conference of the National Municipal League. The process has interested many civic organizations because the use of linen cloth for the half-tones of photographs does away with the expensive heavy board or cardboard backgrounds heretofore necessary for exhibits. The new exhibits have been used very successfully by the Chicago tuberculosis institute for its exhibits traveling about Chicago.

The bureau will shortly have a complete exhibit on recreation prepared by this process with the editorial co-operation of leading authorities in the recreation field, and other exhibits are under way that will be of interest to civic and social workers. Exhibits and exhibit installations seem to be the main function of the new bureau. It has installed exhibits for some of the leading associations in Chicago and elsewhere. At the same time, it is forming a bureau of information relative to lantern slides, motion films and interpretive literature on community subjects.

E. L. Burchard.

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A Public Kitchen Experiment.—This is a statement of the work of Mrs. James A. Burden, Jr., and Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, Jr., and a group of well-known women who comprise the committee on public kitchens of the New York association for improving the condition of the poor.

In 1915 when we first felt the industrial effect of the war, these two ladies proposed the establishment of a public kitchen where simple, wholesome foods expertly selected and prepared could be sold at cost particularly to be taken home for family use. While this is the first public kitchen experiment in America, it was modeled somewhat after similar depots known to Norway since 1858 and Vienna since 1872.

It was intended that the kitchen would meet the needs of those who, owing to unemployment, were compelled to live on less than was consistent with efficient life; those who, owing to reduced incomes and high living costs, were compelled to retrench on foods, thus endangering health and vitality; mothers who were compelled to go to the factory to supplement the family income and who are, therefore, unable to prepare food properly for themselves and for their families; mothers who, through illness, were unable to minister adequately to the needs of the household; housewives incapable of preparing properly the food for their families and themselves; pregnant mothers who, unable to prepare food for themselves, often endanger the life of the prospective child by improper nutrition.

The committee faced the fact in the beginning that it would be a matter of educating the people to patronize such a venture because of its extraordinary character. The committee was conscious of the fact that there would be no justification for such public kitchens unless they ultimately became self-supporting from the sales, thus catering to self-respecting families. It was intended to utilize, in so far as the resources of the committee allowed, the kitchen as a unit of public education in matters of food selection, preparation, sanitation, etc.

Certain conclusions have been forced upon us as a result of nearly two years' operations. We find that while in the beginning from 20 to 80 per cent of the patronage was home patronage, this percentage dropped off until at the present time only 25 per cent of the output of the kitchen goes to the home. Having located in a combined factory and tenement district, it was found that the demand for restaurant facilities for industrial workers was so great that the demand had to be met. As a result, the home trade was considerably decreased. The summer showed a greater demand for home trade than the winter owing to the fact that fires are out and the expense and inconvenience of stove fires make the kitchen facilities specially attractive to housewives.

The kitchen has never been quite self-supporting although at times it almost reached that point. The generosity of the group behind this interesting and important experiment has made possible the continuation of the work over an experimental period of approximately three years. The kitchen has been open 543 days during which $13,084 worth of food was sold, averaging 12.8 cents per patron; 101,129 customers came to the kitchen and 303,387 portions of food have been sold.

Some of the interesting by-products of

the people's kitchen development have been the stimulus given to factory owners in the district to provide facilities in the factories for the preparation and dispensation of food to their employes.

Edward F. Brown.[1]

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The Voters' League of Milwaukee has just completed a successful campaign for finances by raising a fund of $11,000 a year for a period of three years, with which to enlarge and make more effective its work.

Like similar civic organizations the Milwaukee voters' league has constantly been confronted with the problem of securing sufficient finances adequately to meet the plans laid out by those in charge. The men who direct the affairs of the organization were too busy to devote any considerable time to the raising of funds, and on several occasions resorted to solicitation by paid solicitors, but this also was found to be unsatisfactory. Having given considerable of their time and financial support to this work, the members of the league decided to take up another plan of raising funds. This was done by making a contract with the Town Development Company of New York city, whereby it was agreed to have two men of their campaign staff come to Milwaukee to assume charge of the work of raising a fund for three-year annual subscriptions.

During the campaign some 125 prominent and public-spirited men of the city were invited to luncheons in groups of from twenty-five to forty each, and the work of the organization was explained, as well as the need for additional finances. All of these men were enthusiastic over the results accomplished so far, and those who were able to devote the time to it agreed to call upon the citizens who probably would be interested in supporting the movement. Much literature was sent out to the gentlemen who were to be called upon, augmented by a bulletin explaining the work of the organization in detail and the results accomplished. Letters of well-known citizens also were sent endorsing the work, and practically every person who was approached became a subscriber. The campaign was a success in every way, and with funds of old subscribers added to those obtained from new ones, the Milwaukee voters' league expects to place its pamphlet reports on candidates in the hands of the majority of the voters of the city.

The league also has started issuing a monthly publication, *Municipal Affairs*, which deals with the transaction of public business in the city hall and court house. The object of this publication is to get the public officials and the public in closer touch with each other, and to keep the electorate informed of the actions of their public servants.

W. J. Bollenbeck.[2]

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Activities of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.—As a result of the 1 per cent tax law, *Columbus* found itself in 1916 in serious financial straits. There was approximately a $300,000 deficit from 1915, and the city council was confronted with a $600,000 deficit in 1917's budget. Therefore, they asked the New York bureau of municipal research to send its men to Columbus and assist the council in solving the local problem. The bureau has assigned ten of its specialists to the undertaking. They have proceeded along three main lines: (1) reduction of expenditures, (2) increasing revenues, and (3) giving more and better service for money now spent.

In October the bureau completed a survey of the city and county of *San Francisco* for the real estate board there. The results were so encouraging that the citizens of San Francisco immediately raised a fund of $20,000 a year for five years and established a local bureau of municipal research to co-operate with their government along the same lines as have been followed by similar bureaus in other communities. The new bureau begins work January 1, 1917.

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[1] Executive secretary, committee on public kitchens, association for improving the condition of the poor.

[2] Secretary, Milwaukee municipal voters' league.

Since September 1 the New York bureau has been engaged in making an audit and survey for the city government of *Kansas City*. It has also been making a survey of *Jamestown, N. Y.*, for the board of commerce there, and a five-year audit for the city council of Jamestown. Similarly the bureau is making an audit and survey of *Nassau County, N. Y.*, for a commission of prominent citizens there.

Among the other undertakings which are now under way may be mentioned a survey of the four hospitals of *Rochester, N. Y.*, which care for city patients; the preparation of schedules and procedures necessary to place the sinking funds of *Buffalo, N. Y.*, on an actuarial basis; the preparation of critical report on the charter of *North Adams, Mass.*, and co-operation in revising the new accounting system of *Plainfield, N. J.*

Herbert R. Sands.[1]

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A National Single Tax League is in process of formation to take up the work of the Fels fund commission and to co-ordinate all the various movements working for the single tax. Mrs. Fels is convinced that further subsidy from her will be a detriment to the movement, that "it has now grown up and its future development depends upon the double stimulus of self-government and entire self-help in finance." Her judgment was approved at a recent single tax conference at Niagara Falls and by the board of the Fels fund commission.

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Largest City in the United States.—The recent municipal election brought Los Angeles into first place in the United States in point of area. Westgate, containing 48.67 square miles, and Occidental with 1.04 square miles were annexed, making the total area 337.92 square miles. New York, formerly first, now is second, with 314.72 square miles, Chicago is third with 198, and Philadelphia fourth with 129.

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Charter Revision.—Under this title John B. Kaiser, librarian of the Tacoma library, has contributed a series of articles to the *Tacoma Ledger*. It is divided into three parts: Part 1, charter revision; part 2, recent tendencies in charter revision; part 3, list of references on charter revision and the city-manager form of government. They make a good working bibliography of the subject.

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A National Public Ownership League for the public ownership, efficient management and democratic control of public utilities and natural resources has been organized with Carl D. Thompson, 4131 North Keeler Avenue, Chicago, Ill., as secretary.

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The Cambridge Business Development and Publicity Bureau is a serious attempt to place before the country the advantages of Cambridge as a city of business opportunities as well as cultural potentiality. The campaign is carried on from the headquarters in the city hall.

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Mrs. Bertha Leach Priddy of Ypsilanti, Mich., has been appointed chairman of the department of civics by President Cowles of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

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Louis W. Myers, a judge of the Los Angeles superior court, has been elected president of the city club there. This is the first time so far as we recall that a judge on the bench has been chosen as president of such an organization.

*

Prof. Howard L. McBain has been appointed by Mayor Mitchel a member of the board of education of New York city.

C. R. W.

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Samuel H. Crosby has been chosen city manager of Grinnell, Iowa.

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Sherman C. Kingsley, who has been director of the Elizabeth McCormick memorial fund in Chicago for four years, has resigned that position to become head of the Cleveland welfare council in succession to Charles Whiting Williams.

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[1] Assistant director in supervision of field work.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

Alcohol and Society. By John Koren. New York: Henry Holt & Company. $1.25.

The thesis of the author is that prohibition cannot be justified and that, since the "curse of alcoholism flows from spirits and not from beers and light wines," temperance reform can be had by attacking whiskey and discriminating in favor of the fermented drinks. Many other aspects of the alcohol problem are dealt with but as subsidiary to this major thesis.

Mr. Koren's attack on prohibition as a wise method of temperance reform is unqualified. Some of his pleas are familiar. Society cannot break long-continued habits of drinking in the fashion that prohibition requires. The result is that prohibition does not prohibit, a fact which leads to an extraordinarily bad effect on our legal institutions. A particularly unjust feature of prohibition is that the rural voters impose their will on the city dwellers. This is an unfair method of democracy and leads to lawlessness on the part of the cities. He also suggests that the conditions of city life may indeed occasion a greater psychological need of drinking than found in the rural districts. A more novel argument is his advocacy of more than a majority vote, perhaps a two-thirds vote, to settle an issue of local prohibition, as is the custom in other countries, particularly in the Australian colonies.

Another interesting feature of the prohibition situation is found in his chapter on national prohibition. The recent elections with the great additions of "dry" territory and the consequent flirting of some of the political leaders with the national prohibition issue makes this chapter peculiarly timely. National prohibition, carried by an amendment to the federal constitution, is perilously near, he shows. As there are now twenty-two "dry" states only fourteen more are necessary to carry a national prohibition amendment. These fourteen could be secured even though the amendment is voted against by the states with the great urban populations, namely, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, and California, 68 per cent of whose population is urban. It is possible, therefore, to vote prohibition on these states against their will, whose population together with that of the District of Columbia is nearly forty-five million, almost one half of the population of the United States. If it is assumed that one third of the population of the prohibition states is opposed to forced abstinence and if these thirds are added to the number in these twelve states one must anticipate as opposed to prohibition, the total number opposed to prohibition might be as high as sixty-three million. In other words, national prohibition might be adopted against the will of nearly two thirds of the population.

The open-minded reader will be impressed with the truth of the foregoing arguments; but he will also remember that certain good things do flow from prohibition. His problem is to put the good in one scale pan and the bad in the other and see which tilts the scales the most. The author, however, claims that it is not necessary thus to choose between the issues. There is a way out. The way out is to banish whiskey and to substitute light wines and beers. Since the drinking of whiskey is bad and since the consumption of light wines and beers has not been proved harmful, genuine temperance reform can be had without incurring the evils attending prohibition. He devotes a number of pages to a consideration of the evidence, chiefly from physiological experiments, that the consumption of small quantities of alcohol is injurious and finds that the case is not proven. Such men as Rosemann, Santesson and Holst are quoted in his support. The well-known experiments of Kraepelin and his disciples tend to show that moderate doses of alcohol are slightly injurious, although these scientists themselves do not claim to have reached final conclusions. Mr. Koren points out, however, that these experiments were conducted under conditions quite different from those under which small quantities of alcohol would be consumed in the actual conditions of life. Also, that about all they show is that work and alcohol do not belong together; but this is far from saying that small quantities of alcohol are injurious. Because sleep and work do not belong together is far from saying that sleep is injurious. (The analogy between alcohol and sleep need not be pushed further.) Mr. Koren does not himself produce evidence to show that small quantities of alcohol are not harmful; he simply contends that the other case has not been proven.

The strongest evidence in support of his thesis is gathered from the experience of other countries, particularly of Norway and Sweden. These two countries have grown from very intemperate nations, to the most temperate countries of Europe, with the possible exception of Finland. The author thinks that these reforms are due mainly to two measures. One is the progressive hedging about with difficulties the sale of distilled liquors and the progressive lightening of taxation on the fermented drinks, culminating in recent legislation exempting from taxation beers containing less than 2.25 per cent (weight) alcohol. The other reason for the success of real temperance reform in Norway is the development of the samlag or company which takes over the sale of all alcoholic drinks, all of whose profits above a limited per cent go to the state, to the municipality, or to certain charitable institutions. The samlag system has divorced drink selling from politics and made it a distinctly reputable business. Mr. Koren's analysis of the Norwegian experience seems sound, although it is naturally very difficult to single out the causes of a social phenomenon like the diminution of drink, for there are so many causes to which it may be ascribed.

The question naturally arises, How can the reform indicated by the author be developed in the United States? The closing chapter develops a program, in general outline, with an occasional detailed consideration. The first suggestion is new and highly significant it seems to me, namely, that the federal government impose a heavy tax on whiskey and let the light wines and beers escape with a light tax. Theoretically this seems excellent. Practically, the internal revenue system of the United States has proven so successful as compared with the tariff and the income tax that in this day of costly preparedness the federal government may hesitate to tamper with it. It is also suggested that the selling places pay local license fees in proportion to the amount and kind of beverages sold. His second suggestion concerns the licensing system; the licensing authority should be either a state agency or the local judiciary. The latter seems slightly preferable. Thirdly, the local option system is favored, with perhaps a two-thirds vote necessary to carry, a submission every three years, and with local option units so chosen as not to permit the domination of the city vote by the rural. The fourth suggestion is novel. The local community should have the permission to grant a monopoly of drink selling to a private organization, which shall be conducted not for private profit but for public good, a plan very much like the samlag system of Norway. This latter experiment would probably work better at first in the smaller towns than in the cities.

To the mind of the reviewer these suggestions are all ultimately practical. To become immediately practical, we should have to revise our mental attitude on many issues, such as the two-thirds vote, the taxation idea, and the private monopoly conception. Our social mind is set around the "for or against prohibition" point-of-view, and set with some degree of emotion. We should have to unset our minds, which would require a vast amount of propaganda, many times as much as this volume has accomplished.

It is to be regretted the author did not give more consideration to the psychology of alcohol drinking. He quotes a few excellent paragraphs from Professor Patrick's "Psychology of Relaxation." The reviewer is inclined to think that the psychological factors are likely to prove the most important in determining the particular type of temperance reform to be adopted. Closely connected with and indeed a part of this psychological consideration is the question of substitutes for drinking. The author devotes no space to this aspect.

There is something of the mob mind about the present prohibition propaganda, and for this reason, whether we are for or against prohibition, a wide reading of Mr. Koren's book can do nothing but good. At the recent initiative and referendum election held in Oregon, the citizens voted on an amendment permitting the sale and manufacture of 4 per cent beer in Oregon, a measure much like the recommendations of Mr. Koren. The measure lost decisively and a measure prohibiting even the importation of alcoholic beverages into the state was adopted. Inasmuch as Mr. Koren's book was quoted often during the campaign, the election affords sort of a rough test of how his theories are likely to be received at the present time.

William F. Ogburn.

Reed College, Portland, Oregon.

Public Administration and Partisan Politics. *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science*, March, 1916.

This issue of the *Annals* deals with a number of political and administrative problems, and with proposed plans for eliminating irresponsible and partisan government and for securing responsible and efficient methods of dealing with public affairs. After an editorial foreword and some extracts from Mr. Root's address on "the invisible government," there follows a series of articles in three groups: (1) the cost of partisan politics in the work of government; (2) movements to free public administration from partisan politics; and (3) public policies in a responsible government. Some of these articles are general in character; while others deal more specifically with the problems of national, state or local government.

Of most direct interest to the readers of the National Municipal Review are the articles on municipal and local problems. John A. Dunaway of the University of Pennsylvania discusses "Some efficiency methods of city administration," as illustrated by recent practice in the government of Philadelphia. William H. Connell, chief of the Philadelphia bureau of highways and street cleaning, in an article on "Public works and engineering services on a public service basis," describes some of the methods of keeping records of public works in that city. Henry Moskowitz, president of the municipal civil service commission of New York city compares "Old and new problems of civil service," with special reference to efficiency records, training for the public service and pensions. H. S. Gilbertson of the National Short Ballot Organization discusses the "Movement for responsible county government," and also presents "A practical guide to responsible government," in which he notes that cities are pointing the way out in the city-manager type of government.

These and other articles give useful information and suggestions on the subjects discussed. But the volume as a whole lacks in unity and coherence. No clear relation is shown between the criticism of irresponsible government and spoils politics and the rather technical discussions of such matters as efficiency records. The writers of the various articles do not seem to have any distinct conception of a common purpose; though Professor Beard in his article on "Training for efficient public service" points out, what might well have been made more emphatically the keynote to the whole number, that the great problem of government in this country is the reconciliation of liberty and efficiency.

John A. Fairlie.

University of Illinois.

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The People's Government. By David Jayne Hill. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 287 pp.

Dr. Hill's book is a discussion of the interrelations of the state, the law and the citizen—three concepts that are "fundamental to the realization of any high ideal of human society." He maintains that there is no proper sanction for unlimited sovereignty but that government is instituted primarily for the protection of the individual rights of life, liberty and property. Therefore, these rights must control government, not be controlled by it. The author denies the validity of the theory of absolutism no less when power is exercised by the majority than when it is exercised by a monarch. The constitution of the United States and the constitutions of the several commonwealths are the American expression of the "law of mutual obligation," which is the basis of the democratic state and the unique power of the American judiciary to declare statutes void when they are found to be inconsistent with this fundamental law, is the guaranty of constitutional democracy.

Dr. Hill regards the development of the citizen, whose charter of liberties and certificate of existence the constitution is, as America's chief contribution to political science. He sees in all efforts to make the amendment of the federal constitution easy, or to blur over or remove the distinction between statutory and constitutional law, or to deprive the courts of the power to declare statutes unconstitutional, a menace to freedom and a tendency to turn back toward absolutism. Although Dr. Hill is obviously an exponent of the political philosophy of the conservative group which includes such men as William Barnes, Nicholas Murray Butler, William Howard Taft and many others, a radical can read his book without finding so very much to disagree with in it and can lay it down with the impression that the distinguished author's polemics are for the most part directed against men of straw. As an exposition of conservative American political philosophy, the book stimulates and invigorates thought. As an attack upon the practical program of the radicals in this country, except as to a relatively few extremists, the book has very little significance.

Delos F. Wilcox.

New York City.

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The Voter in Command. By J. Albert Stowe. Newark, N. J.: The Upward Society. 62 pp.

This little brochure is an analysis of the "Walsh act," so-called, under which commission government has been made available for the cities of New Jersey which adopt it. The author criticizes the referendum provisions of the act on the theory that they are unworkable. He thinks that the referendum is of much greater practical importance than either the initiative or the recall, but maintains that ten days is altogether too short a time to be allowed for the filing of referendum petitions. The booklet is local to New Jersey, although it has a wider interest for the illustrative material it supplies to the general discussion of commission government and direct legislation.

Delos F. Wilcox.

New York City.

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American Government and Majority Rule. By Edward Elliot. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Press. $1.25 net.

The purpose of this volume, according to its preface, is to point out the fact "that the people of the United States have been hindered in the attainment of democracy, or the rule of the majority, by the form of government through which they have been compelled to act."

While it deals with the form of our national government, it is pregnant with suggestions to the student of municipal democracy, especially in his suggested remedies of centralized executive responsibility in the states, unicameral state legislatures and the abolition of the residence qualifications for representatives.

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An Elementary Civics. By Charles McCarthy, Flora Swan and Jennie McMullin. New York: Thompson, Brown & Company. 75 cents.

"On the whole the teaching of civics in our public schools has been disappointing," says President Vincent of the University of Minnesota in his introduction to this book designed for the upper grammar grades. The aim has been to break away from the traditional text book which has until recently "dealt with the technicalities of political machinery."

Under the title "Living together" the text begins with a chapter on the origin of the state, and proceeds to show how England worked out representative government. In this connection an entire chapter is given over to a discussion of the "Industrial revolution and the ballot" and another to "Why we vote in parties." Then without any of the preliminaries of our early history, the authors begin immediately to explain how, in 1916, the American city does its work. One third of the remainder of the text is devoted to this chapter and to other chapters on "How the city pays its bills," "The city's health," and "The city beautiful." A number of exhibits and photographs help to visualize the material in these pages. There is also valuable information on the work and business methods of German cities. A series of suggestive questions follow each chapter.

The remaining chapter headings are "How the state does its work," "How the United States does its work," "Justice," "Education," and "Efficiency." Some of the subjects discussed in these chapters are: conservation, marketing, efficiency in the school, the Gary system, vocational education, old age insurance, employer's liability, the federal courts, federal protection of health, the American tariff to protect manufacturers, the Australian tariff to protect the laborer, the federal income tax, the responsible ministry in England, the irresponsibility of the administering bodies in the United States, the administrative commission, suggestions for reform of state government, the short ballot, the continuing appropriation, the budget and state finance.

The authors were a bit careless with respect to a few facts and statements. For example, they state, on page 12, that the voting qualification in England was lowered in 1867 and "again in 1864," when they probably meant 1884. Speaking of the recall, on page 36, they say, "If the policy of any officeholder did not please the citizens, on petition of 25 voters, an election could be held to see if they would dismiss him." What was meant was 25 per cent and not 25 voters. Speaking of the first budget exhibit in New York city in 1910, page 51, the statement is made that "the purchasing department discussed their methods of buying, the cost and the required standard for coal, oats and other supplies bought." There is not now and never has been a purchasing department of the government of the city of New York. A committee on central purchasing was appointed November, 1914. On page 78 the statement is made that "In some states the governor also has a right to veto laws passed by the Assembly and Senate." The facts are that he has such power in every state with the exception of North Carolina. On the same page the language, with reference to the duties of the secretary of state, conveys the impression that it is in this office that the "bookkeeping of the state" is done. One wonders (page 82) what states have improved their budget procedure so that "the legislature votes on the various items and then on the whole budget," and also whether it is much of an improvement for the legislature merely to vote "on the various items and then on the whole budget." In regard to national administrative commissions, the statement is made (page 106) that "the United States has turned over to its interstate commerce commission the details and the carrying out of *all* its laws in regard to railroads." The wide-awake pupil will want to know about the use of the word "all" when he reads on page 108 that the "federal health service also has charge of the sanitation of interstate trains and the exclusion of dangerous or infected merchandise from transportation." The description of the federal courts (page 112) may mislead some students. The authors say "The United States is divided into nine circuits with a court in each circuit. These circuits are divided into districts with a court in each district." The distinguished head of the Wisconsin reference library is doubtless aware of the fact that the circuit courts of the United States were abolished in 1912, and that only the circuit courts of appeal remain.

It must be admitted that grown-up men and women face a difficult problem when they attempt to write a text book for grade pupils. It is evident that the authors were quite conscious of this difficulty. At times the material is clothed entirely too much in the language of the kindergarten, and at other times too much in the language of the university professor. On the whole, however, current materials are presented in a way to excite interest and invite the student to make further inquiries for himself. Certainly the cause is a worthy one and this attempt to teach citizenship in the grades through a discussion of current problems of government should be welcomed by all interested in the efficient teaching of civics.

BIRL E. SHULTZ.

New York Training School for Public Service.

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CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN CALIFORNIA. John Richard Sutton. New York: American Book Company.

This volume, which was published in 1914, has recently been revised with certain changes and additions, particularly with respect to progress in governmental affairs since the appearance of the first edition. As originally prepared the book dealt very largely with the organization of government as provided in statutes and constitutions. It follows consequently the line which is characteristic of texts of the past decade rather than the newer viewpoint which is evidenced in some of the texts recently published. From the standpoint of the analysis of government organization, the duties of officers, the outline of functions prescribed by statutes and constitutions, the work is well done, and undoubtedly fills a place in the teaching of civics in the state of California. Among the noteworthy chapters are: the selection of public officers, which deals largely with the California direct primary law; a chapter on the state school system, and a series of chapters dealing fully with the organization and functions of city government. An appendix is added containing among other things some model county charters as well as special city charters. From the standpoint of recent progress in the teaching of civics in the high school, this volume falls short of the best standard which has been set, particularly in its failure to stress sufficiently the functional phases of government and to give emphasis to the practical methods which are now in use by m n teachers of government.

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HIGH SPOTS IN NEW YORK SCHOOLS. By William H. Allen and others. New York: Institute for Public Service, 1916. Pp. 128.

Whatever else may be said of this little book, there is a marvelous amount of data packed between its covers,—an almost bewildering array of facts regarding the varied activities of the New York schools. Nor would there be any possibility of accusing the author of prolixity. The short, terse sentences, the omission of articles, verbs, and all other words that could be supplied from the context, the frequent change of subject, and the abundant use of illustrations and diagrams to convey ideas without the employment of any words whatever, combine to give an impression of haste, of breathlessness, of nervous compression and condensation that tends to make the leisurely reader fairly gasp. But the book was not intended for the leisurely reader. It was compiled for distribution at the New York meeting of the N. E. A. last July, and in order to catch the attention of the hurried visitor the author has made use of a variety of devices that would do credit to the modern "movies." Hence the aptness of the title. Of course, the picture does not pretend to be complete. A band of people from the institute for public service visited over 3,000 classrooms, noted everything that they considered worthy of comment, and grouped these comments under nine headings. The result is not unlike a mail-order catalogue. The many interesting things observed will surprise even those who have been long in the system, and they will be a revelation to those outsiders whose ideas of the New York schools have grown out of the adverse criticisms of the last few years,—criticisms, by the way, in which the author has had no small share.

Noteworthy high spots are the sytematic teaching of patriotism, the "civic league," the pupils' complaint bureau, the current events classes, pupil self-government (which is found is some form in over 200 schools), the use of assemblies for the discussion of health and other civic problems, home making in the grades, construction and repair work in manual training, courses in business practice, visits to the "zoo" and to museums, part-time co-operative classes (in which pupils spend one week in school and the next at work), dramatization in class teaching, the use of tests and scales to determine the efficiency of school work, school gardens, adjustment of school work to the capacities of pupils, correlation of athletics, physical training and hygiene,—but why continue? The list is inexhaustible, and we find ourselves trying to make a catalogue of a catalogue. It would be a profitable investment for the board of education to place this book in the hands of every teacher and parent in New York city, and if any outsider wants a list of the good things to be found somewhere in New York city schools he now knows where to look for it.

J. Carleton Bell.

Brooklyn Training School for Teachers.

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State Constitution-making, with Especial Reference to Tennessee. By Wallace McClure. Nashville: Marshall and Bruce Company.

This book is a gathering into narrow compass of the ripe fruits of American thought and experience as to state constitution-making, with special reference to the political problems of Tennessee. In the author's own words:

> Its object is to provide a manual for the use of those people, especially Tennesseans, who are interested in revising the constitution of their state to the end that it may be brought more nearly in accord with the state's needs and with the progressive democratic ideas that are found elsewhere in current practice and in the writings of students of political science.

The book contains three general divisions. The first is a historical sketch of constitutional development in Tennessee; the second is styled "current thought and action upon constitutional problems"; while the third is devoted to Tennessee problems. An appendix contains the North Carolina constitution of 1776 and the three Tennessee constitutions, printed in parallel columns. The table of contents is well adapted to the book; but the index is entirely too scant, since the chief utility of the book must be as a reference manual. An immense amount of detailed information has been relegated to the numerous footnotes which accompany the text.

No one can reasonably expect that the book will be of general interest, inasmuch as it was written largely for a particular state and for a particular emergency. At the time of the book's publication the question of calling a constitutional convention was before the voters of Tennessee; and it is greatly to be regretted that the majority vote was against a convention, thus excluding the book from its chief and immediate field of usefulness.

For students of the constitutional history of Tennessee, Joshua W. Caldwell's work on that subject covers the field much more exhaustively than the present work, which contains a condensation of the former. The brief concluding survey of Tennessee problems is the only part of the entire book wherein the author protrudes his own opinions. These are in hearty accord with the present-day striving after simplicity, directness and responsibility in government.

What the author chiefly lacks is assimilation and perspective. Page after page consists merely of excerpts, more or less cleverly patched together. That he has selected his authorities wisely for the most part, few will gainsay; but it is very unfortunate that a book which gives so many indications of sound thought and painstaking investigation should become merely a transient and limited work of secondary authority.

Robert S. Keebler.

Memphis, Tennessee.

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What the Episcopal Church is Doing in the Social Field. The Joint Commission on Social Service of the Episcopal Church. Church Missions House, New York City. 141 pp.

This book is valuable for three reasons. First, because it will set forth to those who are either uninformed or sceptical the fact that the Episcopal Church throughout the United States is seriously undertaking work for social betterment, and consistently and constructively facing the problems of our day. Secondly, because it is an intensely interesting collection of "personal testimonies" of what many different groups are endeavoring to accomplish. Thirdly, because it leads one to consider in what better arrangement of material a pamphlet, designed to express such a comprehensive title as "What the Episcopal Church is doing in the Social Field," could have been issued.

As the introduction succinctly sets forth, the Episcopal Church has now "a fivefold organization for social service." 1. The joint commission on social service (so-called because of the appointment of members jointly by the two houses of general convention). This is the general commission for the whole Church. 2. Eight provincial social service boards and commissions. 3. Eighty diocesan commissions. 4. Many individual parish organizations and committees. 5. Volunteer agencies, such as the Church association for the advancement of the interests of labor, the Church mission of help, etc.

Such an enumeration of bodies shows careful planning and adequate organization. There are those who look askance at "machinery" in church life and work and question its value. But the great contribution of the nineteenth century to the progress of society was the machine, and its value and necessity have been adequately demonstrated. Two factors, however, are essential in addition to a machine, namely, that it be designed for efficiency, and that it be tended with skill and experience. Organizations are also machines for doing work, and it is not too much to say that the organization for social service in the Episcopal Church has been efficiently designed, and the members appointed in accordance with their fitness, ability and interest in social matters.

One's attention then turns to the results of such organizing, and it was therefore natural that the executive secretary of the joint commission, the national body, should write to each board, commission, parish group, and volunteer agency, and ask: "What has your group done?" The answers, and a great many organizations answered, form the pamphlet under discussion. It is thus a collection of human documents, set forth at first hand, without further editing or comment.

It is just because the response has been so widespread that we wish the pamphlet had been issued in better form. If one has a local interest, wishes to find, for instance, what the diocese of New York is doing in social service, one may turn to sub-section III under letter N, and find an excellent summary from the executive secretary of the commission of that diocese. But we think that the average reader will hardly have patience to peruse

136 pages of letters, and even this would not help him very much towards a clear and concise answer to the question, "what is the Episcopal Church doing in social service?" And if his mind was set, for instance, on gaining an answer as regards the subject of child labor (the letters show on careful consideration that a great deal is being done), to determine its extent the reader would have to take his pencil and note down for himself the data that appear on page after page.

Therefore we conclude this review with a suggestion to the editor of the pamphlet that he rearrange his material to show more readily the nature of the social work which the letters prove is being done. The industry in gathering material has been so well rewarded that it deserves to be set forth so that any one could see almost at a glance the vast amount of work that the Episcopal Church has done, is doing, and plans to do, for the cause of social service.

(Rev.) Edwin S. Lane.
Philadelphia.

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The Social Survey. By Carol Aronovici, Ph.D. Bureau for Social Research of The Seybert Institution. Philadelphia: The Harper Press. $1.25.

The purpose of this volume is not to give the history of the social survey, nor to indicate its value, but to explain how to make one. The value of a social survey is, however, clearly evident as an incident to the explanation; and the book, with its practical aim and concrete suggestions, is far more valuable than if it were merely an abstract or academic discussion.

As a result of the author's wide experience, the book contains many helpful and striking statements that go far to clarify and simplify a difficult undertaking. He defines a social survey as "a stock taking of social factors that determine the conditions of a given community." He urges that in its prosecution intensiveness of work is essential to effectiveness—"a survey that is superficial, that is open to question or without sufficient backing as to facts, may defeat not only the end of the particular survey in question, but may cast doubt upon the social survey as a means of achieving a desired social end." For this reason he advocates expert assistance and a limitation of its scope rather than a weakening of intensity. Excellent also is the warning, "An ounce of discretion is frequently worth a ton of publicity."

There is much in the little book which the reviewer would like to quote approvingly, and there are a few statements which some of us would question and which seem not to have been as carefully thought out as most of the text. But these are generally unimportant points, as regards the main argument, while the book's general trend is most helpful and inspiring—notably the chapter entitled, "the facts and the people."

An extensive bibliography is a valuable feature of the volume. The index, however, is hardly adequate for a work of such potential usefulness for reference.

Charles Mulford Robinson.
Rochester, N. Y.

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The Efficient Secretary. By Ellen Lane Spencer. New York: Stokes. 191 pp.

To develop the efficiency of municipal employes it is necessary to keep them contented and there is no more effective method of keeping employes contented than by providing for each advances in salary and promotion in rank. With the introduction of standardization of salaries and grades such advances and promotion can take place only when additional or more important duties are assigned to the employe.

In municipal service the clerical service, the members of which perform mechanical routine duties involving little initiative, is the most difficult to galvanize, and to keep contented and efficient and of the clerical service the stenographers present the most difficult problem in this respect.

The office boy or girl may be advised to learn typewriting to qualify for promotion to the position of typist and the person typing may be counseled to study stenography with a view to becoming a stenographer. But although the salary of a stenographer may at first be gradually increased as seniority increases her value to her employer, she soon reaches a grade when no further salary increase is justified and where there appears to be no opportunity for promotion. This leads to stagnation, loss of ambition and lack of efficiency.

Miss Spencer's book will show the municipal official how to guard against this loss of efficiency in his stenographic force. By gradually increasing the responsibilities of the stenographer, by assigning to her details of routine administration without direction, a threefold object will be accomplished. The time and energy of higher salaried executives will be saved, the interest of the stenographer will be stimulated in her work which is always a powerful incentive for efficiency, and she will be prepared for promotion to the rank of secretary,—a position of great importance in modern office organizations.

In this book the author points out the responsibilities of the secretary, her interest and her loyalty. She also emphasizes the value of ideas and the importance of proper food, dress and recreation and gives much practical information regarding the performance of office duties, such as filing, mimeographing, telephoning and the like.

This book is written in very simple and easily understandable language and the typographical arrangement is pleasing to the eye and convenient for purposes of reference.

Leonhard Felix Fuld.

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Waterworks Handbook. Compiled by A. D. Flinn, R. S. Weston and C. L. Bogert. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. Flexible leather; pp. 824; 411 illustrations. $6.

A reference book "for the waterworks engineer, and superintendent, the designer, constructor, operator and inspector," says the preface, based on material "accumulated by the compilers in the course of their practice in various branches of waterworks engineering." Users are "assumed to have some familiarity with mathematics, hydraulics, the natural sciences and waterworks construction, operation and maintenance." The contents are grouped under such broad general topics as sources of water supply, collection, transportation by aqueducts, pipes, etc.; distribution; hydraulics; treatment by filtration, etc. The essential features of specifications for various kinds of material and workmanship are presented. Numerous waterworks data are presented in usable form. The volume is essentially a technical reference book. It deserves a place in every municipally or privately owned water department, but is not designed for the lay official or citizen.

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The Construction of Roads and Pavements. By T. R. Agg, C.E. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company $3.

Handbook for Highway Engineers. By Wilson G. Harger, C.E., and Edmund A. Bonney. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.

Primarily, Professor Agg's book is a college text, but numerous tables, typical designs and specifications are believed to add to the value it otherwise possesses for highway engineers. The volume can be readily grasped by the intelligent city official or general student of roads and pavements, for whom it contains much useful information. The development of highway systems, surveys, and the various classes of roads and pavements are passed in review. A glossary adds to the value of the book.

Besides the revision of much of the material in the first edition of Harger and Bonney's "Handbook" (noted briefly in the National Municipal Review for January, 1913) about a hundred pages of new matter have been added. The volume is essentially one for engineers engaged in the design and construction of the better class of improved country highways, costing from $5,000 to $30,000 per mile. This range of object and cost brings within its covers many data of use to those charged with the task of improving streets in villages, small cities and the outlying districts of some of the larger cities.

Addresses on Government and Citizenship. By Elihu Root. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. $2 net.

Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott, Mr. Root's one-time assistants in the department of state, have brought together in this volume Mr. Root's various contributions to the discussion of the citizen's part in government (being the Dodge lectures at Yale); experiments in government and the essentials of the constitution (being the Stafford Little lectures at Princeton); his addresses in the New York constitutional conventions of 1894 and 1915, and a long list of addresses on government and the administration of justice, concluding with his stimulating address as president of the American Bar Association for 1916 on "Public Service by the Bar."

These addresses constitute a significant and stimulating contribution to the discussion of governmental problems and his friends, the editors, have done a worthy piece of work in bringing them together. Whether one agrees with Mr. Root's conclusions, one is impressed by his grasp of facts, by the clarity and cogency of his reasoning, and by his statecraft.

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Law and Order in Industry. By Julius Henry Cohen. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

Several years ago a strike in the shirt waist trade in New York was settled by a protocol, which was generally regarded as one of the most significant attempts "ever made in the United States to harmonize the conflicting interests of employers and employes." Mr. Cohen (who by the way has been for a number of years a member of the council of the National Municipal League) was attorney for the manufacturers, and he gives in this volume not only an account of the inception and construction of the protocol, but a fair and discriminating account of how it worked out in practice.

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American Patriots and Statesmen from Washington to Lincoln. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. The Collier Classics. 5 volumes. New York: P. F. Collier & Son.

Dr. Hart, the versatile and encyclopedic Dorman B. Eaton professor of the science of government at Harvard, has added another substantial ground for gratitude in this interesting and inspiring collection of the utterances "by Americans with power of literary expression who have voiced their hopes and aspirations for the welfare of their country." While the selections do not deal with municipal problems, they do "discuss with eagerness the part which the form of government and the kind of liberty enjoyed by each have played in equipping it for the strife and in determining the issue."

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

Actual Government of New York. By Frank David Boynton. Boston: Ginn & Company.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Year Book for 1916. 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Census of Iowa for the Year 1915. Compiled and Published under Direction of The Executive Council of the State of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

City Problems. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference of Mayors and Other City Officials of New York State. 1916.

City Residential Land Development: Studies in Planning. Edited by Alfred B. Yeomans. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. $3 net.

Ethics of Democracy. By Louis F. Post. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. $1.50.

The Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Second Triennial Report, 1916.

Key to American Citizenship. The result of three years' teaching in the Citizenship School of the City of Oakland. By Lyman Grimes. Published by the author, 613 Holbrook Bldg., San Francico, Cal. $1.

MEDIATION, INVESTIGATION AND ARBITRATION IN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES. By George E. Barnett and David A. McCabe. New York: D. Appleton & Company. $1.25.

MISCELLANEOUS LABOR LAWS OF NEW YORK STATE, 1916. Prepared by the Bureau of Statistics and Information, New York State Department of Labor.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. By Abby Gunn Baker and Abby Huntington Ware. Revised edition. Boston: Ginn & Company. 90 cents.

NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1917. Edited by Monroe N. Work. Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Negro Year Book Publishing Company. 35 cents.

NEW YORK CITY'S ADMINISTRATIVE PROGRESS, 1914–1916. A Survey of Various Departments under the Jurisdiction of the Mayor. Conducted by Henry Bruère, Chamberlain, City of New York. May, 1916.

OUR AMERICA. By John A. Lapp. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $1.25.

PARKS: THEIR DESIGN, EQUIPMENT AND USE. By George Burnap. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $6.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION. Forty-third Annual Meeting, Indianapolis, Ind., May 10–17, 1916. Published by the Conference, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

PROCEEDINGS, TENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, SMOKE PREVENTION ASSOCIATION. Cincinnati, Ohio. Sept. 8–10, 1915.

RIDER'S NEW YORK CITY: A GUIDE-BOOK FOR TRAVELERS. Compiled and edited by Fremont Rider. New York: Henry Holt & Company. $3.10 net.

THE SLAVERY OF PROSTITUTION. By Maude E. Miner. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

THE UNDERSTANDING HILLS. By Livingston L. Biddle. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. By H. St. George Tucker. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. $1.35.

WOMEN WORKERS AND SOCIETY. By Annie M. MacLean, Ph.D. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company. The National Social Science Series. 50 cents.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Traffic Regulation.—A copy of the proposed "act providing for the uniform regulation of vehicles, animals and pedestrians on public highways in the state of New York" was sent me by the secretary of the New York state conference of mayors, Mr. W. P. Capes, for criticism.

The proposed act contains about 8,000 words. Most of it is verbose, much superfluous, some contradictory, impractical or untried, and some already discarded.

The New York city regulations, consisting of about 1,500 words, including definitions, cover in concise form absolutely everything of value contained in the proposed act, except such things as cannot as yet be standardized, are of local application, or are needed only for occasional reference. These should not be permitted to pad the pocket folders or placards of street traffic regulations, but should be contained in a local pamphlet, to which I will refer later.

Each state should have a traffic act, and it should be alike in each state, so that it may finally become a national act. I, therefore, strongly recommend that the act consist of, and be confined to, the following limitations:

First—That the police department (or in towns which have no police department, the board of selectmen, town managers or other proper authorities) are hereby authorized, empowered and ordered: To adopt and enforce the standard police street traffic regulations[1] and to direct, control and regulate, and when necessary, temporarily divert or exclude (in the interest of public safety, health and convenience) the movement of pedestrian, animal and vehicular traffic of every kind in streets, roads, parks and on bridges.

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[1] The New York city regulations, revision of March 20, 1916.

Second—That every city shall, and every town may, issue a small pamphlet setting forth the laws governing speed, lights, sound signals and other equipment,[1] information as to how drivers' licenses or permits and vehicular registration may be obtained; the regulations for approach to and departure from each local theater or important place of public assembly, cab fares, etc.

Third—That it be attempted, through proper channels, to have appointed by the President of the United States a national road traffic regulation commission with power to adopt or reject any changes or additions suggested by the state road traffic regulation commission (see next paragraph) of any state, to the end that standard uniformity be preserved throughout the whole country. (To cover this, each state should appoint a road traffic regulation commission to suggest changes when thought advisable, when it shall send a delegate to a national road traffic regulation commission to be appointed by the President of the United States, with power to adopt or reject.)

Fourth—That all special traffic regulations be enforced by local signs, and that these signs be uniform in shape and color and briefest in wording. Those for warning and directing the movement of traffic, vivid yellow letters or arrows on a black background. Those for designating public parking spaces, cab stands, car and bus stops, etc., should have the colors reversed, *i.e.* black on yellow. These colors contrast best of all in the day time and when illuminated at night.

Fifth—That uniform police signals be adopted, as used by the New York city police.

Undoubtedly, the gentlemen who have been delegated to compile the proposed traffic act for the state of New York have worked hard, but they have lacked the necessary experience. The same criticism pertains to those who compiled the traffic regulations for the safety first society, of which you wanted my opinion. The regulation of traffic has grown to be an almost exact science, and as such, it is as important to know *what to omit* as what to include.

The New York city regulations have been the basis of all other sets officially adopted or proposed. They date from October 30, 1903, and each revision has shown progressive improvement. They were given official standing in Paris, July 10, 1912. Following this, London also codified similar regulations, so that now the New York police street traffic regulations are practically identical with the most important cities of the world.

In a word, the adoption of the proposed traffic act would be a misfortune, and a step in the wrong direction.

Traffic regulations must, above all, be short and clear, or they will not be read, and therefore ineffective. They must be reasonable or they cannot be enforced. They must not attempt to overregulate, or they will result in confusion.

William P. Eno.

Washington, D. C.

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Standardization of Public Employments.—Any one who is especially interested in the movement toward standardization of public employments will find the two numbers of *Municipal Research* for November 1915 and August 1916 well worth his reading. Both numbers have been prepared by Mr. Arthur W. Proctor of the staff of the New York bureau of municipal research, who is one of the pioneers in this comparatively new movement. The first number treats of the more general aspects of the subject while the second number deals specifically with four of the most important studies and experiments thus far made in personal service standardization. These studies and experiments are those of Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York city and New York state. The distinctive value of both numbers is that they are at once readable and helpful in a practical way to specialists themselves.

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[1] The present New York laws on speed, light, sound signals, etc., should be allowed to stand as they are for the present, and until we can give them further study, with a view to simplification and reasonableness.

William C. Beyer.[1]

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The Houses of Providence.[2]—If one would read a formal report which is at the same time a love story, a call to service and a scientific dissection of a living organism, he can find these in "The Houses of Providence." The love story is between the lines—that of the worker who is gloriously in love with his job; the call to service is to those who would make life richer, more abundant for all men; the scientific picture is that of the housing conditions of Providence.

The "practical" issues have been met and threshed out. To those who would lightly dismiss the housing troubles of the immigrant with the thought that he is better off here than he was in Europe, comes this challenge point-blank:

> The native born build and own houses inhabited by the immigrant. These houses set a standard which the newcomer naturally accepts as American. What if the Pole, the Italian, the Portuguese, finds these dwellings superior in some respects to those from which they came? Will it satisfy Providence that its foreign quarters are somewhat better than the slums of Lisbon and Naples; that its sanitation is somewhat superior to that of the villages of Russian Poland? . . . Why do French-Canadians, Italians and Poles push Americans, English, Irish out of the unskilled trades? Have we no profit-making part in that? How do they come to live in houses unsanitary, dilapidated, out of repairs? Have we no profit-making part in that? If there were no such houses they would not be lived in.

Those who would blame the congestion of our cities on the immigrant's craving for profit have this to answer:

> Here again comes the responsibility of the native born of American ancestry. It was they who erected the first three-deckers. It was they who said what is permissible and what is not when they enacted the Providence building code. The Italian and the Jewish builders are but following American precedents—and going a little further, are but doing what Americans have said is proper, when they build double three-deckers and large brick tenement houses, erect dwellings on the rear of lots, open windows within three feet of another dwelling and in so doing incidentally close most of the windows in that other dwelling. What they are doing Americans have done before them and said it was good. The difference is they are doing more of it, so much more of it that we cannot avoid seeing the results, and we see that they are bad.

Tenement rentals were investigated and compared with those of small houses.

> We call attention to the following figures taken from the schedules made out in the inspection districts. These indicate that in the districts where land is most overcrowded, where there is the greatest number of families per house, rents incline to be higher, not lower, than in the other districts.

After one has finished reading, he feels that he knows Providence, a bit of its history, its general character, its atmosphere, its appearance, its colors, its people, its relations with the rest of the world, its weakness, its future, its needs. Hereafter one cannot help being interested in what happens there, even though he may live on the other side of the continent.

The many illustrations, the attractive printing, the short chapters, the "readableness" of it, the reasonableness of its recommendations make this report an unusually effective instrument of publicity. It is bound to prove a powerful agent in the creation of that broad basis of popular support which housing codes, like other social laws, need for their successful operation.

Neva R. Deardorf.

Philadelphia.

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Massachusetts Homestead Commission.[3]—There can be few more encouraging public documents in existence than this series of three annual reports by the

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[1] Bureau of municipal research of Philadelphia.

[2] A Study of Present Conditions and Tendencies, with Notes on the Surrounding Communities and some Mill Villages, by John Ihlder. Madge Headly, Udetta Brown, Associated, 1916. 93 pp. and appendix.

[3] Third annual report of the homestead commission (Massachusetts). Paper cover, 100 pp., illustrated. Public Document No. 103, 1916. For the year 1915.

Massachusetts homestead commission. Beginning as the commission did, some four or five years ago, with comparatively little knowledge of its subject, but inspired with determination to do something to change a condition that had grown intolerable to all thinking people, its efforts not only have clarified its own mind, but have clarified that of the commonwealth as well.

The present report, like the first one, contains a valuable summary of what is being done and thought in regard to housing in all parts of the world. But the present report has the great advantage over its predecessor that those who wrote it have now digested the results of others' experience and so are able to present them more compactly, forcefully and directly. Moreover, having once presented, in the first report, a mass of information that is valuable for the student but probably overwhelming to the legislator who has neither the time nor the inclination to sift what is pertinent from what is not, the commission now does this for him and drives the point home by evidence from Massachusetts cities.

For thirty years and more Boston has known of its slums. Its progress toward better things has been infinitesimal. As the report says, in more diplomatic language: "The sum of all these publications (reports of various organizations) leaves the question in doubt as to whether, on the whole, the housing conditions of the poor in Boston have materially changed for the better." Admitting that there may be doubt as to the change, the illustrations prove beyond controversy that the present conditions are abominable, and that it is high time for a change about which there can be no doubt.

As with Boston, so with the other cities of the state. The time for change is due, and overdue, "rotten ripe" might be an apt quotation.

But the important part of the report deals with the method of bringing about the change. And in that even more than in the report itself is evidence of the commission's growth in knowledge and experience. Its first proposal, briefly, was to use state money for the building of workingmen's dwellings. This proposal the highest court in the state declared to be unconstitutional. The commission then drafted an amendment to the constitution giving the legislature authority "to take land, and to hold, improve, subdivide, build upon and sell the same for the purpose of relieving congestion of population and providing homes for citizens, etc."

The changing of "workingmen" into "citizens" met the chief objection of the court, but the passing of the amendment removed all doubt. It is at this point that the present report takes up the story. The amendment was approved by 284,568 votes to 95,148, at the November, 1915, election.

The legislature, at two preceding sessions, had approved the purpose of this amendment, but now with full constitutional authority, came a hitch. One house passed a bill which would put the amendment into effect and provide $50,000 to start the work. The other house, however, failed to do so by one vote. So the commission has drafted a new bill which will be introduced this winter.

Meanwhile, however, it has secured the enactment of another measure that may have far-reaching results. On the score that "great waste would result, and possibly danger to the homestead movement might arise, if many persons inexperienced in the care and management of the soil were put in possession of 'small houses and plots of ground,' as contemplated in the act under which the homestead commission was created," a second bill was drafted. This is entitled "an act to provide for the establishment and maintenance of agricultural instruction for families." This act, for it was enacted, does what the title indicates and in addition empowers the school committee to "make provision for houses and plots of ground for the temporary use of families attending the school, etc." The last section provides that the act shall be submitted to the voters of every city and town of Massachusetts at the next state election, for their acceptance or rejection. It was so submitted this fall and at least 23 towns accepted the law.

How much use they will make of it remains to be seen, but if the plan takes hold it may be the beginning of the garden city movement which has been several times vainly launched under the imported title.

Three years is a short time in which to accomplish results in so conservative a state as Massachusetts. The proposals of the homestead commission will not solve all of Massachusetts' housing problems even if carried out in full. But they mark a definite step forward in a state that, with one exception, so far has done little except investigate, report and resolve. The one exception was the enactment of the optional tenement house laws, which now have been adopted by about twenty-five towns and one city. The chief effect of these laws is to prevent the building of wooden tenement houses. If the towns that have adopted the agricultural instruction act really put it into force, and if as a result even a small stream of families begins to trickle away from crowded city centers to the more spacious suburbs, not only will these families be benefited, but perhaps the pressure of population in the crowded districts will be relieved, and certainly the consciousness of something definitely achieved will hearten those who have waged the long, discouraging fight for urban housing reform.

In this connection it is appropriate to say a word of appreciation of the man who has borne the burden of what has been done. There is credit due all the members of the commission, but most is due to its secretary, Henry Sterling, to whom Massachusetts owes a debt of gratitude.

John Ihlder.

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The Twelfth Annual Report of the Henry Phipps Institute (Philadelphia) deals with the storage, handling and sale of food in Philadelphia. It is divided into two parts—part one presents the conditions found in a survey of over 1,000 stores and about 200 push-carts and street stands; part two deals with the general food inspection service of the city.

In part one, 4 pages are given to an introduction, about 3½ pages to a statement about the area surveyed and the method of scoring, 10 pages to an interpretation of 30 pages of statistics and maps and a little over a page to legislation that failed of enactment, the need for a health committee and a food exhibit; while 10 pages of excellent cuts visualize the abnormal conditions found. In part two, dealing with governmental aspects of food inspection, there are 28 pages of text and 10 pages of tables and maps explanatory of the text.

The report states that conditions under which foods are exposed for sale in Philadelphia are bad; that the inspection service of the city is inadequate, insufficiently supervised and poorly paid; and that the appropriations for such health work are woefully deficient, "gentle persuasion" being largely relied on for the enforcement of pure food laws and ordinances. The comparison made between Philadelphia and other large cities of the country is to the discredit of Philadelphia.

One wonders, as he reads the report, for whom it was prepared and for what purpose. It is neither scientific nor popular in method of presentation. A just criticism would be that it is not properly balanced, too much attention being given to over-elaborate and confusing tables of data upon which the writer has failed to throw the light necessary to reveal their significance.

In such a comprehensive survey undoubtedly much material was collected that should have found its way into the report on some other basis than that of a system of scoring, itself arbitrary and difficult to grasp. When a scoring system is employed, as here, the reader has a right to know not simply how the score was made but the qualifications of those who collected the data. In a food survey, analyzed on the basis of sanitation and health, where field ratings are given, the value of deductions largely depends on expert knowledge, but nothing in the report indicates that the investigators were trained in the subjects they were studying. The absence of any physical, chemical or bacteriological analysis of the food described as for sale under filthy conditions further weakens the reliability of the conclusions drawn. The accuracy of the conclusions might also be called into question solely on the evidence presented in the report. It is to be regretted, moreover, that the Phipps institute, which is a part of the University of Pennsylvania, did not utilize the excellent laboratory facilities available in the school of public hygiene. Such laboratory methods would undoubtedly have furnished complete evidence of food contamination, the lack of which leaves the deductions offered scarcely more than hypotheses.

Minor evidences of careless work appear in the phraseology; for instance, individual workers are classed as "groups" (page 13), and the "food question," instead of contaminated food is given as a cause for ill health (page 9). Philadelphia is credited with 14 milk inspectors on one page (page 10) and on another with 16 inspectors (page 61), and with 68 slaughter houses in one paragraph (page 63), and 69 in another (page 66). Such slips, which should have been caught by the proofreader, when taken in connection with the other evidences of inaccuracy might raise doubts as to the trustworthiness of the data presented in the report.

In the discussion contained in the introduction relative to diseased food and the need for an efficient inspection service, the examples cited are wholly at variance with the requirements of the United States bureau of animal industry. Dr. Melvin (23d report of the bureau) states that an inspection for trichiniasis similar to that carried on for the export trade some years ago would cost, if made at the slaughter houses, $3,700,000 a year. Dr. Melvin maintains further, that even under this most intensive inspection the dangers are not wholly removed so that the public would have to resort to thorough cooking. Likewise the recommendation relative to the condemnation of cattle or pork for food use, if in any way infected with tuberculosis, has been called into question. The bureau wisely takes the ground (regulation 13, principle B) that there is little, if any, reason for discarding cattle where the "lesions are localized and not numerous, if there is no evidence of distribution of tubercle bacilli thru the blood, or by other means, to the muscles, etc., and if the animal is well nourished and in good condition."

Part two of the report, prepared by the bureau of municipal research, presents clearly the inadequacy of the food inspection service of Philadelphia, and is suggestive of numerous ways whereby the city might raise its standards to protect the health of the public.

Bernard J. Newman.[1]

✣

Construction of the Los Angeles Aqueduct.[2]—This is the almost romantic story of a typically American municipal project, conceived on a large scale and executed in record time. Los Angeles in 1905, then a city of 200,000 population, found itself dependent for water upon a supply diminishing in quantity while increasing in cost. Further, the population was growing in leaps of 10 to 15 per cent a year and upon investigation it was found that all neighboring sources of adequate water supply had been pre-empted by other communities for either potable or irrigation purposes.

Foreseeing clearly the danger of the city's growth being effectively throttled unless there was an immediate solution to the dilemma, the authorities very wisely and bravely acquired at private sale options on essential water rights to the dependable and ample flow of the Owens river over 230 miles distant from the city, and proceeded to make this supply available.

As a record of municipal enterprise the history of the scheme continues unique.

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[1] Director, Pennsylvania school for social service.

[2] Final Report on the Construction of the Los Angeles Aqueduct, with Introductory Historical Sketch. Los Angeles, Calif.: Department of Public Service. Cloth; 8 x 11 in.; pp. 319; illustrated with maps, drawings and photographs. $1.95.

The voters quickly ratified the issue of nearly $25,000,000 of 40-year bonds to consummate the execution of the plans.

The financial problems involved in the selling of the bonds and the legal issues arising out of the city's appropriation of lands and water rights are all dealt with in separate chapters. The main features of engineering design and construction are also dealt with separately and covered in a way which subordinates local interest and emphasizes the principles sought for and applied.

Excellent examples of the methods of computing bonus payments to the laborers, as well as of cost accounts, are described. Those interested in municipal ownership and operation of public utilities will read with interest and profit how Los Angeles, confronted with an artificially high price set by local mills for the cement of which some 900,000 barrels were required, with typical energy procured the necessary quarries and plant and built a large mill from which the work was almost entirely supplied at a comparatively low cost.

Unique for a municipal undertaking of the size described was the decision to do the work by direct account throughout, eliminating all contractors. The results were most gratifying, the total cost of the work falling within the preliminary estimate and the speed being even more satisfactory.

The bonus system developed during the course of the work for the routine work of tunneling and of riveting the large pipes of steel plate are thoroughly described and the success of the policy adopted in setting the bonuses is amply vindicated by the demonstrated savings secured not only in money but in time. In fact, the report claims for the Los Angeles aqueduct the American record for monthly progress in hard rock tunneling.

To facilitate the project the national authorities at Washington were prevailed upon to withdraw federal lands from prospective homesteaders as well as to abandon various irrigation projects which would have diverted the desired water.

Finding itself in need of trails across the desert to carry on construction work, the city made successful arrangements with the Southern Pacific railroad by which this company constructed the necessary tracks in the desired location without cost to the city. Arrangements were also made by which local freight destined for the aqueduct via other railroads received a rebated rate.

The report is unique in that it covers a variety of topics, the principal of which have been dwelt upon, in a concise manner so well written as to interest both students and managers of civic affairs. Besides a profuse number of handsome half-tone plates and a few drawings in the body of the book, a pocket in the back contains the maps, profiles and "graphs" needed to illuminate the few technical chapters. It is very fortunate that the city authorities properly appraised the value of their experiences and saw fit to make publicly available, at nominal cost, this complete record of the profitable execution of a large municipal project.

Julian Richmond.[1]

✣

Street Railway Matters.[2]—While the people of Cleveland, Ohio, are enjoying the fastest and best trolley service in the country in the cleanest and most modern cars for a three-cent fare, certain street railways in Massachusetts have been trying the experiment of six-cent fares, with such ill-success that one of them petitioned the public service commission for a still further raise in rates. But it remained for the Bay State railway company, operating 897 miles in the cities and towns of eastern Massachusetts, to make the most determined effort of any railway in the country to increase its fares.

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[1] Assistant engineer, board of water supply, New York city.

[2] *Boston* Elevated Railway Company. Statement . . . made before the special commission appointed under authority of chapter 158 of the Resolves of 1916, entitled Resolve "providing for a special commission to consider the financial condition of the Boston elevated railway company." By Gaston, Snow and Saltonstall, general solicitors. September, 1916. 86 pp.

—— Set of exhibits accompanying statement . . . made before the special commission . . . 1916. Exhibits A-T, charts, maps.

Massachusetts. Public Service Commission. The Bay State rate case; report and order, Aug. 31, 1916. (P. S. C. 1085.) 1916. 116 pp.

Without question the Bay State railway was most ill-advised in petitioning for a six-cent fare over its entire system. By so doing it antagonized every city and town through which it passes, no less than 65 municipalities officially represented by counsel in opposing the fare increase. While the company is entitled to a measure of sympathy because of the burden of unprofitable lines which should never have been built, of interurban routes too crooked to be entitled to so dignified a name, of a collection of obsolete cars which should long ago have been consigned to the scrap heap, at the same time all these handicaps have been apparent since the consolidation of lines began, about seventeen years ago, and there has been ample time to evolve a modern railway.

Instead of that, the company neglected both maintenance and depreciation. It adopted a type of car about ten years behind the times. It operated single cars where trailers or trains would have saved some of the greatly desired income, showed a lack of efficient operation and management throughout the system, and on top of all these deficiencies, it adopted a course certain to alienate the sympathy of the entire riding public.

The company was treated with remarkable fairness by the public service commission, whose report is well worth a careful study. The commission pointed out the shortcomings of the company, and made constructive suggestions as to possible economies and means of obtaining more revenue. While denying the right to raise fares over the entire system, it decided to permit certain fare increases on interurban lines.

Following the decision of the public service commission, the Bay State railway has not improved matters in any way at the time of the present writing. It has tucked in fare increases wherever any loophole was afforded by the report. It cut out stopping places without well defined plan. The commission had wisely stated its belief that the co-operation of the public was of more real value to the company than an increase in fares. But this invaluable suggestion was wholly ignored. What the company should have done was to employ Peter Witt of Cleveland to effect real co-operation with the public and undo the injury caused by the attempted raise in fares. Mr. Witt was called into the case by the city of Lynn, and could have done wonders for the company, without question, by repeating his Cleveland success in winning public support for a skip stop plan and the speeding up of the cars; and in adopting one-man cars on poorly paying lines, and up-to-date cars and trailers on routes with heavy travel.

The Boston elevated railway company is also before the public for financial relief, and is under investigation by a special commission composed of officials of the state government, the public service commission, and the Boston transit commission.

While the Boston elevated management, like the Bay State management, must accept responsibility for some of the burdens of the past for which relief is desired, the Boston company has much the stronger case for public support, as shown by the statement submitted to the special investigating commission. The company has been far more progressive in recent years than the Bay State. Schedules have been speeded up; stops eliminated; fare boxes introduced; power production increased; track reconstruction kept up on most modern lines; and electric switches and signals installed to save time and expense. The new standard car of the Bay State railway is practically the same type which the Boston company has given up building, in favor of center entrance motor cars and trailers, which are loaded much quicker, are safer and more convenient for passengers, and are far more economical of operation.

The financial burdens of the Boston elevated company appear to be due largely to over expansion in rapid transit construction, and the company must admit that it went into these matters with its eyes open, and that the Cambridge subway and East Cambridge viaduct were costly investments. The public was largely insistent, too, on the building of the Boylston street subway and the Dorchester tunnel; and while the company could not have been forced against its will to lease these lines, at the same time it can well be excused for having undertaken the financial burden.

If Boston and its surrounding municipalities desire a constantly expanding rapid transit system, whether profitable or not, the time has evidently come for the public to stand behind the system financially, just as New York is doing with the dual system, whose new lines are far more likely to be self-supporting than some of those in Boston. The Cambridge subway, again, might well have been built by assessing the cost on the property benefited, as is proposed for the Utica avenue line in Brooklyn.

One thing is certain about the Boston elevated case: there will be no real demand to raise fares. The present Boston management is too progressive to require such a drastic form of relief, and too wise to follow the Bay State company in such an unpopular move.

John P. Fox.

New York City.

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Standards for Electric Service is the title of a publication ("Circular" No. 56) recently issued by the United States Bureau of Standards, which, because of its field of usefulness, deserves notice outside the technical circles to which such publications are usually confined.

All existing statutes and regulations which have been enacted to control the supply and sale of electric service by public service utilities are classified and reviewed. The applications of these regulations as they affect the standards for service are discussed, and clear definition given of what should be both the duties and limitations of regulation.

From the review of rules and recommendations for electric service as they exist throughout the country, the Bureau has undertaken to outline model sets of regulations to serve as a starting point for commissions or legislative bodies whose duties may require the formulation of such regulations.

The Bureau of Standards has acted in an advisory capacity to many public service and municipal bodies, and the result of its experience should be of material value to commissions and officials who heretofore have been able to obtain this information either incompletely or as a result of much labor.

The circular contains:

1. Rules and recommendations for the regulation of electric service companies by state commissions;
2. Three specimen ordinances suitable for cities or towns not having regulation by commission;
3. Specifications governing the approval of types of electric meters by commissions.

The first, which is most important and embraces the greater part of the publication, is based on careful studies of the subject, and embodies the results of conferences with operating companies and others qualified to express opinions. Comparatively few towns and cities at present possess regulating ordinances covering the supply of electric service. The examples given are intended to cover the probable needs of the average city or town which does not possess commission form of regulation.

A brief description of the testing equipment provided by each of the state commissions for the calibration and standardization of working tests standards, and for the testing of meters upon complaint to the commission should be of interest to operating companies and to commissions considering the equipment of similar laboratories. The appendixes contain reprints of sections of state public service commission laws concerning safety and data of technical value to both commissions and operating companies.

The public is indebted to the Bureau of Standards for placing in available form valuable data which heretofore could be had only as a result of much individual effort and research.

Circular No. 32, treating in a similar manner of the supply of gas service, is now in its third edition and has received a wide circulation.

Harry V. Allen.[1]

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Recent Tax Reports.—The three interesting documents under review differ very radically in their character. One is a letter to the mayor of Philadelphia outlining the local municipal revenue situation.[2] The second is an account of the session of the commonwealth club of California at which the radical land-tax amendment was the subject of debate.[3] The third is the 1916 tax report of the city of New York.[4] They will be discussed in inverse order.

The New York report is the regular annual publication of the department of taxes and assessments. This bureau, headed by Mr. Lawson Purdy, has won widespread recognition by the excellence of its work. No better advice can be offered the American tax official who desires to improve the administration of his department than to familiarize himself with New York practice and certainly no better model for a municipal tax report is to be found than this document. This is no mere statement of total assessed values. It is a well-analysed historical exhibit. The assessment data are split into their constituent classes and redivided geographically into assessment districts. The boundaries of these districts are made clear by maps. Side by side with figures for the current year are presented those for the preceding three years, with percentages of increase and decrease and the portion of the total value represented by the various classes of property. From these tables it is possible by a moment's inspection to ascertain the general movement of land values in the various sections of the city or the areas of building activity and stagnation. There are also comparative and detailed statements of property exempt from taxation and of the number and value of vacant lots. Much material other than assessment data is given, such, for instance, as the rates of taxation for a series of years, a summary of the changes in the tax laws and of the judicial decisions in the field and a general discussion of the problems and accomplishments of the department during the year. In short, it is a satisfactory statement of all the pertinent facts which might properly appear in an annual report of this type. Unfortunately the excellence of the report is somewhat marred by the presence of a number of slight arithmetical inaccuracies.

In view of the many unusual circumstances present in the real estate situation, the 1916 assessment data are of particular interest. The war has had an effect here, for the population of New York appears to have decreased rather than increased for the first time in a long series of years. The tax rate in Manhattan, moreover, exceeded 2 per cent, which has not occurred since 1902 at which time property was not so fully assessed as today. Rapid-transit facilities have been developed on an enormous scale. Plans for building restrictions and zoning, after a long period of discussion, were about to be adopted when the report was written. Because of these factors and others, the assessments reveal very striking changes. The total value of real estate in the city has increased about one hundred million dollars, but nearly three-fourths of this increase is in improvements. "Ordinary land value" actually decreased more than thirty million dollars. In Manhattan alone the decrease was more than fifty millions, the other four boroughs showing slight increases. The per capita land value in Manhattan has shown a steady decrease for six years. In 1911 it was $1,303. To-day it is $1,200. In certain sections of Manhattan the decreases have been disastrously great largely because of changes in the location of business centers. The new sections, however, have not increased sufficiently in value to counterbalance the decreases in the abandoned regions. "It seems evident," reads the report, "that such a decrease in value would not have occurred had the city been districted years ago in accordance with the use to which the property may be put and the height to which buildings may be permitted to be erected." That this is substantially true, no one will doubt. But it will be interesting to observe whether high tax rates and improved rapid transit will permit a full recovery of land values in Manhattan even with intelligent zoning restrictions in force.

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[1] Assistant engineer of light and power, department of water supply, gas and electricity, city of New York.

[2] Taxation and New Sources of Revenue. A Letter addressed to Hon. Thomas B. Smith, Mayor of Philadelphia, and the Presidents and Members of Select and Common Councils. By Joseph P. Gaffney, Esq., chairman of the finance committee, October 24, 1916. 22 pp.

[3] Transactions of the Commonwealth Club of California, vol. xi, no. 7, October, 1916. The Land Tax Amendment, San Francisco, California, 1916. 329–367 pp.

[4] Report of the commissioners of taxes and assessments of the city of New York, 1916. 98 pp.

Real estate assessments in New York appear to be now somewhat above full cash value, the table of sales presented in the report showing that the consideration in 5,003 sales averaged 103 per cent of the assessed value of the parcels.

It would be a very fortunate situation if every city had as the chairman of its finance committee a man capable of addressing to its mayor as intelligent a letter as that submitted by Joseph P. Gaffney to Mayor Smith of Philadelphia last October. Mr. Gaffney displays a comprehensive grasp of the history of taxation in Philadelphia and an accurate appreciation of the limitations under which the city must work in its efforts to improve its financial situation. The bulk of the report consists of a historical sketch of the development of the present revenue system but he also makes some very definite suggestions for changes. Most of the suggestions are of local interest only. For none of them does Mr. Gaffney claim originality. Several are unusual, however. For example, Mr. Gaffney argues that because the automobile is the "legitimate successor" of the horse, automobile taxes should be local rather than state. He also stamps as essentially "local in their character" both the mercantile license tax and the collateral inheritance tax. As a means of securing improvement in the administration of the real estate tax, he suggests that a more direct control be established over the board of revision of taxes. That Pennsylvania antique, the threefold classification of real estate, is condemned as is also the exemption of the real estate of quasi-public corporations. Special privileges granted by the city should be made the basis for the imposition of special charges. He displays no affection for personal property taxes but he remarks that "if they are to prevail . . . proper and efficient machinery [for their collection] cannot be supplied too quickly." It will be seen that the recommendations are made from the point of view of what is immediately practicable rather than of what is fundamentally desirable.

In California this fall there was waged a fight for a land tax measure which was more frankly and whole-heartedly single-tax in its nature than any put forward in recent years. Its supporters for some reason called the campaign "the great adventure," perhaps because of the desperateness of their hope and their willingness to accept their reward in the joy of a struggle rather than in the fruits of a victory. The measure is reported to have been badly defeated[1] at the recent election. The committee on taxation of the commonwealth club of California considered the measure and reported against its adoption by a vote of nineteen to one, the lone dissenter being Mr. Milton T. U'Ren. The report of the committee was presented to the club on October 11 and was supported by Professor C. C. Plehn and vigorously opposed by Mr. U'Ren. The verbatim account of the debate, published in pamphlet form, shows that the subject was discussed in a very able and delightfully good-humored fashion on both sides. As is inevitable under such circumstances, there was evident at times a tendency to avoid the direct joining of issues and there was also some confusion because the speakers used terms in different senses. One should not of course expect exact and scientifically qualified statements in a discussion of this sort. It undoubtedly served its purpose admirably, if the object was to present the issue with clearness to a group of business men whose time was short and interest limited.

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[1] Joseph Fels *Fund Bulletin*, vol. 4, no. 11 (November, 1916), p. 1.

All three documents are excellent, each in its particular field. All three, moreover, furnish strong evidence of the increased intelligence with which problems of public finance are being considered in this country.

ROBERT MURRAY HAIG.
Columbia University.

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Torrens Land Transfer Reports.[1]—In these pamphlets the drafts of three different statutes embodying the Torrens system of registering land titles are presented and discussed and a considerable amount of historical and descriptive material of a more general nature is set forth.

Mr. Browne's monograph on the Torrens land transfer act of Nebraska is the most elaborate and comprehensive of the three. A brief review of the defects of the old system of recording land titles is followed by a clear analysis of the Nebraska statute of 1915. In common with other acts of this kind it provides that the owner of real property may, if he wishes to have his title to that property registered and guaranteed. This involves two things. In the first place an opportunity must be given to all those who have any adverse claims against such title to be heard in court upon the question of the validity of those claims. In the second place, by the exaction of a small fee from those whose titles are registered a fund is created out of which is paid any indemnities which may be subsequently recovered against such registered and guaranteed titles. The Nebraska statute leaves it optional with any county of the state to adopt the Torrens system or not as it may see fit. An elaborate summary is presented of the arguments for and against the scheme and a valuable review is given of the decisions of both state and federal courts upon the constitutional questions involved. Several state courts have invalidated Torrens acts as violating the doctrine of the separation of governmental powers and denying due process of law but the United States supreme court has indicated in several cases that it regards the essential principle involved in the system as valid. The pamphlet closes with a useful summary of the history of the Torrens system and a brief bibliography.

Mr. Massie is chairman of the committee on registration of title to land of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and his address before the law association of Philadelphia is a discussion of the model Torrens act proposed by that body. The provisions of that model statute are set forth in considerable detail. The Illinois Torrens law of 1897 has served as a model for most of the states which have enacted legislation of this type and Mr. Massie points out how the proposed uniform act remedies the defects which are to be found in the Illinois statute. Among the more interesting and important of these improvements may be mentioned the provisions requiring the establishment of a special court of land registration, resting the appointment of examiners of title with the court instead of the administrative officers, securing jury trial on questions of title, shortening the time within which adverse claims may be asserted against registered titles, affording protection against forgery, and stipulating that an assurance fund shall be established to pay indemnities recovered against registered titles and that if such fund be inadequate to meet any claim the "unpaid amount shall bear interest and be paid in its order out of moneys thereafter coming into the funds."

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[1] The Torrens Land Transfer Act of Nebraska, by Thorne A. Brone, assistant director Nebraska legislative reference bureau. Bulletin no. 10, Nebraska History and Political Science Series. 60 pp. 1916.

Registration of Land Titles in the United States. An address before the law association of Philadelphia, by Hon. Eugene C. Massie. 25 pp. 1916.

Torrens Registration System in New York Memorandum relative to the proposed amendments to the real property law governing registration of real property titles known as the Torrens law. Prepared by the bureau of municipal research. 29 pp. 1916.

The bulletin prepared by the New York bureau of municipal research summarizes the provisions of the New York Torrens act of 1908. This statute has not proved satisfactory and been used very rarely. This situation has led to the proposal by the register of New York county of a large number of amendments to the law which are set down under seventeen different heads and supplemented by several other suggestions for improvement. These changes follow very closely indeed the main lines of the model uniform statute proposed by the commissioners on uniform state laws. An interesting difference between the two lies in the fact that, under the proposed New York act, if the demands on the assurance fund exceed the amount in the fund the balance is to be paid out of the county treasury instead of out of subsequent payments into the fund itself. The proposed act would abolish the curious provision in the present law making it optional with the owner who registers his title whether or not he will make a contribution to the guarantee fund and receive its protection.

From a perusal of these pamphlets one gleans a very clear idea of the history and growth of the Torrens system as well as an insight into some of the more intricate questions of form and procedure which arise under it.

Robert E. Cushman.
University of Illinois.

Handbook for City Officials.—The league of California municipalities has long enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most effective organizations of its kind in the United States. Evidence of its success is found in the fact that out of 245 incorporated cities and towns in the state, 201 are members of the league. All except about 20 of these 240 municipalities are fifth- and sixth-class cities.

"A handbook for city officials of the fifth- and sixth-class cities of the state of California" has been prepared by the executive secretary, William J. Locke. The volume consists principally of sections of the constitution which concern municipalities and portions of the municipal corporation act which constitute the charters of fifth- and sixth-class cities. Besides giving this indispensable material in convenient and annotated form, Mr. Locke has incorporated much information which will be invaluable to officials of newly incorporated towns and to newly elected officials.

Model specifications for pavements, culverts, sewers and other street improvements are included. An article on municipal and finance accounts and another on efficiency in assessment rolls and tax collection were written by William Dolge, C.P.A.

One of the best features of the manual is a very complete index. A table of contents would also have added to its usefulness.

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[1] By Joseph Wright, librarian of the bureau of municipal research, Harvard University.

This bibliography has been prepared and is published for the use of students who are competing for the William H. Baldwin prize in 1917. This prize of $100 is offered annually by the National Municipal League for the best essay on an assigned subject in municipal government, and is open to undergraduate students in any American college or university which offers distinct and independent instruction in municipal government. For 1917 the subject of the competition is "Municipal Budget-Making." A circular giving further details concerning the competition may be had on application to the secretary of the National Municipal League, North American building, Philadelphia.

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TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

HELD AT

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., NOVEMBER 23, 24, 25, 1916

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

Kimball Hotel, Thursday, November 23, 1916, 3 p.m.

Vice-president Robert Treat Paine, Boston, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The National Municipal League is fortunate in assembling here in Springfield under these auspicious circumstances. Springfield has shown her energy, zeal and efficiency in gathering together for this notable municipal week almost a dozen organizations interested in municipal improvement. This co-operation of forces would seem to me to justify the confident prediction that the future will witness more gratifying advances than we have witnessed heretofore.

Some groups of people have attacked the civil service and tried to check and limit corruption. Others have tried to modify the methods of government, and I suppose that might be regarded as the function of the League. Others have tackled housing, health problems, taxation and city planning. Now, these many aims and ideals; artistic, social, humane, political, have been generally independent of each other. Each has gone on its own individual way, but more and more it has been realized that they are really interacting, so that if progress is made by one all the others are stimulated.

For bringing us together as representatives of so many different organizations and emphasizing this co-operation, we are under and we recognize our obligations to Springfield. In arranging for a municipal week Springfield knew what she was after and how to get it. How did she know this? I think it is because Springfield has been more bold in doing things, and doing them more efficiently, and I hope and I would like to believe that Springfield has gathered such a momentum that she will go on and on until she has become one of the notable cities of our land.

This afternoon we are going to have the pleasure of being welcomed by the chief executive of the city, and I have great satisfaction in presenting to you his honor, Mayor Frank E. Stacy.

MAYOR STACY: This is truly a pleasant duty that has been assigned me as mayor of Springfield to say just a few brief words of welcome to you, and to bring the greetings of our city.

You know it is always a pleasant duty for a mayor to stand before an audience, especially for me, and say, "How do you do" and "I am glad to see you." You have truly, as your chairman has said, come to a progressive city. We are growing; we are progressive; we are energetic; we are a good city, and a clean city, and we welcome just such delegations as you. We welcome you because we want to advance. There are men here who are making cities, and we want the best. I know that these conventions are not only going to be a big help to Springfield, but they are going to be a big help to New England and the entire country. We welcome all the new ideas that you can give us.

When you go to a city they like to show you what they are doing. Now, that is more in my own line this afternoon. We want you to see what we are doing in several lines; we want you to see what we have in the line of schools, municipal buildings, parks, playgrounds, police systems and fire systems, if you will. I know we have a reception committee here in Springfield that is going to take care of all the entertainment in a very able manner, yet if there is any little special duty that I can show you as mayor, I want to do it, because after this week is over—all these conventions—and you have all returned to your homes, we want you to have a feeling that you had truly a delightful time and that you derived a lot of benefit, and that you will want to come up here again and honor us by your presence.

We are having a remarkable growth. When I went into the city council in 1904 Springfield had an assessed valuation of $89,000,000. To-day, with a population of a little over 100,000, we have an assessed valuation of over $250,000,000. We performed that task at a comparatively low tax rate. I figured up what the rate of taxation had been for the past ten years, and for all purposes; for school purposes, the municipal tax, state tax, and county tax, we have only averaged $16.14; so you can see what we are doing.

If there are those among you who are interested in a municipal way in the best fire, police or telegraph system, I might state we are not boasting when we say we have the last word in those lines, and we truly have a wonderful fire and telegraph system. You may want to take some of the pointers that we have there back to your home cities. It is the same in regard to schools.

The Chairman: After these cordial words of welcome from his honor, the mayor, the next in order is to have a reply by a member of the League. We have always been fortunate in having a list of presidents who have been great in leadership. The new president has had one year in office. You remember in past years under his predecessor how we came year after year and counted upon listening to those beautiful addresses, with depth of understanding, with brilliancy of expression and wit coupled so charmingly in language, that we sat entranced and did not know that the minutes flew by. We learned to have respect, and admiration and deep affection. I feel like saying as they are in Austria to-day, "The king is dead." But there follows the phrase, "Long live the king"; and to our new president I can assure that we are going to extend to him the same loyalty we extended to his predecessor. We already have a deep respect, and I am very confident that we shall turn to him as we did to his predecessor, Mr. Foulke. He is able to dream dreams and see visions. He is not merely a dreamer; he is one of the big practical men in New York city doing things, leading the city on, so that for years and decades to come it will be a better city to live in because of Mr. Purdy's work there.

I have pleasure in presenting to you our president, Lawson Purdy, Esq.

Mr. Purdy then delivered his annual address as president of the National Municipal League, entitled "Some Advance Municipal Steps." [1]

The Chairman: This address will undoubtedly furnish not only food for thought, but will arouse interest leading to questions and discussion later, but before we proceed to that we will take up the next subject, which is the annual address by the secretary. The secretary has been one of the king pins of our organization from the beginning. It is a very happy combination of qualities that he possesses, and he has not only been, but he is now about to be, the chronicler, the historian, of what has gone on for the past twelve months. He has generally been year after year from the beginning on the firing line, and that gives him a better chance to estimate and weigh the value, the suggestiveness and the promise of the different things which are being advocated, brought up and tried out, the theories as well as the facts, in our different American cities.

"I have great pleasure in asking Mr. Woodruff to give us his annual review on "Municipal Preparedness." [2]

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 13.

[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 1.

Hon. William Dudley Foulke, *Richmond, Ind:* I was very much gratified indeed at the admirable address of the secretary, detailing the progress of the last year, but I want to add a little something to it. I think I might supplement the pathetic statement of the mother and the answer of the cattle official with the statement that the state in question now has a tuberculosis sanitorium, and that a number of the counties have institutions of the same kind, as well as public dispensaries, for the treatment of that and other diseases, and I have been engaged in the endeavor to establish one in my own county. We have them at Indianapolis; at Fort Wayne, and at Evansville, and I think we are right on the high road to redeem ourselves from such an opprobrium.

I was very much interested in the question of height of buildings. We are more and more beginning to realize in this great country with its methods and opportunities that men cannot live for themselves alone, and that those high ideals of individual liberty which we have had in the past must to some extent be subordinated to the principles of the public welfare, and that a certain amount of paternalism must be exercised by our governments, particularly in our city governments where are congregated such masses of humanity. New York has led the way. It is the thing that ought to be followed, not by a copy of the particular law that has been passed in New York, but by the acceptance of the general principle.

In regard to the acceptance of pensions, I had occasion for some years as member of two committees on civil service reform work to know something of the aims and purposes of the movement. We found at the time—two investigations were held about ten years apart—that the number of superannuated civil service employes was far less than we had generally considered. On both of those occasions we found that those actually engaged in the departments at Washington, D. C., did not exceed 2 per cent of the entire number employed over seventy years of age. The amount certainly was not very great, and it did not increase very greatly. We found at that time that the pension system was costing England about 17 per cent of the actual expenses for the service of the particular departments in which the pensions were given, but I had not realized until now that it had reached in some countries the enormous total of 36 and 37 per cent. There is one question that needs consideration: The possibility of adjusting a particular pension system to our present political system of managing our city governments and of managing indeed the affairs of our entire government. There is where the difficulty comes in, and I imagine it will be a good long while before we adopt such a measure. We found that it was better for us at that time not to recommend a pension system at all, but to recommend a substitute. A pension system, in addition to costing the country a great deal of money, would lead to the formation of a lobby by civil service employes. They have already organized trades unions throughout the country, and in such a pension system you would have departments belaboring congress in the same way that the war pensioners have. At that time we came to the conclusion that the safest plan for the government was to make the provision that every man or woman of the entire body of the civil service should make provision by a proper endowment policy in some insurance company, the securities to be held by the United States government, and the premiums to be paid out of deductions from salaries. That was the recommendation we then made, in view of our present political conditions, and I would like to ask Mr. Purdy whether or not a recommendation of that kind would be practicable. It has this advantage: It encourages for admission to the service those who are reasonably young in life. Those are the only ones who can afford to pay the premium for their support in old age. On the other hand, the government assumes no responsibility except as to the securities, which shall be deposited with some public authorities, and as to the deductions of the salaries for the purpose of securing the premium.

I remember being called before a committee of congress upon that subject, and we went into the matter at some length, and the committee unanimously approved. It seemed to have a sound basis or foundation.

Mr. Purdy: Our pension committee in New York has reported and made recommendation not unlike what Mr. Foulke suggests. They have proposed that there shall be various ages; that a sum should be paid, and whether the city acted wholly in the matter, or an insurance company, would not make any particular difference, provided the city did not expend more for administration than it should. The plan was to have them pay a sufficient sum to produce an annuity at retiring age, or have the city dispense the annuity, which would be equivalent. Also, to provide, possibly, life insurance which would take care of the dependents in the event of the person dying prematurely. Also, to provide that if the person left the service, he could take away practically all that he has paid in. Those plans are complete. They answer objections of those who would say that simple provision for the person's old age was inadequate, for we ought to provide for his family. And they answer those who say that after he retires from the service that he ought not to lose what he has contributed for his own benefit. But, at the same time, now or later, I have that dream in my mind of something being done more than the same old wheel going round and round and not getting anywhere, except serving the present generation.

A. M. Todd, *Kalamazoo:* I should be very glad to say a very few words on municipal preparedness, because, first, I was not present when you had the three-minute talks on what each city has done. Let me tell you about Kalamazoo. During the present year it voted to re-elect its mayor upon the question of public ownership. Two weeks ago it voted on prohibition, which carried by an enormous majority. We had with us in Michigan to help us in that fight two great Williams, William Sunday and William Jennings Bryan. Both of those men went up and down the state on this issue of prohibition. Our city of Kalamazoo is going rapidly forward. During the past five years we have voted down every franchise looking toward the extension of any further public utilities under private ownership. We have had for many years our water system under public ownership. A few years ago we built a new electric lighting system for lighting our streets, and we have under contemplation the building of a municipal gas plant. I am also very glad to tell you that our mayor, who was twice re-elected, stands both for public ownership and for prohibition.

Regarding city preparedness let me say that in my judgment as a business man, one whose life has been largely devoted to business questions, one of the greatest questions of municipal affairs to-day is the question of public ownership. We speak of bonds and we speak of statements and expenses, but we have no means to meet those expenses. In 1912 and 1913 I had the pleasure of spending fourteen months in fifteen countries of Europe, devoting nearly all of my time to municipal utilities, street railways, gas, electricity, banks, laundries, waterworks, and various other things, and the national utilities: the railways, the telegraph and the telephone. Now, one of the objections to municipal ownership is that they can be run efficiently by private ownership. I got statistics of those enterprises recognized as official by all the countries. You will find that in every case without any exception in England and France and Germany and Scotland the municipal utilities are invariably operated with greater efficiency than when under private ownership. They pay a higher scale of wages, and yet their cost of operation is less, because they are not under private ownership. Why does such a condition exist? Because under public ownership every collector of tickets, every man who drives a stake into the ground, is a partner in the business by virtue of his citizenship, and by virtue of the fact that these utilities are under public ownership he becomes a partner, and partnership and citizenship unite to make him efficient.

Regarding the high cost of living: If in New York or Philadelphia or Chicago or Boston or Springfield or Kalamazoo we had all of our public utilities under public ownership, paying the same rates of charge that we pay to-day, under public ownership we would be absolutely free from taxation. We would not need to talk about pensions. Our gas works and our electric light plants would not only pay all the taxes that we need, but would pension every official that needed pensioning.

Mr. Chairman, I make this motion, "That the program committee of our League include in its program next year the question of municipal ownership in our cities."

The CHAIRMAN: It would seem that this motion is proper to take up at this time if the meeting so desires. Are you ready for the question? Is there any debate upon it? Shall we ask the program committee to consider placing upon the program next year this question of municipal ownership in cities?

Question put to a vote and decided in affirmative.

THE SECRETARY: That there may be no misunderstanding may I say that the subject of municipal ownership is one which has engaged the attention of the National Municipal League from the beginning. Very few of our meetings have gone by without a consideration of it, and tomorrow morning there will be a report from the committee on franchises, of which Dr. Delos F. Wilcox of New York is chairman, dealing with the extremely important question of the hours of labor of public employes; a most difficult question.

As a result of the meeting of the mayors two years ago there has been established a Utilities Bureau, and the League has given that organization an opportunity to discuss this question, rather than compete with or duplicate its activities because the organization has been formed to give exclusive attention to it and to specialize in that direction. It is a subject we are all interested in, but that seems to be a healthy development. We should do the pioneer work, and then specialization can follow through a separate association. That policy must not be taken as a reason for thinking that there is any lack of interest on the part of the League.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

Kimball Hotel, Thursday, November 23, 1916, 8. p.m.

President Purdy in the chair.

This session was devoted to a discussion of "Political parties in city government: a reconsideration of old viewpoints." Professor Charles A. Beard of Columbia University; W. D. Lighthall, K.C., Montreal, honorary secretary of the Union of Canadian Municipalities, and John J. Murphy, tenement house commissioner of New York city presented formal papers. The discussion was participated in by Dr. Augustus Raymond Hatton, professor of municipal government and politics in the Western Reserve University; Robert S. Binkerd, secretary of the New York city club; and Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Dorman B. Eaton professor of government at Harvard. The formal papers and the discussion of them will be published in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

Hotel Kimball, Friday, November 24, 1916, 10 a.m.

The annual business meeting of the National Municipal League was called to order at 10 a.m. by President Purdy.

Mr. George Burnham, Jr., of Philadelphia, treasurer, presented his report for six months, from April 1, to September 30, 1916, the treasurer explaining that the fiscal year closed March 31.

TREASURER'S REPORT

SIX MONTHS—APRIL TO SEPTEMBER, 1916, INCLUSIVE

RECEIPTS

Dues:		
Annual memberships	$4,093.20	
Contributing memberships	891.00	
Junior memberships	2.50	
		$4,986.70

Contributions:		
General contributions....	$1,301.40	
REVIEW Fund..........	600.00	
		$1,901.40
National Municipal League Series:		
Sales of books..........	$45.12	
Royalties from publishers.	246.24	
		291.36
Sales of publications:		
Proceedings............	$3.50	
REVIEW...............	83.40	
Model city charter.......	105.80	
		192.70
Special funds:		
High school prize........	$20.00	
Baldwin prize..........	100.00	
Intercollegiate division...	100.00	
New membership campaign fund...........	545.00	
		765.00
		$8,137.16
Balance April 1.....		534.41
		$8,671.57

DISBURSEMENTS

General operating expense:		
Salaries and clerical	$3,825.51	
Postage................	562.71	
Printing and stationery ..	450.04	
News clippings.........	40.20	
Office rent.............	312.50	
Travelling..............	152.89	
General Expense........	197.26	
Sundry committee expenses..............	38.30	
		$5,579.41
National Municipal Review:		
Publication expense		1,272.64
National Municipal League Series:		
Books bought..........	$10.00	
Royalties to authors.....	52.89	
		62.89
Payments from Special Funds:		
High school prize fund ...	$50.00	
Portland prize fund......	30.00	
Baldwin prize fund......	100.00	
Intercollegiate division...	163.24	
New membership campaign fund..........	331.20	
		674.44
Miscellaneous:		
Voucher account (accounts payable March 31).................	$669.04	
Refund of dues..........	5.00	
Loans repaid...........	350.00	1,024.04
		$8,613.42
Balance September 30		58.15
		$8,671.57

Mr. M. N. Baker, Montclair, N. J., presented the report of the executive committee.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The executive committee desires to report the results of the prize competitions held since our annual meeting in Dayton, November, 1915.

The Morton D. Hull prize of $250 was awarded to Edward C. Mabie, of Dartmouth College, for his essay entitled "A Study of Municipal Accounting and Indebtedness in New Hampshire," with honorable mention of the essay of Cortland M. Yount of Northwestern University on "A Study of Party Organization, Nomination and Election Methods in the City of Chicago." The judges were Francis G. Wickware, editor of *The American Year Book*, and Dr. Birl E. Shultz, of the New York bureau of municipal research.

The William H. Baldwin prize of $100 for the best essay on efficient billboard regulation was awarded to Miss Bernice V. Brown, of Radcliffe College, with honorable mention of Phillips Bradley, Harvard University.[1]

The high school prizes for the best essays on keeping the highways clean were awarded as follows: first prize, $30, Carroll Stansbury, Washington, D. C.; second prize, $20, Miss Virginia Crutcher, Pine Bluff, Ark.; and honorable mention, Wellington G. Nicola, Attleboro, Mass.

The Portland prize on the unearned increment tax as a source of revenue for Portland, Oregon, was awarded to Miss Clara Eliot of Reed College.

There was no award of the Cincinnati prize this year.

The intercollegiate civic division, now known as the intercollegiate division, has been carrying on its work under the secretaryship of Arthur Evans Wood, formerly professor of Reed College, Portland, Oregon, and now a Harrison fellow at the University of Pennsylvania. Its work is being provided for by special subscriptions and is not a charge upon the funds of the League. The annual conference was held April 28, at Columbia

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[1] SEE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v. p. 679.

University and the New York city club.[1]

As a result of the conference of representatives of bureaus of municipal research at the Dayton meeting, a committee consisting of Messrs. L. D. Upson, then of Dayton and now of Detroit, C. O. Dustin of Springfield, Mass., and Dr. F. A. Cleveland of New York was appointed to provide for a similar conference in connection with the 1916 meeting of the National Municipal League.

The secretary made a trip through certain southern states during January and February, 1916, visiting Greensboro, Charlotte, Durham and Goldsboro, N. C., Charleston, S. C., St. Augustine, Fla., New Orleans, La., Birmingham, Ala., Nashville, Tenn., and Emory and Henry College in Virginia, making eighteen addresses before various bodies and getting in touch with active members and workers as well as studying the local conditions.

In accordance with the authorization of the council, the committee received and carefully passed upon the various recommendations of the special committee on business methods, approving substantially all of the recommendations made by that committee and suggesting modifications of others, which modifications were subsequently accepted by the special committee.

The League has been represented at various annual meetings like the recreation congress at Grand Rapids, the executive committee making the designations from time to time.

During the year two additional volumes have been added to the National Municipal League Series: Dr. John Nolen's "City Planning," and Graham Romeyn Taylor's "Satellite Cities." Two other books are now being set up: Charles S. Bird, Jr.'s "Town Planning for Rural and Industrial Communities," and Herman G. James's "Municipal Functions." The following books are in an advanced stage of preparation: "Expert City Government," Dr. E. A. Fitzpatrick; "A New Municipal Program," Clinton Rogers Woodruff; "Excess Condemnation," Dr. Robert E. Cushman, the manuscript of which is in hand.

M. N. Baker,
Chairman.

President Purdy: The report of the nominating committee is in order. Mr. John Ihlder, a member of the committee, will present this report. In the meantime, Mr. Graser is distributing the report.

Report of Committee on Nominations

Mr. Ihlder: We held four meetings. The committee went over every name, and the suggestion of new names represent their best judgment. The new vice-presidents are Meyer Lissner of Los Angeles, California, and Oliver McClintock of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The new members of the Council are: Alfred Bettman, Esq., of Cincinnati; Sam A. Lewisohn, New York; Prof. W. B. Munro, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Thomas H. Reed, the city manager of San José, California; Francis B. Sayre, Williamstown, Massachusetts; Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, of Greenwich House, New York; and Charles A. Sumner, Kansas City, Missouri, for some years secretary of the Kansas city club in Kansas City, and for many years vice-president of the International Electrotypers Union. He is a man who has been identified with the League for a long time.

President Purdy: What is your pleasure with the report of the nominating committee?

Mr. Woodruff: I move the report be received. There is one additional name to be added: Mrs. Bessie Leach Priddy of Ypsilanti, Michigan. The committee on nominations felt that it would be extremely valuable to have a closer affiliation with the general federation of women's clubs which is doing an increasing amount of civic work. As Mrs. Priddy is chairman of its civic work, the committee authorized me to suggest her name as an additional member of the council. I would therefore nominate Mrs. Priddy, who is a professor in the State Normal

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 495.

College at Ypsilanti and a very energetic woman.

President Purdy: The motion is in order.

The motion made, seconded and carried that the secretary cast one ballot for the names printed on the list distributed, as members of the council, with the additional name of Mrs. Bessie Leach Priddy.

The Secretary: In accordance with the instructions of the meeting I have cast a ballot for the names printed on the list given, with that of Mrs. Bessie Leach Priddy as another member of the council.

President Purdy: I declare the following to be elected for the ensuing year:

President—Lawson Purdy, New York.

Vice-Presidents—

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago.
John Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Va.
Richard S. Childs, New York.
Walter L. Fisher, Chicago.
Frank J. Goodnow, Johns Hopkins University.
*Meyer Lissner, Los Angeles, Cal.
A. Lawrence Lowell, Cambridge, Mass.
George McAneny, New York.
*Oliver McClintock, Pittsburgh.
J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg.
Robert Treat Paine, Boston.
L. S. Rowe, Philadelphia.
Charles Richardson, Philadelphia.
Dudley Tibbits, Troy, N. Y.

Secretary—Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

Treasurer—George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

Council—

Charles W. Andrews, Syracuse, N. Y.
M. N. Baker, Montclair, N. J.
W. P. Bancroft, Wilmington, Del.
*Alfred Bettman, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.
John A. Butler, Milwaukee, Wis.
Harvey Stuart Chase, Boston.
Dwight F. Davis, St. Louis, Mo.
George B. Dealey, Dallas, Texas.
Albert DeSilver, Brooklyn, N. Y.
C. O. Dustin, Springfield, Mass.
Rev. William G. Eliot, Jr., Portland, Ore.
William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind.
C. J. France, Seattle, Wash.
Clarence L. Harper, Philadelphia.
Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge, Mass.
Augustus Raymond Hatton, Cleveland, Ohio.
Raymond V. Ingersoll, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Herman G. James, Austin, Texas.
Camillus G. Kidder, Orange, N. J.
*Sam A. Lewisohn, New York.
W. D. Lighthall, Montreal, Canada.
Knowlton Mixer, Buffalo, N. Y.
Frederic Cook Morehouse, Milwaukee, Wis.
*William Bennett Munro, Cambridge, Mass.
Truman H. Newberry, Detroit, Mich.
Mrs. Bessie Leach Priddy, Ypsilanti, Mich.
*Thomas H. Reed, San Jose, Cal.
*Francis B. Sayre, Williamstown, Mass.
*Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, New York.
F. S. Spence, Toronto, Canada.
Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.
*Charles A. Sumner, Kansas City, Mo.
H. A. Toulmin, Jr., Dayton, Ohio.
Henry M. Waite, Dayton, Ohio.
A. Leo Weil, Pittsburgh, Pa.
James H. Wolfe, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Chairmen—

Raymond V. Ingersoll, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Robert S. Marx, Cincinnati.
Albert De Silver, New York.
John Ihlder, New Rochelle, N. Y.
Stiles P. Jones, Minneapolis, Minn.

The Secretary: There are two or three things that I would like to announce: We have in typewritten form the report of Dr. Clyde L. King on "The relation of the city to its food supply," and the executive committee has under its consideration its early publication. The report comprises eighty typewritten pages. In the absence of any strong demand, I think we can merely report it for possible future printing. The committee on civic bibliography will not have a report as had been anticipated, Miss Hasse having been hindered by illness. At the council meeting yesterday, after careful consideration of the questions involved, it was determined to combine that committee with the one on municipal reference libraries and archives, which committee has had a very active year, involving a great deal of discussion of whether there was any necessity for a central clearing house of municipal material. There was a difference of opinion among those interested in the subject whether that central clearing house should be a governmental body, or whether some commercial concern should be utilized for such a clearing house. The consensus of opinion—the majority of the opinion of the committee—was in favor of making it a governmental function, feeling that a better and broader basis could be got at because of the elimination of the necessity of making it pay. On the other hand, there were those who felt that the H. W. Wilson Company of White Plains, which is doing a valuable service, should be endorsed as the most available instrument at hand. That endorsement has not been recommended, the vote of the municipal reference committee being four to one on the proposition, and in another committee —that on state municipal leagues,—the vote being two to one.

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* New nominations.

Herbert Harley, Esq., of Chicago, secretary of the American Judicature Society and of the National Municipal League's committee on municipal courts, presented the following report, the general principles of which were endorsed:

Report of Committee on Municipal Courts

In 1913 the National Municipal League created a committee to draft a model municipal court act. The success of a number of new courts organized on business lines in various large cities made it highly desirable that the experience and data available should be thoroughly sifted and the movement be projected toward a definite ideal. Chief Justice Harry Olson of the municipal court of Chicago was made chairman and there were appointed to serve with him: Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia, Chief Justice Wilfred Bolster of the municipal court of Boston, A. Leo Weil of Pittsburgh, Prof. Roscoe Pound of Harvard Law School, Hastings Hart, Raymond V. Ingersoll and Judge W. L. Ransom of New York city, and Herbert Harley of Chicago, secretary.

The committee became affiliated with the American Judicature Society, a national organization to promote the efficient administration of justice, which was chartered at about the same time, and which forthwith devoted a large sum to the work of drafting a model judicature act for a large city. Its first draft was submitted in 1914 to the criticism of this committee and also to its entire council of three hundred lawyers, judges, teachers of law and political scientists. A report was made to the National Municipal League at that stage of the work. (See National Municipal Review for November, 1914.)

The important body of criticism derived from these sources was published for the benefit of the directors of the American Judicature Society and the members of the League's committee, and formed the basis for a revision which was published as Bulletins IV A and IV B, A. J. S., which bulletins constitute the formal report of the committee.

The model act is drafted with a view to adoption in the largest cities where the difficulties are greatest but it can readily be adapted to the simpler conditions of cities having less population, fewer judges and a smaller volume of judicial business.

The act provides for the creation of a metropolitan court district to embrace the suburbs of the large city. This district would ordinarily be the county in which the city lies. It abolishes the courts of limited jurisdiction presided over by lay judges and magistrates. The remaining judges are made judges of the metropolitan district court; those formerly exercising full trial jurisdiction become senior judges, while those formerly limited in trial powers become junior judges. All are given full trial jurisdiction so that they can deal with any litigation coming before them in a single proceeding.

The new court is given large powers for self-government and the regulation of its procedure. These powers are to be exercised by a chief justice and a judicial council.

For its orderly operation the business of the court, comprising all civil and criminal trials and proceedings at law, is to be apportioned between certain fixed divisions, as follows:

1. Equity division.
2. Probate and domestic relations division. (This division embraces also divorce and juvenile court matters.)
3. Civil jury division.
4. Civil non-jury division.
5. Criminal division.

Each division is to have a presiding justice appointed by the chief justice. The presiding justices and the chief justice, with one additional senior judge, constitute the judicial council, which is given power to regulate procedure, maintain discipline, and generally to conduct the business of the court. The chief justice is to execute its orders and assign judges to the various divisions and branches. The entire body of senior judges, with the concurrence of the chief justice, may overrule the judicial council.

In each division there will be established by rule such subdivisions or branches as are necessary for efficient specialization. The power to assign judges, under reasonable limitations, permits of administering each of these highly specialized branches by specialist judges, chosen with reference to their individual experience and temperament. It permits also of utilizing at all times the entire judicial force so that there will be no idle judges in one division and crowded dockets in another.

SELECTION AND RETIREMENT FEATURES

Bulletin IV A is devoted to intensive study of the subject of selecting and retiring judges. In this field there are powerful sectional traditions and prejudices. In some places appointment of judges for life by the governor is giving satisfaction. There is no recommendation for change in any place where results are satisfactory. But inasmuch as selection and retirement of judges by popular vote is giving indifferent or downright bad results in certain larger cities means for improving the situation without interfering with popular control are suggested. The object is to prevent the present waste of judicial experience through the accidents of politics, to obviate costly and undignified campaigning, to lengthen the average tenure, and to make the judicial office attractive to successful lawyers To accomplish this under the elective system it is proposed that the names of judges willing to serve longer shall be periodically submitted on a ballot which calls for an answer to this simple query: Shall this judge be continued in office?

In a third plan a more ideal form of selection is suggested. It provides for appointment of the judges by an elected chief justice. The ideal manner of selection is obviously by an expert authority who is responsible for the due administration of justice. Nobody can be so keenly interested in the selection of capable judges as the responsible head of the court whose own standing is determined by the work of his associates. Until recently we have had in our political machinery no "expert authority responsible for the due administration of justice," but such an official has come into being in the chief justice of the organized courts recently established in eight cities. It is suggested as a practical check that appointments should be made in part at least from a public eligible list of lawyers made up by the judicial council. The submission of the incumbent's name periodically, as under the second plan, is provided.

A fourth plan provides for appointment by the elected chief justice for good behavior. It is provided for all four plans that the judicial council, in addition to disciplinary powers, shall have authority, upon charges made by the public, the bar, or a committee of judges, and after hearing, to remove any associate judge.

RESULTS OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

The present great need of American courts is for specialist judges serving in a flexible organization of large administrative powers. This need implies unification of judicial power in a single court for any given locality. Full publicity concerning their work is also greatly needed. This is to be effected through detailed reports to be made and published by the chief justice. Individual responsibility of judges is conferred by a provision for monthly meetings in divisions and an annual meeting of the entire court.

The power to assign judges to specialized branches results in unlocking the fullest powers of the individual judge. It creates an environment favorable to judicial independence and stimulates ambition to set a high mark of achievement. The centralized management affords the public a needed opportunity to register complaints and so influence the practical operation of the courts. Meetings of judges and the power to regulate procedure create an *esprit de corps*. The standards of the most conscientious become the standards of all. Full scope for invention is afforded to the end that justice may be administered economically and in accord with public needs.

It should be noted that the essential judicial function is not affected by the provisions for co-ordinated work. The individual judge is absolutely free and independent with respect to the cause tried before him. No other authority can question his exercise of judicial power as such; in this respect he remains as now, responsible only to the appellate courts provided by the state. By having the conditions of his work systematized his efficiency is increased and his standing as an independent judicial officer is enhanced.

Readers who desire a fuller knowledge of the model act may obtain copies by applying to the American Judicature Society, 31 West Lake St., Chicago. A more detailed synopsis may also be found in the *Yale Law Journal* for April, 1916, and in "A New Municipal Program."[1]

HERBERT HARLEY,
Secretary.

The following report from the committee on new sources of revenue (Dr. Robert Murray Haig, Columbia University, chairman) was presented:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOURCES OF MUNICIPAL REVENUE[1]

Last year when your committee petitioned for a change of name from "Committee on New Sources of Municipal Revenue" to its present title, its primary object was to achieve an accuracy in the description of the scope of its work which would prevent a disappointment when its report was submitted. For a mere glance at the problem revealed the fact that it was one whose solution depended quite as much upon the proper utilization of old sources of revenue as upon the establishment of new ones. Moreover, to one acquainted even slightly with the history of public finance the term "new" appears inappropriate when applied to many of the suggestions which have been advanced of late as panaceas for our fiscal ills. Your committee was eager to avoid, even in the form of its title, any suggestion that it could be expected by a magician's trick to produce from a hat a new tax whose existence had been unsuspected, but whose yield would meet the serious financial needs of our municipalities.

Difficulty of the Problem.—It must be kept in mind, therefore, that under the conditions of wealth production as they now exist in this country, the annual social yield is very fully appropriated. There are no freely flowing but hidden springs of wealth to which the municipalities can claim title by right of discovery. The eyes of private individuals have been much keener than those of the group and their hands have been quick to grasp the title to even those sources of wealth which appear in some respects peculiarly suitable to public ownership. Witness the history of municipal franchises or the manner in which the increment of land values has accrued to the benefit of private individuals. Facing the situation as it exists to-day, then, the municipalities must secure their revenues in the main, by drawing upon the income of their citizens.

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[1] A new volume in the National Municipal League Series, edited by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 175.

The era of "rich strikes" is largely past. The municipality of to-day must reconcile itself to the fact that it is destined to lead a workaday existence; that no matter where it proposes to tap the social yield, it will affect the income of its citizens and will involve a degree of conscious sacrifice. New "painless" taxes are beyond the range of possibility for the ordinary American city. To an increasing degree taxes are being felt as burdens and those who are called upon to pay are comparing more accurately the gains with the costs. Public functions have increased enormously and will doubtless continue to increase but they will increase as the result of more and more intelligent decisions on the part of the electorate. The additional revenues necessary to perform them will as a rule be forthcoming only by demonstrating that the probable benefits to the city are greater than the pains of taxation.

Relation of Municipal Finance to State and National Finance.—If it be true that a financial eldorado is not the fated portion for the typical American city, it is equally true that its salvation depends to a very large extent upon the degree to which it co-operates with other governing bodies. In these days of aeroplanes and transcontinental telephones, the municipality whose official vision extends no further than its own limits must be content with a fiscal system whose yield suffices to meet only the simplest needs. Taxes which are purely local in their nature play a relatively small part in the most promising proposals for the improvement of municipal finance. Most of our cities at the present time obtain the bulk of their revenues through the operation of a code which is state-wide in its scope. This means that the problem of municipal finance is one which must be approached from a general point of view. State and perhaps national co-operation are necessary to a satisfactory solution. In assigning to the municipalities the most suitable sources of revenue, we must not forget that we are also citizens of the state and nation and must strive for a co-ordination which will yield a maximum total satisfaction.

Most of the interest in municipal finance springs from exceedingly practical considerations and not from abstract and theoretical ones. It is because a city administration finds difficulty in keeping within its debt limit or desires to increase its functions without raising its tax rate that the search for new sources of revenue begins. There is less interest in the subject to-day than a year ago because our general condition of prosperity has been reflected to some extent in increased real estate valuations in the cities. But even if the beginning of the search for revenue is here, the end is not to be found in the frenzied queries of a harried city official in a time of crisis. A satisfactory set of revenues for our cities can best be obtained by enlisting the attention of city officials in the broad questions of policy in taxation and in securing their intelligent co-operation with all forces working toward scientific tax reform.

Plan of the Report.—Your committee requests permission to present at this time a brief, general statement indicating the direction in which it believes progress to lie. To do more than this is impracticable in the time available this morning. It is the plan of the committee to support its position by means of a series of detailed studies in particular parts of the problem, several of which are already completed. The failure of the general property tax is treated by Professor Rawles, the income and habitation taxes by Dr. Williamson, business taxes by Mr. Arndt, the administration of the debt and allied problems by Mr. Swan and land taxes and special assessments by the chairman of the committee.

The Drift Toward Income Taxes.—At the present time the country is in the midst of an exceedingly interesting transition. The notion of how to secure justice in taxation is undergoing a radical change. The system upon which most of our municipalities depend for the bulk of their revenue, the general property tax, has been found to be sadly lacking. Approximately just, as was at one time the theory that every person should contribute according to the value of the property he owned, it is now conceded to be no longer satisfactory. Because of changes in economic conditions the capital value of property is no longer a fair index of ability to pay. Because of insuperable difficulties of administration, a large part of property always escapes its theoretically just share of the burden. The consensus of intelligent opinion is that forward steps in taxation are away from the general property tax.

There are, broadly speaking, only two bases suitable for the imposition of a rate designed to reach all tax-paying ability. One base consists of all capitalized values and is used in the general property tax now in disrepute. The other is made up of yields or incomes, present and expected. The first is the capitalization of the second. The tendency of the present transition is away from capitalized values, except for real estate, and toward income. The last few years has seen a surprising series of conversions to the income tax among students of public finance in the United States. Convinced partly by the success of the federal income tax and partly by the favorable experience of Wisconsin, their faith in the practicability of income taxation has been strengthened sufficiently to cause them in many cases to reverse their previous position and to come out strongly in favor of the new plan. Recommendations of a state income tax have been numerous and statutes have already been passed in several states establishing the system. The significance of this movement for municipalities is twofold. It may operate to take from the cities some of the subjects of taxation which they now possess, such as personal property. But since the cities are usually not successful in their efforts to reach such property, the loss may not be unsupportable. In the second place, the plan, as proposed in some places, includes a distribution to the localities so that, if the states are more successful in reaching tax-paying ability with an income tax than are the cities with the general property tax, the adoption of the plan will result in the augmentation of local revenues.

Your committee is of the opinion that the adoption of state income taxes is a very promising development and that, under certain conditions, set forth fully in the supporting memorandum, they offer an attractive solution of the revenue problem for those cities which find real estate taxes insufficient.

The Real Estate Tax.—The income tax agitation contains no threat against the retention of real estate by the cities as a source of revenue peculiarly their own. In fact the adoption of state income taxes would appear to strengthen rather than weaken the case for the local tax on real estate. This is a tendency which commends itself strongly to the committee for it feels that there are good and sufficient reasons why real estate taxes should constitute the backbone of the local revenue system. If sufficient returns could be secured from a tax on real estate, or even from a tax on land alone, without seriously impairing the rights of those who have made their investments in this type of property, your committee would hail this as the ideal solution of the municipal tax problem. Unfortunately, however, real estate has passed from hand to hand for a very long time for considerations based upon the assumption that land would be taxed at about the same rate as other property. A discrimination against land so serious as to disturb violently this assumption would result in depreciations in the value of land which would bring in their train undeserved suffering to a large portion of the community.

At this point the committee desires to reiterate the recommendations contained in its preliminary report a year ago concerning the administration of the real estate tax. The amateurish assessment methods used in most of our municipalities are a shame and a reproach. That the assessment of real estate is capable of a high degree of accuracy and relative justice as between individuals has been amply demonstrated in a few of our cities, but nevertheless other cities have been slow to follow. Assessments should be made by officials chosen for long terms and under conditions which will encourage them to devote themselves seriously to the work. Money invested in such practical aids as land value and tax maps will ordinarily yield a high return.

Increment Tax.—No form of special land tax appears to the committee to be entirely free from the taint of confiscation. Even the most innocuous of the increment taxes affect to some extent the prospect of the landholder for future returns. We are convinced, however, that site values in cities are from many points of view peculiarly good subjects of taxation and that, while a duty is present to safeguard the interests of the landowners to a degree, that duty should not be so construed as to block forever the desire of the community to use for general purposes a larger share of the ground rent. There appears to be no good reason why in most of our American cities there should not immediately be adopted an increment tax drawn along the lines suggested in the report of Mayor Gaynor's commission on new sources of revenue and in the 1916 report of the committee on taxation of the city of New York. This plan contemplates a special annual tax of 1 per cent on future increases in land values.

Special Assessments.—The system of special assessments has had an enormous development in American cities, yielding in several instances more revenue than any other source. The wide use of this method is heartily recommended. By means of it a very large share of the increase in land values has been recovered and cities have been able to proceed with improvement work in a much more expeditious and satisfactory fashion than would have been possible under a different plan of finance. The objections which are most often raised against the system are usually caused by crude administration and poor judgment. Fundamentally there is, of course, involved here also a question endangering the vested rights of realty owners, for a change in the policy of a city in the direction of a more extended use of special assessments may conceivably disarrange the expectations of landowners.

Business, Habitation and Salary Taxes.—The committee considers the various proposals for business, habitation and salary taxes measures which may be useful compromises under conditions where the income tax presents insuperable difficulties of administration. All three are attempts to reach income but adopt an arbitrary criterion for estimating income. Business taxes have had a very interesting development in a number of Canadian cities. A combination of habitation occupation and salary taxes was recently proposed by the New York city committee on taxation as an alternative for the income tax.

The Light Tax on Intangibles.—The classification of property with provision for a lighter tax on those classes which are easily concealed is a modification of the general property tax with the advantages and disadvantages of a compromise. It proposes to tax property at a rate which it will bear without disappearing. Under conditions where it is desirable to take only a short step from the old general property tax system, this form may be useful.

Miscellaneous.—The committee has already declared its position as being opposed in general to licenses for revenue, to poll taxes and to tax limitations where responsibility of elected officials is direct. It is in favor of restrictions on debt incurred for non-productive purposes and of the imposition of full charges for special privileges.

In concluding this brief summary the committee requests that its existence be continued only for a period sufficient for the completion of detailed studies which it desires to append to its report.

Respectfully submitted,
Robert Murray Haig, *Chairman*,
Walter H. Arndt,
Mayo Fesler,
William A. Rawles,
Herbert S. Swan,
C. C. Williamson.

The report of the committee on franchises, Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, New York, chairman, was read by Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, a member of the committee.[1]

Melvin P. Porter of Buffalo read a paper on "The Buffalo charter."[2]

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 31.

[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 79.

A. Leo Weil, Esq., of Pittsburgh, made an address on "Results of non-partisan government in Pittsburgh," which will be reported in connection with the other papers on this subject in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

Kimball Hotel, Friday, November 24, 1916, 3 p.m.

George B. Ford, of New York city, in the chair.

A joint meeting of the National Municipal League and the Massachusetts federation of planning boards was devoted to the subject of city planning. The following papers were presented:

"City Planning and Political Areas," George E. Hooker, secretary, Chicago city club; "How Not to Plan Cities," J. Horace McFarland, president, American Civic Association, Harrisburg; "Methods of Financing City Planning Projects," Nelson P. Newis, chief engineer, bureau of public improvements, New York board of estimate and apportionment; "Progress of District Planning in New York City," Robert H. Whitten, secretary, district commission, New York city.

Addresses were made by Chairman Ford reviewing the progress of city planning; by Alfred Bettman, Esq., Cincinnati, a member of the council of the National Municipal League; Charles Saville of Dallas, Texas; Dr. John Nolen, of Cambridge, Mass.; Charles H. Parsons, Springfield, Mass.; Allen T. Burns, Cleveland; Willard F. Jackson, Brockton, Mass.; Henry Carmichael, Malden, Mass.; and Harlan P. Kelsey, Salem, Mass.

The several papers with the exception of Mr. McFarland's which is published in this issue[1] will be published in the April number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

At this session the following resolution introduced by Camillus G. Kidder, Esq., of Orange, N. J., was presented and unanimously passed:

Resolved: That the National Municipal League, conveying its thanks, hereby expresses its hearty appreciation of the gracious invitation of the several bodies which united to bring this meeting to Springfield, and, through their reception committee, with unfailing and painstaking courtesy, and through the generous publicity given by the newspapers, have made the program a success, to which success Messrs. Mayo Fesler and C. O. Dustin have notably contributed and will be held in grateful memory.

FRIDAY EVENING SESSION

High School of Commerce, Friday, November 24, 1916, 8 p.m.

President Purdy in the chair.

The general subject of this evening's session was the extention of municipal activities and municipal expenditures. Addresses were made on "The City's Responsibility to Its Needy: A City Department to Fight Poverty," Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, Greenwich House, New York city; "Private and Public Welfare Activities," by Allen T. Burns, Cleveland; "The Extension of Municipal Activities and Its Effect on Municipal Expenditures," by Professor A. R. Hatton of Cleveland, who took the place of Comptroller William M. Prendergast of New York city, who was detained on account of illness. These papers, together with that of Comptroller Prendergast, will be published in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION

Kimball Hotel, Saturday, November 25, 1916, 9 a.m.

Vice-President Richard S. Childs in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will open the discussion by asking how to enlarge the National Municipal League. To afford a basis for discussion I will bring up the question which I suggested at luncheon yesterday; a proposal that we enlarge the National Municipal League's scope to include not only municipal activities, but county, state and national activities in so far as they apply to the structure of government, or that of pure civics. I do not mean that we should go into tariff discussions or economic issues of any kind. I do not mean that we should go into political discussions any more than we have in the past, but in city government we have in the course of a long number of years reached the point where we know pretty well what kind of a municipal charter we want, what kind of a structure of government we want. We have our models fairly well established for the major activities of municipal government, and so far as fighting with ourselves is concerned we have very little left in the field of municipal government to fight about, unless we go into the fields of municipal markets, and such subjects. I believe the time is coming when the natural progress of reform in America will be transferred into county, state, and to some extent the nation, of the lessons that have been learned in municipal government. We have found out in municipal government the fallacies of the typical method of American governmental organization, the separation of powers, the long ballot and the double-chambered council, and all that sort of thing, and the progress of municipal reform henceforth is to be the valuation of the relations of the cities to the other units. Now, then, why shouldn't the National Municipal League follow the movement into the larger field. It would freshen up our work; we would be doing more pioneer work; and it would in addition be attracting to our circle another group of people. There is a group, for example, in the United States that is working in the efficiency and economy commissions appointed by the various state governments studying the reorganization of state governments, the correct departmentalizing of the state departments, the development of budget procedure, and the working out of correct legislative rules. There is another group, a very small group, which is organizing on its own hook in the field of county government. We have in New York state a conference for better county government, doing a national work in the sense that it undertakes to develop the orthodoxy of county development reform. If the National Municipal League was to expand into that field they would join with the National Municipal League and work on the vexed and devious problems of county government. Likewise, I believe we would avert the necessity for the formation of a league for better state government. I understand there are rumors that these efficiency and economy commission crowds will get together. They are talking about it. Some day or other it will have to be done, if nothing else supplies the natural meeting place and forum. It is the same crowd that we must depend upon that is already working in civic reform. Whether it is necessary to change our name or not to embrace this work, I do not know. The bureau of municipal research, originally a New York city organization, has become a nation-wide organization indirectly, and does not hesitate to tackle the state constitution and to talk about state budgets, and do a lot under its old name. I don't know that it is necessary to change our name or in any way to alter our organization. My proposition is: Suppose we expand into state and county government.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 57.

Alfred Bettman, Esq., *Cincinnati:* The Cincinnati bureau of research became increasingly conscious of the fact that as the state legislature and the state departments had such an influence on municipal reform, it was necessary to form a state bureau of research so as to influence the state government, which it proceeded to do, and it is becoming more and more apparent to me that the state is presenting so many problems to be met that the intensity of interest in municipal problems is apt to be diminished, and I think that if the National Municipal League should begin to go to too great an extent into state and national problems that there will not be found in the discussion of the larger problem that intensity of interest in the local problems. Now, there is a whole lot of interest in the city, which forms the cement of an organization such as this, and which it would be very unfortunate if we should lose. I think that the fact that we care for our city, that the city presents certain problems, should be the basis of our program, the basis of our organization, and the mere fact that necessarily the action of state and national governments will have to be called in to help the cities out ought not to lead us away from our interest, but we should continue to gain all the momentum that comes from loyalty and patriotism to the interest of our cities.

This puts one thought into my mind: These problems have become so difficult as to need experts, so in the course of time there have grown up men who are devoting their lives to these problems of municipal research, and so on. They come to these meetings and their proportion is so large as to make the man who is nothing but an ordinary citizen and voter feel a little lonely at such a meeting. The citizen and voter has not, possibly, scientifically worked out his ideas compared with those men who are on the jobs every day in the year. His powers of clear expression, his powers of getting at the philosophy of this movement will not be as keen and effective as the professional civic worker. But it is worth knowing what the ordinary citizen and voter is thinking of, and as these meetings are for the purpose of influencing public opinion, it is worth arranging the program so that the ordinary fellow who is not at this work professionally will not feel lonely.

LIEUT. C. P. SHAW, *Norfolk, Virginia:* Our work in Virginia has been largely the beginning of things. We have attacked certain usages there. We have succeeded in getting some advanced ideas in government, but we have the same problems as all other states. I know certain of the men on the economy commission. I presume they are ready to co-operate with us.

As a member of this League I realize that in uniting all these forces we will have a greater power in our effort, but the question is whether the National Municipal League having done so much should not confine itself, and we know of its magnificent work, to the many problems of city government which have not been solved, to which it can well devote its talents and energies.

Now, Mr. Childs referred to amending the rules of procedure. Of course, that applies to legislatures as well as to congress, and there is an organization already, with small numbers to be sure, that has attacked the method of congressional organization and procedure, and whether we could co-operate with them I don't know, but I know that that league is certainly open to those who wish to see things better. President Wilson showed very clearly that we are governed not by congress, but by committees, and those committees are largely governed by chairmen, and the person who is chairman is pretty near the man who governs the United States. I take it that that is a new field of endeavor which should commend itself to the services of our most patriotic citizens.

The other day when we had that very interesting debate by Professors Beard, Hatton, and Mr. Lighthall, the question came to my mind, if there was not some universal body that could settle all their contentions. The reason why it is difficult to get rid of partisanship in our cities is the fact that our ballot is defective. We have the two-party system in this country, instead of having people dividing naturally according to their opinions. We are ruled by public opinion, and if the ballot is so shaped as to correctly represent public opinion then we shall have true representative government. I believe we are on the right track, for with the expression of true public opinion you will get true representative government. One of the really and absolutely necessary reforms is to get our ballots reformed so as to correctly express public opinion. That seems to be applicable to the state and to this nation. That is something that is applicable to all our different political activities.

A man said in Virginia the other day that they were anxious to have a reformed county government. But I doubt very much whether it would be proper for this League to merge. It has made its name not only nationally, but internationally, and I should be very sorry to see it go out of existence as a separate organization, and I think that this work can be done by organizations with entirely different names. In business, interlocking directorates are tabooed—they are very bad things in business, but I think they are very good things in government. In all these organizations you will find men of various interests coming together under one organization, and that I think would be a good plan in this case.

The Chairman: We were discussing the problem of amalgamation; of bringing these organizations together. Here we have the suggestion of forming a new organization, a national state league corresponding to the National Municipal League—a separate organization with its separate overhead and its separate publication and its separate group of citizens, and its separate dues to pay—accent on the dues to pay. I am not sure that I believe in that. If the national state league is needed, we are the crowd that would naturally man it, and form the nucleus for it. Why not do it as an organization instead of as individuals? I say this to bring back and return to the subject in hand, which is, "How to enlarge the National Municipal League." I am disappointed and dismayed to see the narrowness of some of the opponents of the doctrine that I laid down. They seem to think that this problem is impracticable and that it would not be good for the National Municipal League, but we are citizens of states and counties, and we have our duties to them. That old aphorism of being loyal to our block first, and to our ward next, and the state and the national government last, is all wrong. We ought to reverse that. We are here considering the question of a new work to be done, and whether it will be done by the League or not. Shall we do it anyway?

Member: I am a small town follower. It happens that human feelings are such that a large body of people in small towns like to move into cities, and they are interested in civic movements—oftentimes more interested in cities than in towns—and in many ways our problem in a town of five or six thousand is more varied than in a city. The fact is, that the small town man is looking to the city so much that he is more likely to attend the city conference than he is the town conference. It seems to me that if the city planners would take on a branch of town interests and invite the townspeople to attend, that the townspeople would gain instruction and many of the principles that come out of the city movements, because the city people, of course, have the leaders and furnish a dynamic that would be inhaled, an atmosphere that the townsman can't get away from after he gets there, and will furnish work for the city people to do. Many of these village people are going to be your city people, and their children are going to be your city people, just as soon as they can get to the city.

Take this municipal research matter: There is a good deal of difficulty in getting the right sort of men to tackle problems in the small towns. We found it so in our town. We got a committee of leading men who, though busy, were willing to take a hand in affairs, and a great deal of improvement has been carried on. But the small town, as such, does not have an unlimited supply of high-grade men to draw on, and there is no dynamic at work there for its interests. I think there is a great work for the League to do, if it would institute sessions for the discussion of these small town affairs. I doubt if the League would be swamped in the course of time by the development the small town movement might take on.

The Chairman: I should not have omitted the inclusion of the small town. I think it is a virgin territory that ought to be explored, and I think, again, that the National Municipal League could very well branch down into that field, as well as up into the state government.

President Purdy: It may be that in the history of the National Municipal League, which is long, a great deal of attention has been given to conditions that exist in some of the Eastern states. I live in New York state. We have a very peculiar position there that I believe is inherited half and half from New England

and Virginia. It has been said that we took all the worst of town government in New England and laid it on top of the county government in Virginia. As you go west where the states inherited their county government from Virginia, you find that in cities—towns and villages to a greater extent—the county is performing duties which in New York state we look upon as distinctly town and state duties. Those of us who talk about various functions of government relating to cities from New York viewpoint are not talking about conditions as they exist in probably more than half of the states of the union. In the state of New York, as you very well know, there is a disposition to relieve the smaller units of certain functions and impose them on the counties, because they can be better done. The town unit is too small for some functions to be done well. The county unit is a great deal better—at least many of us think so.

We have had some very thoughtful remarks about town government. Here we are in Massachusetts. Right next door is Connecticut, about which I know a little more than I do of Massachusetts. There is no such thing as county government in Connecticut. The counties indicate judicial districts, if I am not mistaken. We are used in the state of New York to county judges. I do not think they have them in Connecticut. We are used to a probate judge in New York with county jurisdiction. In Connecticut the probate court is a town court. It would seem that if we are to deal effectively with the problems of the county government, and at the same time with problems of the state, that is organized on the basis of the county being the important unit, we must take in more effectively, in so far as I know than has been done in the past, the town government and the county government. The city depends upon the county at one end of the line, and at the other end of the line the town is governing the city, so we need to gather up both, and it would seem that we might very well pay more attention to the relations of town and county and city. Not at all to detract from the efficiency of the city, but that the city is part of the county and is too intimately related to the county to be considered independently of the county. Here in New England in such states as Connecticut towns are still ruling the cities. This is perhaps only a suggestion for the programs of the future.

It does not appear to me to be the case that, in what the chairman suggested, we are departing from work that has been done. We are only enlarging our field, and will do more effectively that which we started out to do—to improve city government. We cannot improve city government in a good many states without controlling the county and state governments at the same time.

Hornell Hart, *Milwaukee:* The modern note in social and political reform is prevention rather than future treatment after the disease has occurred. We have been talking about the need for greater co-ordination or amalgamation of civic forces. To my mind it is practically certain that unless the National Municipal League starts now to prevent the growing up of other organizations in similar fields, we are going to have organizations on a national basis for the reform of county, state and national governments. It seems to me that the field of governmental reform is sufficiently homogeneous so that it should be discussed by a single group of men meeting at a single place. I know that most of us are interested in applying principles which have been worked out in city government to the use of other branches. The city government of Milwaukee, in which I am interested, is also interested in county government. The same problems almost exactly present themselves in the county as in the state government. The National Municipal League discussed county problems so far as Wisconsin is concerned. The investigation of conditions among the poor is entirely a county function in Wisconsin. We have blazed the way already.

Another point which we cannot very well avoid is the relation between the city and the county. A number of our large cities have small towns under their rule, but in Wisconsin we have the two independent governments. I know that is true in many of our cities. It is a vexatious problem to know how that can be prevented. I believe the National Municipal League should investigate the amalgamation of the charters. It seems to me that we ought to go forward and we ought to study the question of the relation of the methods of budget making and of charter organization and of council responsibility.

It seems to me that if we are going to broaden out in our functions, as it seems to me we ought to, we will have to find a different type of organization in the program. It is very important that the program should be so arranged that simultaneous section meetings can be held at a given time, and then that common hearings may be held during the course of the meetings. There are sprinkled about among the early days of this week programs which I should like to have attended. If the programs had been arranged in team fashion instead of tandem fashion many of us would have come for either the first or last half of the week. We should have a general session that should express the common denominator, and which should represent the general interest. If we can have that sort of organization we might have a section on municipal research; a section on the peculiar problems of small cities; a section on state and on county government; a section for the civic secretaries to investigate their supposed problems. Have these section meetings held simultaneously, perhaps, but have the general sessions in the evening where we can discuss our common problems.

John Ihlder, *New Rochelle, N. Y.:* As a matter of fact we are now discussing the thing that is sweeping the country—the idea of amalgamating the organizations that have a more or less common purpose. In that, we are the successors of the great captains of industry of a few years ago who looked forward to a time when they could bring together all the railroads of the country. What is experience saying in regard to that? It is apparently saying that one can go too far. At the present time our civic and social organizations are more or less chaotic. There should be an effort to bring together those who have a common purpose. I realize the theory of bringing together of organizations having a common aim is very good, yet the practical difficulties are very great. I think that those who have worked in connection with the National Conference of Charities realize that such an organization can become too large. At the same time, the question is large enough and of sufficient importance to merit its consideration by this body, and I believe the matter should be carefully considered over a long period, and I therefore would move that this question of the enlargement of function of the National Municipal League be referred to the national council for consideration next year.

The Secretary: Would there be any objection to referring the question to the executive committee?

Allen T. Burns, *Cleveland:* It seemed to me that if Mr. Ihlder's original motion had something in regard to leaving this to a committee composed not necessarily entirely of members of the National Municipal League, it would be of more value. If this problem is to get some light on it from those who have some interests other than those of the members of the National Municipal League at present, there ought to be some people with this special interest on the committee; we do not know who yet. All the more it is in point, it seems to me, that we want to have some special thought put on this problem in connection with the executive committee, and particularly if the council does not meet except at the annual meetings and in April. Now, if the council is to have a meeting in April I can conceive of no better subject for them to discuss than to have the question come up under the original motion of Mr. Ihlder. It is very important that these questions which Mr. Hart has raised, and others that Mr. Childs has raised, be thrashed out, and I think that the executive committee would thrash them out with light from a much broader field if there were special considerations brought to bear.

Whether it is for the council to do

it, or whether for a special committee in addition, does not seem material, but as this seems to be the question that has bobbed up most often in the National Municipal League, it seems that there is nothing better than that the whole council should take it up.

The Secretary: The thought back in my mind was that if we referred it to the council it will not meet until next April. If you have the executive committee prepare the report, never mind what that report may be, it can go to the council and members promptly. Four members of the committee are here now, and the other members have been here. The executive committee has certainly enough to do; it is not coveting any additional work, but if you have a group of men who have been present at the discussion and are identified with the present organization, you would be able to get a prompter report than if sent to a special committee.

A Member: Does that mean that the council is to pass on the final report?

The Secretary: There is nothing to prevent the council passing on it. I thought that if it went to the executive committee, it could report on the matter earlier and take appropriate action, instead of waiting a whole year or even until April. If it goes over to April it might mean nothing but a formal report.

Mr. Burns: It might be a good plan, and I feel now like suggesting that it be submitted to the executive bodies of other organizations, for instance, the National Civil Service Reform League, the American Civic Association and various other bodies that might be interested, so that that would not nullify the League's action on the matter. We might also have an expression of opinion from other bodies that ought to be brought in.

The Chairman: It seems to me that it is very important that whatever action is taken that there should be no doubt about its being the unanimous wish of those present. It seems to me that it should be kept open for discussion, because the problem is so big and the practical difficulties which are going to loom up so large that we should have time to accustom ourselves to those practical discussions.

I am anxious to give place to the president of the League, and if there is no objection I will put Mr. Ihlder's motion.

Mr. Bettman: It was decided yesterday to appoint a special committee on this subject. I think we ought to be clear whether we are extending that motion with another, or whether the special committee is to work in conjunction with the executive committee; otherwise, there may be confusion of the result unless we clear our minds as to the function of the two motions.

The Chairman: The motion was made yesterday to look into the problem of amalgamation with other organizations. This is a separate motion to expand the scope of the League just as it stands, to go into town, county and state problems. There is nothing contradictory in the two motions, although there is something contradictory in the two organizations, perhaps, and as the other committee has not been appointed, I think the League officers can clear up the confusion by appointing the same men on both committees to work on the problem, and thus forestall confusion.

The motion is that the executive committee be asked to report on the problem of expanding the scope of the activities of the National Municipal League to include all units of government; state government, county government, town government, and even to a limited degree federal government. All those in favor of the motion will please say "aye."

The motion is unanimously carried.

The Chairman: We will adjourn this meeting now. I will yield the chair to President Purdy for the business of the remainder of the session.

At this point, President Purdy took the chair.

The President: The first thing on the program this morning will be "Some observations on the progress of the city manager plan."

Mr. Childs: You can't get away from me, you see. I take the liberty of changing my topic and making it symmetrical with a previous paper of mine: "How the city manager plan is getting along." [1]

The President: The next paper on the program will now be read by Prof. Howard L. McBain of Columbia University on "Evolution of types of municipal government in the United States."[2]

The Chairman: The next paper is "Recent changes in town government," by Prof. E. A. Cottrell.

Prof. Cottrell: I want to say in explanation of this paper that the title is a little misleading. I am not considering the suggestions for changes in town government of any of the states in New England except here in Massachusetts. We find most of our problems, as you will see, to be the problems of growth, and the towns of Massachusetts are the ones which are showing the most rapid growth of the New England towns.[3]

The President: We now have the opportunity to hear from the father of the Ashtabula plan: Mr. W. E. Boynton of Ashtabula.[4]

The Chairman: The next address will be "The Dayton plan in operation," J. M. Switzer, city commissioner, Dayton, Ohio. It may be well to say in introducing Mr. Switzer that Mr. Switzer is one of the commissioners.

Mr. Switzer: Dayton has the commission manager plan. I want to say just about five things in just about that many minutes; five big things in the way of important advantages and resulting benefits from the adoption of the commission manager plan of government, which became fact in Dayton the first of January, 1914.

In the first place, I want to begin with the class of men—the type of citizens—which we have been enabled to actively interest in our affairs of government in Dayton under that plan; men who would not have thought for a moment, who could not have been induced to enter the city government machinery under the old political regime, but under this plan of government, which asks a very limited amount of time from their businesses and their professions, and which puts a more direct responsibility on the city manager and his organization, we have been enabled to interest men who have business ability, and they are respected most highly in every way. We can ask to-day any man fairly and reasonably to serve his city as a member of the commission, and he cannot fairly and reasonably say that he cannot afford to do so because of the time required. I think that is a strong point.

In the second place, I want to mention economy, because of the limitations of the Smith "one per cent law" of Ohio, of which you have heard. I am sure the cities of Ohio are suffering and suffering seriously, and yet the commission manager governed cities stand out just a bit conspicuous. In Dayton in the last few years we have not issued bonds for current expenses, as we did under the old form of government. We have been paying off debts and gradually reducing our indebtedness. We have been building up a sinking fund. We have been giving largely increased service to Dayton, and we have not increased the tax rate on the average in the last three years. Now that is a worth-while thing that has been happening in our city.

In the third place, efficiency is linked together with economical methods, and some important results have been achieved. I just want to mention a few of them, in the department of service, and the department of health, for instance. In the service department the first big task was just to get us plenty of water. There was a time when we had more than plenty. But Dayton is surrounded almost by water, and underneath Dayton is plenty of good pure water, and yet we did not have sufficient well capacity; our distributing mains had not been large enough, and there were times when there was not a drop of water in our houses. There is plenty of water now in the city of Dayton.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 69.

[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 19.

[3] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 64.

[4] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 87.

The problem of garbage disposal has been solved, and we are taking garbage away from the homes of Dayton regularly, and that plan is producing a regular source of income. Enterprises of that kind always make money in their operation. The main arteries of traffic are being repaved entirely. Three new bridges are going up, and a complete set of sewer plans are almost entirely completed. The price of natural gas has dropped. We got together with the gas company and established a uniform rate. Almost half of our people had been paying eighty-five cents for artificial gas. Now everybody is enjoying natural gas, or will very soon, at a price of thirty-four cents, and that in the face of the fact that the council had given the gas company a franchise which did not protect the city of Dayton at all. They were not required to do what they did unless we had gone into the courts, but we got together with them in a business-like way. It looks to me as if the Dayton gas company will soon have to give us a still lower rate.

In the welfare department the death rate has been reduced 2 per cent; infant mortality reduced to 87 in 1915; free medical advice and counsel, as far as there may be need of it; free employment bureaus; our city prison is going to be practically abandoned. We have the farm and we are going to take men and women and have them work outside, and we believe we can strengthen our manhood and womanhood. There has been largely increased garden and playground work in the city of Dayton.

In the next place, confidence is inspired in the affairs of the government, in the people of the city of Dayton—a confidence which resulted in 1915 in the voters approving two to one of an appropriation of a million dollars for improvements.

And last but not least, but most important of all, ladies and gentlemen, this plan, the way it has been has gotten the co-operation of the community towards better things. All our communities will progress and go forward towards better things somewhat in proportion as all the forces of the community will work together and co-operate together for the bringing about of such things, and that is what we have been able to do. We have committees of men and women working without pay on boards in the solution of problems. We have seventeen public nurses working there and the city pays only for four of them. There is no overlapping of work. We furnish free milk for the city of Dayton as far as it is needed. "You be responsible," the milk dealers have said, "and we will give you the milk you need." The Dayton playground association and the civic forces work together, and, of course, we have largely increased playground facilities. The press—the newspapers, strongly partisan though they are, when it comes to the city of Dayton they forget their partisanship. They are with us to-day, and they will publish anything that we ask them to publish. The research bureau there has been a great deal of help.

Because of these things we are making progress toward better things.

THE PRESIDENT: For some reason the next speaker has elected to talk of the "Troubles with the city-manager form," although he is city manager of Sandusky; Mr. K. B. Ward.

MR. WARD: In making up this paper I have compared the federal form to some extent with the city manager form, in order to show that the advantages due to the centralization of power are not entirely accomplished in the charter which Sandusky has, and which also some other cities have.

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper is a discussion of the results of non-partisan elections under the Boston charter, by Mr. R. J. Bottomly.[1]

MR. GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.: We have heard in most of the discussions and papers relating to the city manager form the point of view of the manager, but not very much from the commissioners about the work of the commission part of it. As Mr. Switzer is still here I would like to ask him a question. You have been kind enough to tell us about the general effect in Dayton, but I would like to ask you this question: In your experience in Dayton has the commission ever had to say to the city manager: "No; that policy you ask us to carry out we do not approve of; we think you had better do so and so in this case." Or, have you always been able to follow the policies he has brought to your attention? In other words, has the commission ever had to correct the city manager and point him in a way he did not want to go; not as to his administration, but as to a general policy?

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[1] This paper is to be published in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Mr. Switzer: The city commission and the city manager in Dayton have been able to travel hand in hand and have been able to agree on matters of important general policy. That does not mean that at times the city manager has not made recommendations which the commission has not seen fit to follow, but on the more important policies, fortunately, we have always agreed.

The President: If there is anyone who has anything on his mind that he wishes to tell this audience, this is his opportunity. If there is no one, we may now consider the matter of bringing the meeting to a close.

Prof. Hatton: I just wanted to say that since a large part of this audience is composed of Massachusetts people, I want to offer an explanation why it is that so many Ohio people appear on this municipal program. It is not because the people of Ohio are any more intelligent in the management of municipal affairs than in other states, and it is not because we are more able, but it is because in Ohio in 1912 by the constitution of the state a great deal of very useful and wise experimentation has been going on in the state. The result is that the Ohio people are doing a great many things in Ohio, and if the cities of Massachusetts wish to be able to manage their own affairs, there is no better way of getting at it and so the affairs of Ohio have been given a fairly prominent place on this program.

The President: If there is no further business, the annual meeting of the National Municipal League will stand adjourned.

Clinton Rogers Woodruff,
Secretary.

Luncheon Conference of National Municipal League and City Managers' Association

Kimball Hotel, Thursday, November 23, 1916, 12.30 p.m.

One of the most effective sessions of "Municipal Week" was this joint luncheon of the League and the city managers. The subject for consideration was "The most important accomplishment of my city in 1916." There was a roll-call of city managers and each one responded in a three-minute speech, making a most suggestive contribution. We had fully expected to print these admirable speeches in this issue of the National Municipal Review, and we delayed going to press until the latest possible moment (December 30) hoping that we could include them. Unfortunately the local stenographer has not sent them in, so their publication will have to be postponed until the April issue. Just so soon as they are received, however, they will be edited and set up, and if there is any considerable demand for them we shall be glad to have advance reprints made for those who may have need of them.

Luncheon Conference

Kimball Hotel, Friday, November 24, 1916, 12.30 p.m.

The subject of "The co-ordination or amalgamation of civic forces" was discussed at the luncheon on Friday, November 24, Vice-President Richard S. Childs presiding. "A formal plan of amalgamation," by H. S. Gilbertson, secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization, was presented, and discussed by Raymond B. Fosdick of New York city. There was an interesting discussion of these papers which it is expected will be published in the April issue.

CIVIC SECRETARIES' CONFERENCE[1]

The great principles for which the National Municipal League stands: efficient municipal administration, municipal research, legislative programs, taxation, etc., are being more closely cemented each year with the activities of the various sections of the League's organization.

The civic secretaries' committee is one of the most active of these. Its members represent the most prominent civic organizations in this country, and recently the first member from Canada was enrolled. The interchange of bulletins, notices of all kinds, and the reciprocal relations with the various clubs, are three of its most important features.

The convention of the National Municipal League held in Springfield was well attended by the members of this group. The meetings and discussions were both stimulating and helpful.

The program of the civic secretaries' meetings was too technical to be of interest to the outsider and too interesting to be omitted by the civic secretaries, a matter which interfered greatly with the attendance at the general League meetings. Subjects discussed included scientific management for civic secretaries, labor-saving devices, organization of staff, duties, salaries, bookkeeping, finance, membership methods and dues.

Civic programs and publicity, how to get better and more attractive speakers and the various devices for increasing civic intelligence, were discussed at length and many interesting phases of these questions, based upon experience, were presented by Addison L. Winship of Boston, Hornell Hart of Milwaukee, H. Wirt Steele of Baltimore, Richard S. Childs, H. S. Buttenheim and John Ihlder of New York, W. F. Gentry of Kansas City, William Alexander of Philadelphia, W. J. Donald of Toronto, Ralph A. Hayes of Cleveland, George E. Hooker of Chicago and Theodore C. Moench of Brooklyn.

One open meeting afforded an opportunity for ten-minute speeches on lines of civic work. Prof. A. R. Hatton of Western Reserve University very forcefully put it when he said, "Civic work should not hope to accomplish definite things so much as to develop the capacity of people themselves for self-government and then depend upon them to carry through the proper reforms and constructive programs."

Robert S. Binkerd of the New York city club carried forward this idea in his talk on "Our Ultimate Ideals" by stating, "Civic work should not be to carry ideas along but rather to bring to the conservative elements of society the realization of facts already thoroughly demonstrated but not as yet put into practice." Melvin P. Porter of Buffalo emphasized the need of proper governmental machinery before the necessary programs can be adequately carried out.

Reports indicated that socializing the citizen, in other words, bringing the mind of the average man in touch with the subjects of the day, has assumed the proportions of high-class salesmanship. The same principles of first getting the attention, then the interest, and finally the desire to help push, have been adopted by the up-to-date secretary—the only class, by the way, that belongs to this particular committee.

One of the interesting questions brought up at this meeting was the feasibility of men and women working together in city and civic clubs. This question is going to be elaborated upon in a questionnaire which will be sent to all the members, since a great diversity of opinions were presented. At the present time there is only one civic organization represented in the group in which men and women work together along forum and militant lines.

The value of a club house or permanent club quarters was greatly emphasized at this meeting. The beautiful modern Boston city club with its 6,800 members and a waiting list of 800, the new city club of Philadelphia, the home of the Milwaukee city club, just about finished, and the proposed $2,500,000 building for the New York city club, showed the trend of the future city and civic club. A common meeting ground with accommodations for the open forum meetings, lunch and committee rooms has become one of the chief factors in the drawing ability of the club of to-day. It is an incentive and inducement to secure speakers and workers, and the necessity for a permanent home was not over-estimated when the reports of things accomplished show the direct results from such institutions.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 190.

Addison L. Winship, of Boston, was reelected chairman, W. F. Gentry of Kansas City, secretary, and Miss H. Marie Dermitt of the civic club, Pittsburgh, treasurer.

H. Marie Dermitt.

The Intercollegiate Division at the Springfield Convention

While nearly all the meetings during municipal week were given over to the discussion of concrete and technical problems in municipal affairs, the sessions of the intercollegiate division of the National Municipal League were devoted to the general problem concerning how to arouse a larger civic interest among college men. Unfortunately not a great number of college undergraduates could be present, as the funds of students, and their supply of "cuts," had been largely exhausted on football games and in other ways. Our meetings were therefore attended mostly by college teachers. Notwithstanding this fact, the banquet at the Cooley Hotel on Wednesday evening, November 22, will long be remembered for the inspiration and vision that it gave. The speakers were Francis B. Sayre of Williams, Morris L. Cooke, formerly director of public works of Philadelphia, and Professor A. R. Hatton of Western Reserve.

Mr. Sayre spoke with great force and charm on the new civic spirit that was abroad in the land, and which it is essential for college men to have, if they are to fulfil their part in the remaking of American democracy. His plea was for resistance to conservatism, wherever that stands in the way of a larger interpretation and fulfilment of our national ideals. The new democracy is being born in our times; the issue is whether college men are to identify themselves with it, or with the traditions and outworn political philosophies of the past.

Mr. Cooke talked of the need for translating ideas of government into terms that the people could understand. He criticized the colleges for being somewhat aloof from the people, but believed that college undergraduates had the capacity for understanding without prejudice what were the real issues in municipal life. He confessed that he had approached the municipal problem as an engineer, and that before he could learn to appeal to the people on definite issues affecting city welfare, he had to unlearn many of the abstractions carried along from his professional training. To illustrate his point. Mr. Cooke spoke at length on the unreadable character of many of our municipal reports, and told how he had succeeded in getting a man from the University of Pennsylvania to make a graphic chart of the expenditures of Philadelphia for 1914. This chart, which put life into the written report upon which it was based, has been favorably commented upon in different parts of the country. The intercollegiate division had this chart reprinted and sent broadcast to students at different colleges. To show that he was in earnest about the matter, Mr. Cooke offered for the remainder of the college year a prize of $100 for the best graphic illustration of some municipal report, or the work of some one department, produced by any undergraduate in an American college. A committee is now at work drawing up precise terms for this prize competition, and information concerning it will be sent to the college civic clubs.

Professor Hatton spoke of methods that he had used in his work with students in municipal government. He thought that the work of college clubs, as such, was being undermined by the fact that the things that these clubs had been doing were becoming more and more incorporated into the regular work of the courses in municipal government. He thought, however, that this change would still leave a field for some organization like the intercollegiate division to come into touch with students, and to coordinate the work done in the different institutions. When questioned as to what should be the regulations governing political discussion within the college walls, he thought that it was "antediluvian" for any restrictions to be placed upon the students whereby they could not arrange for meetings to be addressed by speakers of any of the political parties. In discussing the question of "absentee" voting by students, he stated that his students had been interested in the question for some time, and that a bill was being drawn up on the subject for presentation to the legislature of Ohio. He also spoke of his success in having men from different city departments of Cleveland address his classes.

Following the speech of Professor Hatton was a discussion by Mr. Alexander, president of the Williams good government club, of the work done by that club. Though there is no large city near Williams to which students can be sent for social service or other community work, nevertheless, the small towns and rural districts have problems in the solution of which Williams students give much assistance. Mr. Alexander referred especially to naturalization of immigrant mill workers as a task which calls for student help. Miss Bernice Brown, of Radcliffe, and assistant in the Harvard bureau of municipal research favored the idea of a forum in the college, in which all students could become members, and which would serve as a clearing-house for the discussion of all sorts of community problems. Others who took part in the discussion were Professor Hormell of Bowdoin, who told of the work of his students in analyzing the finances of Maine towns; and Professor Cottrell of Wellesley, who testified that the women appeared to attack municipal problems with more zeal, and less sophistication than the men.

At the meeting on Thursday morning the general subject was instruction in municipal administration. Professors Munro of Harvard, Kimball of Smith, Cottrell of Wellesley and Hormell of Bowdoin, discussed methods that had been evolved in bringing municipal government into its rightful place in the college curriculum, and in teaching the students. It was the opinion of Professor Munro that field work was almost wholly the province of graduate students; but Professor Cottrell testified that in some cases effective field work had been undertaken by undergraduates.

On Thursday afternoon Mr. Sayre and the secretary of the intercollegiate division spoke on civic work by students before a group of students from Clark College who had come down to attend the various meetings of the convention. The joint breakfast meeting with the training school for public service, and the joint luncheon with the National Municipal League and the City Managers' Association on Thursday were informing and inspiring features of the program.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD,[1]

CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

We had hoped to have an account of the city managers' meeting from O. E. Carr, the president, but his delay in receiving the stenographer's report made this impossible. It will appear, however, in the April issue.

CONFERENCE ON MUNICIPAL RESEARCH

The larger results of the second conference on municipal research participated in by trustees, directors, and staff members of such citizen organizations was the formation of the association of governmental research agencies. Membership is confined to those organizations supported by contributions of citizens, having paid staffs, and which have as their primary purpose the investigation of governmental departments with the presenting of constructive suggestions for improvement in procedure and making installations where necessary. These restrictions were adopted only after some debate, and emphasis was laid particularly upon the requirement of constructive work in specific communities. It was finally concluded advantageous to distinguish between work of this nature, and that done by the governmental research departments of educational institutions, and private organizations operating for profit. The general purposes of the new organization are:

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[1] Secretary, Intercollegiate Division, National Municipal League.

a. To promote a high character of work by citizen organizations which are engaged in the improvement of government through improvement of governmental procedure
b. To further co-operation among such organizations by the interchange of information and reports
c. To standardize organization practices, so far as experience has indicated those which are most desirable.

A constitution and by-laws were not adopted owing to the limited time available at the conference, but in order that the temporary organization might take permanent shape, the following officers were elected: Lent D. Upson, of the Detroit bureau of governmental research, president; John F. Putnam, of the Milwaukee citizens bureau of municipal efficiency, vice-president; T. L. Hinckley, of the Toronto bureau of municipal research, treasurer; C. O. Dustin, of the Springfield (Mass.) bureau of municipal research, secretary; E. P. Goodrich, of the New York bureau of municipal research, trustee.

These five officers constitute an executive committee who will have charge of the activities of the organization during the coming year. With the permanent organization of the association, it is hoped to establish the custom of choosing the president from among trustees who have shown a conspicuous interest in the subject of efficient government. Owing to the amount of preliminary work which will rest upon the officers of the organization, it was thought inadvisable to initiate the practice at this time.

As a step towards the adoption of standardized practice among the bureaus, the following reso'utions were presented and unanimously accepted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference:

First: That, while appreciating the value of efficiency movements which are a part of commercial organizations, educational institutions, and governmental units, we believe citizens' agencies for public efficiency to be most effective when independently organized and administered as regards finance, methods, publicity and other fundamental policies.

That boards or trustees or executive committees of boards of trustees should be of such size that informal, round-table discussions of bureau policies is at all times possible.

That it is prejudicial to the best interests of citizen agencies for public efficiency for members of boards of trustees, to seek or hold public office or employment, to promote the candidacy of political candidates, or to be vitally concerned in public contracts or franchises.

Second: That citizen agencies for public efficiency cannot consistently make the publication of facts contingent upon relationship with public officials or upon political expediency.

That the publicity of such organizations should be impersonal and educative in character; that it should relate directly to the work of such organization, and should be frequently and, if possible, periodically issued.

That municipal research organizations recognize in the public press a most effective instrument for crystallizing public opinion in favor of efficient government.

Third: That, whether in connection with colleges, universities, or other educational organizations, the most effective training for public service is obtained through the actual performance, under competent supervision, of public work that needs to be done.

Fourth: That, for the better interchange of experience, for the discussion of municipal and research problems, and for the further advancement of efficient government, there be established a permanent organization of governmental research agencies, providing, among other things, for the election of proper officials and for the holding of annual meetings.

The conference itself devoted three sessions to the discussion of problems which are met in research work, and in addition there were two dinner meetings. Delegates were present from more than half of the bureaus in the United States and Canada, and the conference was increased by the presence of a large number of citizens who were interested in the movement. All of these sessions were excellently attended, discussions were short, and a large degree of interest was maintained. The result was a highly profitable conference in which a distinct value was gained, not only in furthering acquaintance among organization men, but in determining certain standard practices which it seemed advisable for bureaus to adopt.

The conference was opened by R. Fulton Cutting, chairman of the board of trustees of the New York bureau of municipal research, who spoke upon the changing attitude of citizens and officers towards their government. Mr. Cutting acted as chairman of the first session, which was devoted to a discussion of the most effective type of citizen organization by Dr. F. A. Cleveland (New York), R. E. Wright (Denver), C. N. Hitchcock (New York), T. L. Hinckley (Toronto), Mayo Fesler (Cleveland), and others. The general conclusions are embodied in the first of the resolutions already presented. It was the sense of the conference that bureaus are most effective when independently organized and financed; that bureaus connected with chambers of commerce are effective, but that fewer advantages are gained from such affiliations than are lost; and that bureaus operated officially by cities are liable to political control.

After this meeting there was a very informal "get acquainted" dinner attended by over sixty persons interested in improved city government.

The second session related to the proper training for public service and the methods of obtaining larger co-operation between citizen agencies. The session was presided over by Otto Kirchner, president of the Detroit bureau of governmental research, and was participated in by Dr. Chas. A. Beard (New York), Dr. W. H. Allen (New York), Gaylord C. Cummin (Jackson, Michigan), Frederick P. Gruenberg (Philadelphia), Leroy E. Snyder (Rochester), and others. As a result of this session the resolution was adopted urging that training for public service be secured by the actually doing of work that needs to be done, rather than by study in which academic experiences predominate.

The last session of the conference was presided over by H. M. Waite, city manager, Dayton, Ohio, introducing the subject of the public official's view of municipal research. Mr. Waite, in his remarks, paid a high tribute to the value of governmental research agencies as he had seen them in operation in Cincinnati and Dayton, emphasizing their value to busy city officials who were frequently unable to devote time to an investigation of their departments, and to the installation of new methods. There was an added word of warning cautioning against conflicts between city officials as to credit for improvements made, and the danger of outside experts losing the point of view of a great political organization where actions are sometimes determined by other than purely mechanical efficiency. His remarks were added to by Gaylord C. Cummin, and Gustavus Webber, who for twenty-five years was in governmental service, and who is now on the staff of the Institute for Government Research at Washington, D. C. This discussion precipitated a very sharp debate over the methods of publicity which should be employed by the governmental agencies, and which was participated in by E. P. Goodrich (New York), Dr. Wm. H. Allen (New York), F. L. Olson (Akron), C. E. Rightor (Dayton), Professor A. R. Hatton (Western Reserve University), and Allen T. Burns of the Cleveland foundation. The most desirable attitude towards publicity was considered from all angles, with the conclusion that democratic government has permanence only to the extent to which its citizens are informed as to governmental actions and needs. The result was a special paragraph in the resolutions urging bureaus to withhold no facts which would directly benefit the public, and to adopt some program of educational publicity whereever possible.

During the course of the conference, a number of young men interested in public service as a profession were present, including a large delegation from the Clark University. On this occasion, Mr. Kirchner made a brief address directed particularly to these visitors, urging their participation in public affairs and their devotion to public service.

The conference adjourned to meet again next year, probably in conjunction with the National Municipal League and the city managers' association.

L. D. Upson.

Conference on Training for Public Service

This conference started at a training school breakfast on Thursday, November 23, and was continued at a regular morning session of the municipal research section.

Professor Charles A. Beard, the supervisor of the training school for public service in New York, and Mr. Goodrich, acting director of the New York bureau of municipal research, were the speakers at the breakfast. Professor Beard emphasized the fact that the country needs a public service so organized that it will offer careers to men and women. Under present conditions there is little assurance that the expenditure of time and energy, necessary for the proper preparation for public administration, will be rewarded by an opportunity in the service.

Mr. Goodrich outlined a very practical training which men or women should have in order to make themselves efficient public servants. According to Mr. Goodrich, a special professional or technical training is on the whole superior to a general academic training. He would have students acquaint themselves with administrative methods and problems by first-hand contact with them—preferably by actually holding several successive civil service positions.

The second session on the training for public service was devoted to the subject "What is the Proper Training for Public Service?—Staff Training—Specialization." Professor Beard presented the first paper, in which he made the following points: (1) that practically all of the positions in the public service, especially those open to competition, call for special technical or professional training; (2) that while numerous exceptions might be cited, it was highly desirable for anyone preparing for the public service to secure some technical or professional equipment as a basis for higher administrative work or as a safeguard in case the proper opportunity does not open in the public service; and (3) that only a relatively few men could look forward with confidence to a career of progressive development in public service in the United States, the teaching profession being the only one in which members could advance from city to city and state to state.

Professor Beard contended that no one could be relied upon as a safe guide in staff work who did not have a first-hand acquaintance with actual operation conditions, and called attention to the practice with regard to the general staff of the United States army. Dr. W. H. Allen agreed essentially with Professor Beard as to the proper training for public service. He took the view, however, that it was not especially important that the service should be so organized as to provide for progressive advancement in it. On the contrary, he said that the service did not suffer fundamentally on account of the fact that men were only temporarily in it and then were drawn off into private business. He took the position that schemes of promotion, designed to keep men in the service and pensions on retirement, were by no means desirable. In other words, Dr. Allen held a brief for rotation in office and for pushing able men into the service and advancing them through the service to higher salaries on the outside.

In the discussion which followed, there was considerable debate on the question as to whether a loss was sustained by public service when a well trained man dropped out and entered private business. Leroy E. Snyder, of the Rochester bureau of municipal research, contended that Dr. Allen was looking to the promotion of interests of individuals rather than the development of a great program of public employment which will draw the best ability to the service of the public and retain and develop loyalty in the service. This seemed to be really the heart of the debate, Dr. Allen taking the view that it was possible for a considerable number of individuals to find highly remunerative careers by entering the public service and looking beyond it to employment in the business world, and Professor Beard taking the view that we could not secure genuine efficiency in our government unless we provided special training for public service and guaranteed progressive development in the service for those of marked ability.

JOHN O. REES.[1]

MASSACHUSETTS CIVIC LEAGUE

At its annual meeting in Springfield during municipal week, the Massachusetts civic league devoted its discussion to the housing problem. The legislative situation in the state is important as a recess committee is considering building codes, housing laws, fire protection, etc. A peculiarity of the situation is that a state commission recently reported a bill repealing everything the state has done up to date and substituting a uniform mandatory law which, so far as housing is concerned, does not mean anything because very few people do worse than the proposed law would permit.

It was brought out at the meeting that the main difficulty in the way of proper housing laws is that the people do not enough consider the general welfare, being as yet too much concerned with personal problems and not realizing the relation between the general welfare and personal conditions. As Rauschenbusch says: "In political life one can constantly see the cause of human life pleading long and vainly for redress like the widow before the unjust judge. Then suddenly comes the bass voice of Property and all men stand with hat in hand." The little speculators threaten to "knock the blocks off" those who would promote progress and the big ones resign from organizations devoted to such purposes. It is probably not until the thinking people of our communities realize the constructive importance of housing reform and similar matters as constructive agencies in community development that we shall see substantial progress.

It was brought out that wrong emphasis has been laid in this campaign in a number of respects. The old poisoned air theory, the carbon dioxide theory, has been largely done away with. In its stead are found equally substantial reasons, however, for light, ventilation and sanitation. It is now believed to be necessary to have satisfactory light and ventilation and the ventilation principles include the maintenance of a proper and not too high temperature, a proper humidity and air motion. This points to the need for through ventilation and goes even further than the old theories which were in large measure contented with an opening like the ordinary window from a room. As constructed, many rooms are not capable of through ventilation unless doors are left open. This is not convenient or satisfactory in many respects. The best way to secure through ventilation is through windows on two sides or at diagonal corners of rooms.

Joseph Lee of Boston was re-elected president of the league.

EDWARD T. HARTMAN.

CONFERENCE OF MASSACHUSETTS PLANNING BOARDS AND SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FEDERATION OF PLANNING BOARDS.

Massachusetts was the first state to have a compulsory planning board law. This act (which was fathered by the Massachusetts homestead commission) obligated all cities and towns of ten thousand or over to appoint planning boards, with advisory capacity only, however. Forty-nine municipalities have obeyed, while six cities, Fall River, Haverhill, Lynn, Marlboro, New Bedford and Peabody, and eight towns, Danvers, Dedham, Greenfield, Milford, Natick, Saugus, Webster, West Springfield, have so far failed to comply with the law.

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[1] Student, training school for public service, New York city.

The Springfield conference was successful beyond the hopes of anyone, twenty-three planning boards sending one or more representatives and sixteen planning boards showing exhibits; these included housing, traffic regulation, districting, park and playground systems, sewer and water system studies, development plans for in- and out-lying districts, water front development, electric and steam railway problems, etc., altogether a rather remarkable showing when it is considered that a majority of the planning boards have had an existence of less than three years.

The three-minute reports from the local planning boards showed a remarkable variety of planning activity, and emphasized the fact that each community has its own special problems which call for immediate attention, or at least which seem to present opportunities for accomplishing first results.

A community should above all else, perhaps, preserve and develop its peculiar individuality, yet attacking the planning problem at the points of least resistance, while important, does not mean that certain fundamentals common to all right community planning may be safely neglected. The proper and early consideration of these fundamentals does appear to have been neglected so far by many of our Massachusetts planning boards and shows the need of education of the boards themselves, the city governments, and of all the citizens in the principles of correct and basic city planning.

The different reports, while highly gratifying and encouraging, brought out the fact clearly that there is a tendency to place too much importance in details of civic improvement with a failure to comprehend the broader aspects of town planning.

The Massachusetts planning board statute makes the "housing of the people" a first duty, yet but a few of the planning boards of the state reported giving more than casual consideration to this important problem. On the other hand, the total accomplishments as reported show a remarkable increase of influence the planning boards are exerting on municipal governing bodies as indicated by larger appropriations for use of planning boards and the actual carrying out of many recommendations. A majority of Massachusetts planning boards, however, are still actually awaiting their first appropriation from the municipal authorities.

The Beverly planning board reports starting work on a comprehensive city plan and has already prepared a system of school distribution for the next twenty-five years. Taunton launched a fine campaign of civic education with a planning conference, the city department heads co-operating; street and housing ordinances have been drafted. The Northampton board secured the making of a relief model of the entire city showing every street, square, and natural topographic feature.

Lawrence and Salem both reported housing ordinances enacted and in force, while in both cities the boards are working on comprehensive city plans. In Salem, also, the planning board reports a through shore boulevard in course of construction, being a part of the plan to "redeem" the entire water front, with the extension and widening of other streets as a result of their labors; also a campaign of education by means of lantern slide lectures in the schools and elsewhere.

Fitchburg is preparing and distributing housing surveys and has prepared street widening recommendations. Westfield, preparing a housing code and topographical city map; has adopted board of survey act.

Quincy, street building lines, public comfort station. Medford, Quincy, Waltham and a few other cities have accepted the board of survey act, which confers on cities the powers never before possessed by Massachusetts municipalities in the control and development of vacant land. This permissive act is one of extreme importance to city planning and paves the way for further desirable enabling legislation in the future. Holyoke prepared a plaster model of city and surroundings showing unusual topographical features which include Mt. Tom. Such models are highly instructive and one of the most attractive and effective means of acquainting citizens with the physical make-up and the needs of the communities they live in.

Attleboro, regulation of traffic, establishing street lines; agitation for public comfort stations. The splendid board of survey act was largely fathered by this planning board, yet curiously enough Attleboro has so far failed to accept its provisions. Cambridge, notable land value and districting maps and studies.

From the few reports selected as typical it will be seen that the planning boards are becoming an increasingly potent force in Massachusetts community life.

The obstacles to city planning in Massachusetts were discussed by Henry Sterling, secretary of the homestead commission. Municipal authorities often resent the appointment of planning boards and hamper their usefulness by failing to cooperate or to supply necessary funds, while the legislature itself has not yet grasped the full significance of city planning on community life and has failed thus far to enact adequate legislation.

The paper by George B. Ford of New York showed the remarkable possibilities of "districting" as a city planning tool, and inspired his hearers by telling of astonishing results following the adoption of a districting ordinance in New York city. Whether an adequate zoning or districting ordinance or law would stand the test of a Massachusetts supreme court decision is, however, open to serious doubt.

This aspect of the subject was gone into in detail by Cornelius A. Parker who gave considerable hope that even without constitutional amendment the police power might be interpreted broadly enough by the Massachusetts courts to uphold a law or even ordinances covering some of the main features desirable. Mr. Ford and later John Nolen both pointed out the dangers of copying in detail the New York law. Plans for districting Springfield were shown and explained by John P. Fox of New York.

A most encouraging note was struck in the address of Rev. E. Tallmadge Root, secretary of the Massachusetts federation of churches, who declared that the churches were not only alive to the profound need for community planning but were organized and ready to co-operate to the fullest extent with the federation of planning boards.

The workings of the Massachusetts building lines and the assessment of betterments acts were described by Flavel Shurtleff, secretary of the National Planning Conference and the importance of applying these acts by planning boards shown. The building line act has been accepted by twelve cities and eight towns in Massachusetts.

All the papers and discussions clearly showed the urgent need for more adequate legislation affecting city planning, and for final decisions on existing laws, yet there is already sufficient authority for planning boards to vastly increase their activity and usefulness.

The officers and executive board chosen for the ensuing year were Charles S. Bird, Jr., chairman, Walpole; Preston Pond, vice-chairman, Winchester; Joseph Finberg, treasurer, Attleboro; Arthur C. Comey, secretary, Cambridge; Flavel Shurtleff, Boston; Frederick L. Olmsted, Brookline; Augustus P. Loring, Jr., Beverly.

Harlan P. Kelsey.

Salem, Mass.

NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. VI, No. 2 MARCH, 1917 TOTAL No. 22

POLITICAL PARTIES IN CITY GOVERNMENT: A RECONSIDERATION OF OLD VIEW POINTS*

POLITICS AND CITY GOVERNMENT

BY CHARLES AUSTIN BEARD
Columbia University[1]

THE theme assigned to me, obviously, could be viewed from many angles. It would not be a transgression of the limits of the subject if I were to make an excursion into utopian politics and sketch a new "City of the Sun," assigning to political parties their proper place in my dream-made republic. Should I devote the time allotted to me to this profitless undertaking, I should start out by saying with the great chief justice, John Marshall, that nothing more debases and pollutes the human mind than partisan politics. When we see men otherwise just and fair in their judgments vilifying, maligning, and slandering their opponents, even in unimportant political campaigns, those of us who are not enamoured of billingsgate are moved to exclaim that political parties have no place at all in a rational society. But this would be a vain flying in the face of the hard and unpleasant facts of life and a vain longing for the impossible.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 172.

* EDITORIAL NOTE. One of the most stimulating discussions at the Springfield meeting of the National Municipal League was that of the time-honored question of non-partisanship in municipal affairs. The whole subject was re-examined in the light of recent experience, and from new standpoints. The several addresses and the discussions are reproduced in sequence, although some are much shorter than others and really should appear under the head of short articles. Some of the papers deal with theory, some with actual experience in cities where non-partisanship has been legally adopted by the city, or as in Chicago, where it has been forced as an issue by the municipal voters' league. All of the men participating in the discussion have been actively identified with

Viewing the subject from a practical angle we may inquire whether the issues which divide men and women into national parties are issues which have any relation to municipal questions as such. The facile reformer usually answers in the negative. It is true that there seems to be no connection between ship subsidies, tariff, labor legislation, farm loans, and kindred matters and the problems that arise in our great urban centres. Superficially there is none. But I cannot be too emphatic when I say that not a single one of our really serious municipal questions—poverty, high cost of living, overcrowding, unemployment, low standards of life, physical degeneracy—can be solved, can be even approached by municipalities without the co-operation of the state and national government, and the solution of these problems calls for state and national parties. No big vision of this mighty nation as it is to be can exclude from its range an economy which is both urban and rural, one and truly indivisible.

Of course, speaking practically there is no real division between the Republicans and the Democrats on municipal issues. The usual slogans

the League in various capacities and are deeply interested in the promotion of honest and efficient democratic government in our cities.

The only paper which was not presented at Springfield is that of Mr. Hull, but it is pertinent to the discussion and gives the views of a public-spirited officeholder who has been interested in municipal affairs for many years. Mr. Hull has served as a member of the Illinois house of representatives and is now a member of the Illinois state senate. He was formerly a member of the council of the National Municipal League and is the founder of the Morton Denison Hull prize for post-graduate students in municipal government, which the League has been offering now for some years past. Professor Beard is associate professor of politics at Columbia University. W. D. Lighthall is the honorary secretary of the Union of Canadian Municipalities and was at one time mayor of Westmount, a city near Montreal. Mr. Dougherty was not only a lifelong friend of Seth Low, but has been identified with practically all the important movements for the improvement of municipal conditions in Brooklyn and Greater New York. John J. Murphy has been commissioner of tenements for a number of years and was at one time secretary of the citizens' union of New York. Robert J. Bottomly is the present secretary of the good government league of Boston. A. Leo Weil is the president of the Pittsburgh civic league and was in the forefront of the investigations and prosecutions which cleaned up the noisome mess which the old condition of affairs made possible and almost inevitable. Robert S. Binkerd has been secretary of the city club of New York for some years and prior to that was secretary of the citizens' union. Professor Albert Bushnell Hart is the Dorman B. Eaton professor of government at Harvard.

In introducing Professor Beard, President Purdy said: "We are to hear to-night a discussion of political parties in city government. It is very appropriate that the first speaker should be a professor of politics. And that leads me to say a very few words on a hobby of mine: You will doubtless recall that the word 'politician' is commonly used to describe one who knows nothing of the practice and theory of government, and the term 'politician' is used to describe, perhaps, those whom you have been taught to abhor and with whom you are unfamiliar. Personally, I would desire to rescue the word 'politics' from those connotations and to dignify the word 'politician' so as to mean what it really does mean: a person skilled in the art of government. The gentleman who will address you teaches persons to understand the art of government: Prof. Charles A. **Beard.**"

of economy, efficiency, and good management are accepted by both of them. No party is willing to advocate waste, inefficiency, and bad management. The Socialist party is the only party that has a complete program of public economy which includes national and state and city issues. That is a program of collectivism, public ownership and operation of the great utilities or economic processes upon which all depend for a livelihood. We may or may not approve of that program, but we cannot deny that it is a consistent municipal, state, and national program. Neither can we deny that the Socialists are both logical and sound, from their point of view, when they insist upon maintaining a municipal party organization and linking it up with the state and national organization. Insisting that not a single great problem of social economy is purely or even primarily municipal, the Socialists rightly stick to a unified party organization. Up to the present time, however, they have been almost negligible factors in most of our great cities, and as we are not here concerned with prophecy or speculation we may leave them out of account.

I have said above that there is no real division between the Republicans and Democrats on municipal issues, but I do not mean that issues create parties. On the contrary I think the causes of party division lie deeper than superficial paper declarations of party principles. Issues are more frequently pretexts than causes of partisanship. That profound statesman, Alexander Hamilton, said in the convention that framed the constitution of the United States: "All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and the well-born, the other the mass of the people." I think we have in that laconic statement more information on the place of political parties in municipal government than in all the literature that has been issued by the reformers since the foundation of this republic. Disparity in the kinds and distribution of property, as the father of our constitution, James Madison, said, is the most fundamental cause of parties and factions in all ages and all places.

Of other cities I have little knowledge, but I know something about the history of parties in the city of New York, from the days of Jefferson to the days of Mitchel. By a long and painstaking study of election returns, ward maps, occupations, and wealth distribution, I arrived at the conclusion that the first great party division in New York city—that between the Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans—was a division between "wealth and talents" on the one hand and the masses on the other hand. Anyone interested in the facts will find them on pp. 383–387 of my *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*. The studies I made for that work have been carried forward with great skill, accuracy and ingenuity by one of my colleagues, Mr. Dixon R. Fox, who has now completed the maps of the elections by wards down until 1840. He finds that in every great contest the "wealth and talents" were in the main with the Federalists or later the Whigs, while the masses were Democrats. I believe that fundamental division exists to-day in our great northern cities. I do not mean to say that there are not wealth and talents in the Democratic party, but I do contend that the center of gravity of wealth is on the Republican side while the center of gravity of poverty is on the Democratic side. Anyone who wants official confirmation of this view may read President Wilson's *New Freedom.*

Of course in the smaller cities like Des Moines, Iowa, or Dayton, Ohio, where the area of the great industrial proletariat is not large and where distinctions of group and class are not marked, the materials for party divisions are not so obvious and so persistent. In the south cities are few and new, and there are special problems. As Plato and Aristotle long ago pointed out where there is similarity and approximate equality of property interests, there unity and stability may take the place of divisions and contests. To anyone really interested in the profound philosophical problem set by the theme of my paper I commend a long and prayerful study of Aristotle's *Politics.* There he will find more genuine information on the subject than in all the books that have ever been written on American government. Speaking, therefore, not as a prophet or an advocate, I should say that parties are inevitable and unavoidable in modern society.

By that I do not mean to say that the corruption and excesses which have characterized political organizations in our great cities will continue unabated. On the contrary, I look forward with confidence to a diminution in corruption, partly on account of the increasing number of independent voters who cannot be counted upon to follow slavishly the dictates of leaders, but mainly on account of the fact that the opportunities for corruption are now materially reduced. There will be no more boards of "forty thieves" in New York disposing of Broadway franchises, not because we are better than our fathers but because the Broadway franchise has been disposed of and made perpetual. With more than 95 per cent of our surface railway franchises granted in perpetuity in New York city we may feel reasonably secure from the attacks of franchise grabbers masked as party organizations.

In other words, to use academic terminology, the law of diminishing returns has set in against municipal corruption in its grosser forms, and so we may expect to see an increasing number of the so-called "interests" becoming good and non-partisan. They are like Great Britain. Having possession of the earth, she is for peace and the *status quo.* Certain financial groups in New York that formerly looked with kindly toleration on Tammany, having "got theirs," are now for efficiency and economy. Providence works in mysterious ways His wonders to perform, and those who are weary of Tweed rings and gas scandals may look forward with confidence and hope. The age of great graft in our cities is over; we have eaten our cake. We shall be bothered with petty graft, but that is not so dangerous to public morals. But we shall have parties for such a long time in the future that we need not make our last will and testament now.

If this analysis is correct then those of us who dwell in large cities must arrange to live and work with parties. Rural villages may experiment with "non-partisanship." From what I can gather from newspapers and gossip with visitors from non-partisanship cities of any size, the abolition of city parties by statutory devices is a delusion. Perhaps some of the delegates from Boston will inform us whether there are any Democrats or Republicans in the city government there. Of course some one will rise up from Dayton and tell us that utopia is there, but some of us skeptics from the east must be pardoned if we do not rewrite our entire political science in the light of three years' experience of an Ohio city, whose population is about equal to the annual increment in the population of New York. I know of nothing more amusing than the report of the first trial of the "new non-partisan election system" in San Francisco, reported by the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW in its first number. The reporter told us that the results of the same were "generally considered satisfactory," and then proceeded: "A candidate has but to secure ten electors to take the sponsor's oath, to get his name printed on the primary ballot. No candidate succeeded, however, unless he was backed by a large organization. Six such organizations took part in the contest: the municipal conference, the good government league, the Republican, Democratic, Union Labor, and Socialist parties. The first four combined on James Rolph, Jr., a prominent shipowner, as a candidate for mayor and had many other candidates in common. The Union Labor party put forward Mayor McCarthy and a straight ticket. The Socialists named Wm. McDevitt." Surely an Irishman wrote this account of a "genuine, non-partisan" election under a non-partisan law.

In fact, I am prepared to defend the thesis that non-partisanship has not worked, does not work, and will not work in any major city in the United States. We have plenty of non-partisan election laws designed to smash party organizations. We also have direct primary laws designed to take nominations out of the hands of party leaders. I think these laws have in many instances put a wholesome fear in the minds of political leaders, but I do not believe that they have permanently reduced the power of the expert political minority that manages public affairs.

To come right down to practical conclusions, I should make the following summary: (1) that the causes of parties lie deeper than election laws or most so-called issues; (2) that the causes of parties being social and economic, we must expect the continued existence of party organizations in our municipal affairs; (3) that the task before the reformer is not the enactment of non-partisan laws but the development of legislation and public opinion which will make parties responsible for their conduct of municipal government; (4) that fusion is a temporary process better calculated to frighten and educate party leaders than to develop a unified and well-planned city administration; (5) the independent, self-directing citizens are relatively few in any community or party but education will widen that number and from them we may expect a check upon the party extravagance which has disgraced so many of our cities; (6) that men who want wise and just government in cities are likely to do as much good by co-operating with parties and insisting upon the establishment of sound party policies and genuine party responsibility as they are by running to the legislature for new non-partisan election laws; (7) that there is a power, not in legislation, that worketh for righteousness.

THE ELIMINATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN CANADIAN CITIES

BY W. D. LIGHTHALL, K.C.
Montreal

THE reason why I am called to address you to-day is that I come from a land whose people, in a true and profound sense, are part of your people, bone of your bone, sinew of your sinew, speech of your speech, spirit of your spirit; who, pervaded with the atmosphere of ideals and circumstances of this continent are, in the broad meaning, as American as you; and who, in their origin and growth, are in substance an overflow of the population of these United States. Before the revolution, New England people had begun to found what are now our provinces, and after the revolution the great basis of our population was laid by the loyalist refugees from every state, and by perhaps an equal number of others than loyalists who followed the rich opportunities of our territory. Even to-day one of the best and largest sources of our immigration is the stream of hundreds of thousands of American farmers who have taken up our western lands. I might go further, into a historical digression, and show that the British Empire, itself, had its origin among those same men of vision who gave birth to the idea of the united colonies. Both of those ideas began together before the revolution. It was our common American ancestors who dreamed them—the greatest political visions in the world.

It is, therefore, not surprising that our municipal institutions are essentially American—essentially on the same patterns as your own, with differences rather of experimentation and local accident than of structure. One of those local accidents is a very fortunate one—the elimination of political parties from our municipal politics. In this, perhaps, we may contribute something to your information, just as we constantly learn innumerable things from your municipal experience. Between Canada and the United States there is a great contrast in this matter.

We see with astonishment such things as Republican or Democratic control in the governments of your cities, tickets of candidates representing Republicans or Democrats, the evils of general party rancour introduced into local affairs, and too often we hear of the spoils system playing an only too important part in the result. In Canada, on the other hand, a party ticket in municipal affairs is unknown. A man's party opinions may gain him some votes, but merely in the same way as his association with the masons or the independent order of moose have made him some incidental friends. The mere suggestion that party strife entered into the matter would arouse strong opposition among the voters and in most cases the candidate would be fain to publicly repudiate the suggestion in order not to lose his election. In short the introduction of party issues and shibboleths nearly everywhere in Canada is regarded as a dangerous and outlawed principle.

Just how this has come to be is somewhat difficult to determine. Certainly it was not so in our early municipal elections, eighty years ago, which were of a highly spicy and unladylike variety. Now, on the contrary, it is a fair statement that the elimination of party politics is a universally accepted sentiment. It is supported by all influential newspapers and strongly in favor with all classes of people. Its strength lies in the fact that it has become an attitude of mind, firmly fixed by *habit*. It certainly produces very beneficial results—a greater freedom and insistence upon the personal fitness of the candidate, a much reduced difficulty in finding really suitable candidates, and a sense that a candidate, once elected, is tied to no group of men, at least on party grounds. But the chief advantage is that it severs the municipal policy from all sorts of state and federal considerations. It thus enables a municipality to come before its legislature standing on the merits of its demands.

It is not to be gainsaid that several evils remain. Municipal politicians sometimes form groups among themselves, and sometimes municipalities are the victims of baneful influences and rapacious groups in the legislatures. But at least their difficulties are immensely simplified by the fact that the *party* question is *nil*. Internally, within municipalities, this freedom has made it easier to choose officials, and has everywhere made their standing a life tenure of their positions. It has also rendered it possible to have unanimity in councils over many measures and policies, based on untrammelled individual opinion of the aldermen, and it has enabled a municipality, when affected by pending legislation of the legislatures, to assemble to its aid the best men of all parties. The most striking and sweeping results have been rendered possible for the unions of municipalities in preventing legislative encroachments by corporations, and thefts of their rights and franchises by those charter sharks who infest all lobbies. The Union of Canadian Municipalities—the great general association of the cities and towns of Canada—has sometimes to fight the passing of some statute encroaching upon franchises or other rights of one of its numbers, or even of some municipality not in its membership, perhaps even some very weak and small municipality. In the federal parliament of Canada such bills are sometimes brought forward. But on every occasion where a fair case exists, the union counts on untrammelled combination of all the best elements of both parties, and invariably obtains a victory, in which the name of either party is scarcely so much as mentioned. The same process goes on before the provincial legislatures (corresponding to those of your states), before which the provincial branches of the union take up similar matters, and whatever difficulties they may have with commercial groups or charter-sharks, there is almost invariably the same absence of the suggestion of party. It is unnecessary to catalogue all the other beneficial results.

Now, from the modest acquaintance I have with American municipal affairs, based mainly on a long association with the National Municipal League and other American municipal bodies, and also partly on a constant reading of the newspapers, I know that many of your municipal experts sometimes envy us this advantage, and wonder how it can be introduced in the United States, and added to your long list of important municipal triumphs.

Let me make only two remarks on that question,—*First,* that, whatever be the method, the *object* should be *to attain a habit of public mind* against the continuance of the party system. In Canada it rests upon a habit of public mind acquired during the past half century, and favored no doubt by the fact that our party methods have never attained such completeness of system as your own. They have never come down to such refinements as your party tickets. The *second point* is that, whether the process be long or short, simple or difficult,—and there is no doubt it will be difficult,—I have absolute confidence in the American people, in their ability to achieve any idea. The elimination of party politics will come to you as it has to us, sometime,—and within a reasonable time. The struggle for it is not a hopeless one, and ought to be pursued systematically with optimism, and having as its set purpose the *gradual creation of the necessary habit of public thought.*

As the representative here of the Union of Canadian Municipalities, I bring you the profound congratulations and the absolute sympathy of the Canadian people in all your splendid work.

SETH LOW'S SERVICE IN BEHALF OF NON-PARTISAN CITY GOVERNMENT

BY J. HAMPDEN DOUGHERTY[1]

New York City

THE death of Seth Low brings vividly to mind a picture of progress in city government during 35 years. His success as mayor of Brooklyn in enforcing business principles in office gave his native city a distinction that was nation-wide. He himself seemed to personify the leading doctrines of municipal reform, many of which he put into practice before there was any statutory mandate to do so. To-day, independent voting is common; even the lines of cleavage between national parties have, except as to the tariff, almost disappeared. Since New York state by constitutional amendment provided for the election of city officers in different years from those set apart for state and national elections, voting in municipal elections takes place without thought of its effect upon national or state issues. Before Seth Low first ran for mayor in Brooklyn, fealty to national parties was so absolute as to make it almost party treason to vote for other than party candidates for municipal office. It requires an effort of memory of the older voter to recall, and vigor of imagination on the part of the younger to appreciate, the despotic hold of party regularity upon the voter of that time. Independent voting has traveled a vast distance within a generation.

Prior to the first Low campaign the subject of municipal government had received scant attention. The overshadowing issues of the civil war and of reconstruction and the necessity for placing the currency upon a sound basis and for the re-establishment of the gold standard, dwarfed all other political considerations. Meanwhile, scandals in city government became shamefully common with the increase in number and population of cities and the unlimited opportunities afforded to selfishness and greed to prey upon the body politic. Accumulation of city debts began to threaten city bankruptcy and taxation weighed oppressively upon city inhabitants. City problems were discussed in the New York constitutional convention of 1867, but without practical result. A commission appointed in 1877 by Governor Tilden made a report upon the misgovernment of cities, and the remedies therefor. Misrule in cities, it said, was due to the incompetence of governing boards and officers, the introduction of state and national politics into municipal affairs and the assumption by the legislature of direct control of city matters. The chief remedies proposed were separation of local and national elections and restriction of the power of the legislature to interfere by special legislation with the conduct of municipal affairs.

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[1] A contemporary of Low and like him a former resident of Brooklyn; independent Democrat; active for many years in affirmative movements for political reform. Served for a time (under Mayor Low) as head of the department of water supply, gas and electricity of New York city; member of New York city charter revision committee appointed by Governor Hughes.

In 1880 Brooklyn was a hot-bed of political independence. The Garfield election was perhaps won in Brooklyn. Garfield carried New York state by a plurality over Hancock of 21,000, 2 per cent of the state's total vote, and this success is to be ascribed in no small degree to the labor of the newly organized Young Republican club of Brooklyn, of which Seth Low was president. In the local gossip of the day the club elected Garfield. In the following year it decided to turn its attention to city affairs with the hope not only of rescuing Brooklyn from control by a corrupt ring, but of setting up and establishing the principle that cities must be run upon a non-partisan basis. No officeholder could be a member of the club, and any member who accepted a nomination for any office thereby lost his membership; hence it could not be made to subserve the ambition of men seeking political place. The club was thoroughly organized in every ward of the city and had behind it a vote of sufficient numerical strength to make it a deciding factor in the election.

Mr. Low's death makes it fitting that the leading incidents of this dramatic campaign should be told. He had previously been asked to become the candidate of the Republican party for mayor, but unequivocally refused, and definitely to put an end to all talk of his candidacy, renewed his membership in the Young Republican club, which he had dropped after Garfield's election, thus virtually making it impossible for him to accept any nomination. On October 17, 1881, at the call of a few prominent citizens irrespective of party, a vast assemblage met in the Brooklyn rink and after listening to a series of resolutions favoring non-partisan city government and to stirring addresses by Henry Ward Beecher and others, nominated for mayor Ripley Ropes, a well-known citizen who had rendered splendid service in local office a few years earlier. On October 19 the club adopted resolutions approving the Ropes nomination and recommending to the Republican city convention the favorable consideration of his name for mayor. The chief spokesman for these resolutions was Seth Low. They were enthusiastically carried and the president of the club, Horace E. Deming, appointed Low one of a committee to present them to the Republican city convention. The McLaughlin ring defiantly answered the citizens' challenge by renominating James Howell, the existing mayor, and the independent Democrats nominated General Henry W. Slocum.

When, on October 21, the Republican city convention assembled to nominate candidates, Mr. Low's committee appeared and presented the resolutions of the Young Republican club. Perhaps the tensest moments in the proceedings were those in which one of the ablest and most adroit of the Republican leaders asked Mr. Low whether if Ropes were nominated by the Republican convention and elected mayor he would "accept the nomination as a Republican, with all the political obligations which that implies," and in which Mr. Low replied that he would answer in the words of Mr. Ropes himself: "I will use that high office in the fear of God, for the interests of all citizens, high and low, rich and poor, friend and foe." The cleverness, the composure, the *sang-froid* shown by young Low, a political neophyte, in discussion with veteran politicians, and his simple but earnest words will not easily be forgotten—at least by the author of this sketch. The convention might perhaps have been stampeded for him, had he betrayed even momentary hesitation. It finally nominated Benjamin F. Tracy, a lawyer of distinction, breveted a brigadier-general for notable service in the civil war. With the presence of Ropes and Tracy in the field there was imminent danger that the great powers of appointment given to the incoming mayor under the Schrœder act of 1880 would become the prize of the ring which, as the *Eagle* well said, had "in times past plundered Brooklyn's treasury, corrupted her judiciary, fomented ruffianism and made elections mere farces." To avoid such a disaster Mr. Ropes retired from the canvass and at a meeting representative of both political parties Mr. Low was substituted as the citizens' candidate. General Tracy simultaneously resigned the Republican nomination, and in doing so commended Low to the consideration of the Republican convention. The convention accepted Tracy's resignation and named Low. The Young Republican club released him from his duties and obligations as a member and requested him to "accept the nominations tendered in this unprecedented manner."

In accepting the nomination of the citizens' committee, Mr. Low said:

> No man could wish to stand as mayor on a nobler platform than that embodied in the preamble to the resolutions adopted at the citizens' meeting on Wednesday evening. If elected I pledge myself to discharge the duties of my high office "in the fear of God and not of man, and with an eye single to the best interests alike of the poor and the rich, the high and the low, friends and foes," and to administer the affairs of the city upon strict business principles.

Slocum also decided to withdraw and the contest was narrowed to a fight between Howell and Low. In the spirited canvass which ensued, Howell was defeated by 4,192 votes. By this close margin Brooklyn set up non-partisan city government. Of this election the Brooklyn *Eagle* aid: "If Mr. Low will give the city two years of business-like adminisration, his successor, whoever he may be, will not be able to reverse that policy without the odium of being a public enemy."

In office Mr. Low applied the principles embodied in the citizens' platform. The Schrœder act gave him power to appoint his leading subordinates, not, however, the power of removal, but Mr. Low exacted from each of his appointees a resignation ready for instant use at any time; and while the civil service law was still a permissive measure as to cities, he accepted and applied its provisions as thoroughly as though they were mandatory. He kept a vigilant supervision over proposed legislation at Albany inimical to the city's welfare, and at the same time succeeded in winning from political enemies the support necessary to insure the passage of the measures which he fostered—such, for example, as the Evarts act of 1883, which enabled the city to collect several millions of dollars of arrears of taxes. His appointments were of a high order; he reformed the public educational system, putting it in charge of a board of education of the highest efficiency, and instituted a system for granting municipal franchises under which they were adequately paid for. In a short time the metamorphosis in city government was surprising. Brooklyn became a city like a light set upon a hill, known and honored all over the land.

In the fall of 1883 Mr. Low was re-elected mayor after a vigorous campaign in his behalf the brunt of which fell upon the Young Republicans and thus Brooklyn secured two years more of efficient government.

When consolidation between New York city and Brooklyn was voted, Mr. Low was designated by Governor Morton as one of the commissioners to frame a charter for the greater city. His influence in its formation, while not dominating, was strongly felt. He was the citizens' candidate for the mayoralty of the greater city at the first election under the new charter, and his nomination was a remarkable tribute to the man. In the triangular contest between him, Tracy, the Republican candidate, and Robert Van Wyck, the Tammany candidate, Tammany was successful but the vote for Mr. Low greatly exceeded the vote for Tracy. Their united vote, had it been cast for Low, would have made him mayor. Then followed four years of Tammany misrule, which aroused such a revulsion of feeling that citizens irrespective of party combined to nominate and elect Mr. Low. Unhappily, the revised charter of 1900 had reduced the mayor's term to two years.

It is difficult in a few words to sum up the accomplishments of that all too brief period of business government. There had previously been conferred upon the mayor ample power to remove his appointees, the extension of the civil service law had relieved him from many of the importunities from politicians which he could not altogether escape while mayor of Brooklyn, and the new constitution spared him those visits to Albany to head off possible adverse legislation—which he graphically described in the chapter on city government, written by him for Bryce's "American Commonwealth"—because all bills affecting the city before they could be passed upon by the governor had automatically to be submitted to the mayor for approval or non-approval. Vast projects were conceived, begun and partially executed during his term, in relation to rapid transit, the city's water supply, its docks and bridges, and the entrance by tunnel of the Pennsylvania railroad into the heart of the city itself. Jurisdiction over franchises was taken from the board of aldermen and vested in the board of estimate, in which the mayor, the comptroller and the president of the board of aldermen exercise a virtually controlling vote. The history of the greater city under Mr. Low was that of a giant corporate business, managed with unusual skill, and as the mayor had full accountability for the choice and retention of department chiefs and was chairman of, and an influential factor in, the board of estimate, the success of the administration was primarily due to him. With all proper abatements, government under Low attained an eminence entitling it to be regarded as the high-water period in the city's affairs. A brief retrograde movement followed, but after the success scored under Low, Tammany could never again descend to the infamy of the Van Wyck administration. Reform begets improvement, even if the movement is not continuously progressive, for former odious conditions will never again be tolerated and cannot be fully restored. If the Low administration be judged in the light not only of what it actually achieved but of evils the recurrence of which it has rendered impossible, its accomplishments are notable indeed.

In almost any other country Seth Low's official service would have covered a long period of consecutive years. In Germany or England, for example, his continued re-election to the mayoralty of a city like Brooklyn would have been a certainty and promotion to the mayoralty of a greater city would have inevitably followed upon its formation. Had his preference been for other political place, the chance of preferment would have been at his call. It is only we in the United States who seem incapable of duly assessing the service rendered by able and disinterested citizenship. The loss thus sustained by the community defies calculation.

For a number of years Mr. Low was president of Columbia University and while in that office, after having refused President McKinley's tender of the post of minister to Spain, he accepted an appointment at the hands of the same president as delegate to the first international conference for the promotion of peace, which convened at The Hague in the spring of 1899, his fellow delegates being the Honorable Andrew D. White, then minister to Germany, the Honorable Stanford Newel, minister at The Hague, Captain Mahan, Captain Crozier and Frederick W. Holls.

For many years he was deeply interested in the cause of labor, was often the arbiter chosen by the labor interests, and in the last nine years of his life acted as president of the National Civic Federation. A quiet, unobtrusive but effective worker in the great domains of charity and education, the range of his activities far surpasses public knowledge. His final public service was as chairman of the cities committee of the constitutional convention of 1915, to which he was elected a delegate at large with a vote exceeding that given to any other delegate. His appointment to the chairmanship of the cities committee was a proper acknowledgment of his exceptional fitness for the office. The words with which he opened his presentation of the committee's report to the convention are a bitter commentary upon the difficulty that besets every effort of cities to attain home rule. He wondered, he said, if any of his hearers realized that in 45 years we had made no substantial progress in relieving the legislature of the necessity of dealing with local matters or in granting to cities more control of their local affairs. According to the Evarts commission of 1877, 808 acts were passed by the legislature of 1870; 212 related to cities and villages, 94 to cities, 36 to New York city alone. In 1915 the legislature passed 729 bills, 222 relating to cities and villages, 182 to cities and 76 to New York city alone. While the measure of home rule reported by his committee failed to satisfy many home-rule advocates, Mr. Low doubtless felt it was all that public opinion would support and he worked earnestly but vainly for its success.

Professor Sloane has alluded to Mr. Low's remarkable memory that enabled him to pronounce in extempore fashion a speech requiring an hour or more for its delivery. This may help to explain the uniformly superior character of his public utterances. In the second campaign in Brooklyn, his appeals for the continuance of business government, backed up and re-enforced, as they were, by facts and figures, were of a high order and carried conviction into the hearts of his auditors by their obvious sincerity. He was an equally good campaigner in 1901 and 1903. He was, perhaps, the most felicitous speaker who ever occupied the chair of mayor of the greater city. His address in 1902, upon the presentation to Prince Henry of Prussia of the freedom of New York city, evoked spontaneous praise from the press of that day. Mr. Low was quick to perceive the essential point of an argument or a bill, and much of the business sagacity that made his father one of New York's merchant princes was in the son employed to safeguard the city's interests in complex business contracts. In one of his earliest campaign speeches he quoted with approval the maximum of the old Latin poet—"in the middle of the road you will go safest," and added, "I have not been a man of extremes and do not expect to be." Temperamentally he was predisposed towards compromise, and what at times seemed like the lack of high civic courage may have been wise caution. It is a misfortune that with his great and exceptional experience in city affairs he never published any monograph upon city government except the brief chapter contributed by him to the first edition of Bryce's "American Commonwealth." It may be that had he lived he would have produced a comprehensive and illuminating treatise showing how and to what extent cities may properly be emancipated from state control. Such a work would have been a splendid capstone to his life.

Varied and interesting as were his occupations the chief, of which he laid the foundations in early manhood, was city reform. In the history of city government he will be remembered as the great pioneer—the man who first demonstrated in a practical way the immense gain to the people of a city of having its affairs conducted upon a strictly non-partisan basis.

NON-PARTISANSHIP IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS AS ILLUSTRATED BY NEW YORK EXPERIENCE

BY JOHN J. MURPHY

New York City

NEARLY a quarter of a century since, a group of high-minded citizens of New York evolved a theory of municipal government based upon a perfectly logical principle. Had they been less high-minded they might have been suspicious of the very fact that it *was* perfectly logical. No perfectly logical principle functions efficiently when applied to human affairs. Were it otherwise John Jay Chapman would be the greatest politician in the United States for no one has more relentlessly applied logic to the solution of governmental problems. Instead of holding such a position, he is merely the high exemplar of a small group of men who admire above everything else, nobility of character and consistency of purpose.

The theory was that, although men might differ on political questions, all decent citizens were a unit in favor of good government and honest administration. Under the leadership of the late Seth Low, of venerable memory, this idea won its greatest public favor in 1897. Although he was defeated for the mayoralty, he polled 150,000 votes for the idea. True, he was elected in 1901, but the fundamental idea of 1897 was sacrificed to achieve the victory, for of the allies who came together to overthrow Tammany in that year, not 20 per cent even pretended to any faith in the non-partisan idea. Eighty per cent of the participants were simply a coalition of revolting Democrats and of Republicans who saw no other way of inflicting a defeat on their party rival. Their ideals of government were little, if anything, higher than Tammany's; they were the strictest kind of party men.

At what point did the logical principle break down in application? Simply in its failure to properly take into account the basis of parties and partisanship. The assumption that parties exist to advance the ideas with which they are identified in the public mind, is almost wholly erroneous. Parties take up ideas to keep themselves alive. The Republican party is sometimes supposed to exist for the perpetuation of the principle (save the mark) of protection. As a matter of fact the Republican party takes up protection as one means of keeping itself going. So the Democratic party at one time seemed to exist to advocate the remonetization of silver. But the relegation of that idea to oblivion did not cause the party to disintegrate.

Parties take up issues as a merchant replenishes his stock; when the public demands something new, the merchant brings out the new fashions. The primary purpose of the party and the merchant is the same, to make a living. Parties have an existence entirely independent of the principles they advocate or profess.

The basis of their life is the association of like-minded men, men who can combine for effective action, men whose attraction for one another is on the whole greater than their repugnance to each other. If this thought be kept in mind, the brief existence of new parties will be understood. New parties spring up to advocate ideas, which for the time being are strong enough to tear men away from old associations. These ideas are either rejected, enacted into law or stolen by one or other of the regular organizations. Then the components of the new party seek their old alignments.

When, therefore, non-partisanship in municipal affairs was tried, under leaders as unselfish as any who have ever led such a movement, men found themselves thrown into association with other men with whom they were not congenial. The Republican mind and the Democratic mind, when thrown into juxtaposition, even for so unimpeachable a cause as good government, generate antagonisms. Hence the constant tendency was to fly apart. What we have seen in most non-partisan movements (so-called) is really a coalition of minority groups to defeat an opponent stronger than any one of them, but unable to defeat them all combined. Were any of these groups in the majority it would not consider non-partisanship as a principle of action for a moment. Fusion movements are often useful and practicable, but they should not be confounded with non-partisan movements. They are omni-partisan rather than non-partisan. All men who have any positive qualities are partisans.

After many years of belief in and struggle for, the realization of the non-partisan idea, I am forced to admit that it runs counter to a natural law which is stronger than logic. The old struggle of the realist and the idealist, the head and the heart, efficiency and humanity, the imperialist and the democrat, inevitably wrecks any attempt to combine these antagonistic elements into a permanent movement.

THE NON-PARTISAN BALLOT IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

A CONSIDERATION OF ITS ADAPTABILITY TO CHICAGO[1]

BY HON. MORTON DENISON HULL

Chicago

THE following is quoted from an editorial in the Chicago *Record-Herald*, of January 18, 1914:

> What is the matter with Boston? Her own newspapers and citizens admit that something is wrong in the cultural hub. Not long ago Boston adopted a modern charter and scrapped her old municipal machinery. The Massachusetts non-partisan ballot is famous: many cities are crying for it. . . .
>
> Boston has just had a local election and the wrong candidate was chosen mayor. There was no partisan fight: the good citizens had every chance; but too many of them failed to vote. The great middle class was vainly appealed to.

The election to which the foregoing editorial quotation refers was the election for mayor of Boston held a few days prior. At that election a Mr. Curley was elected mayor. Mr. Curley had been the head of a so-called Tammany organization in Boston, modeled after that of New York. Some years ago he passed six months in jail, under a sentence imposed by a federal court for impersonating another man in taking a United States civil service examination. His opponent, Mr. Kenny, had worked himself up from the humbler ranks of life and had made an honorable record as a member of the common council of Boston. It is unnecessary to go into the records of these men further. It is sufficient to say that, according to the *Record-Herald*, it is generally admitted in Boston that "something is wrong in the cultural hub."

It is unnecessary to go into a prolonged diagnosis of the disease that afflicts the city of Boston. This isn't the first time it has been noticed in Boston and it isn't confined to Boston alone. It is the same old disease that has afflicted popular government in all our large cities for many years —the disease that in its outward form manifests itself as inefficient and dishonest city government. We are appreciating its presence here in Chicago, and many sincere reformers are offering as a remedy the total abolition of the party circle, and non-partisan municipal elections. Will it help the situation? Does it offer any relief? A few years ago a group of public-spirited citizens of Boston thought it would help Boston. They saw, as our friends are seeing, the evil of having national political party prejudices intruding themselves into our local city elections. What place has the tariff or the currency question in our city elections? None, of course. The answer was clear. And so they thought if national parties were eliminated from city elections—indeed, if all parties were eliminated, and the party circle abolished and a candidate allowed to run only on his personal fitness, and under his own name, and not under the name of any party, all would go well—and Boston would be redeemed. And so they abolished the party ballot and have had two municipal elections on the non-partisan plan. And in both of these elections the unfit candidate for mayor has won. The first of these candidates was "Honey" Fitzgerald, elected four years ago over James J. Storrow, both Democrats in national politics. The second was Mr. Curley, just elected over Mr. Kenny, both being Democrats. These results have been a disappointment to the friends of the non-partisan municipal ballot, as indeed they should be to all friends of good government. Abstractly considered, it would seem as though the non-partisan ballot had every argument in its favor. But in two mayorality elections in Boston, it has sadly failed of the expectations of its friends, and I think we may safely say, failed to give to Boston any better government, so far as the office of mayor is concerned, than the old party ballot. Why?

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[1] This article was published in the spring of 1914 and circulated as a campaign document in a hotly contested aldermanic election in one of the wards of Chicago in which the attempt was made to make the non-partisanship of one of the candidates and the fact that his name appeared on the ballot by petition rather than as a party nominee the issue of the campaign. Both this candidate and his principal competitor, a Republican, were highly commended by the municipal voters league. The party candidate won by a decisive vote.

We will venture to suggest a few reasons. The first of these lies in the size of the electorate of Boston. Associated with this factor of the size of the electorate is the simple fact of human nature, which everyone must recognize, that the vast majority of men respond to motives of self interest far more quickly than to motives of the public good, or to any motive which is diffused and general and not of immediate personal application. The result is that the forces which have demoralized the popular government of our cities, and which after all are only the forces of self interest which hope to profit in various ways through political control, are mobilized far more quickly in political campaigns than the forces which stand for the public service. In smaller communities this handicap is not so serious to the forces of good government. Though the time between nominations and elections may not be long, there is frequently time enough to create an effective organization for the better candidates. Furthermore, the civic interest of the citizen is greater in the smaller community because he feels that his share in the result is larger. In the smaller community he is usually a property owner, while too frequently in the city he lives in a flat and moves from year to year. As a result independent candidates may, and frequently do, make winning campaigns in our smaller municipalities. But in cities of the size of Boston, with an electorate of 125,000 voters, or of Chicago, with an electorate of several times that number, this public inertia is a real handicap, as the experience of Boston seems to prove.

How then can this difficulty of overcoming the public inertia be met? Obviously by not waiting till the last moment and until nominations have been made, in organizing your forces for battle. In practical experience this means by having your organization in existence long prior to nominations and elections. On account of the frequency of our elections this, in effect, means that the organization for mobilizing your electorate in political campaigns must be a permanent one. It must have ward leaders and precinct leaders. It must ramify to every part of the community, if it is to be an effective fighting force. But just as soon as you have created this kind of a machine, you have created a political party, and it makes no difference whether you call it Republican, Democratic, Socialist, citizens' union, or fusion, or non-partisan party. The forces of self interest which have corrupted our politics know this. They know the need of combination and organization in winning victories and they get together very quickly, wherever self interest dictates. Unless the good citizens will do likewise, they cannot expect to win.

Perhaps it will be said that it is not the existence of parties that constitutes the evil; but the intrusion of national party prejudices into local elections, and that what we ought to have is local municipal parties. Perhaps this is the answer. Perhaps we should have municipal parties in our municipal elections. But if this be so, we should be logical and should go through with our reform to the end. We should recognize that the citizen of Chicago is an elector in five distinct popular governments overlapping each other. He is a citizen and elector in the popular government of Chicago. He is a citizen and elector in the popular government of Cook county. He is a citizen and elector in the popular government of the sanitary district of Chicago. He is a citizen and elector in the popular government of the state of Illinois, and he is a citizen and elector in his national government. If the intrusion of national parties is an unmitigated evil in the business of the city of Chicago, it is equally so in the business of Cook county, in the business of the sanitary district, and in the business of the state of Illinois. What has the tariff or the currency question to do with any of them? If the non-partisan ballot will bring us a better city government, why should we not have it in Cook county elections, and indeed, in every one of these elective governments in which we are voters. If, however, it fails in big cities for the reasons we have suggested; and if, as a consequence, we must conclude that the difficulty of mobilizing your electorate without organization necessitates parties, but that these parties should be separate and distinct from national parties, then with some force it may be said that they should be distinct from each other, in every one of these several popular governments in which we are voters; that city parties should be distinct from state parties, and county parties and sanitary district parties. If the intrusion of the political questions of one of these popular governments into the elections affecting the others is an evil to be met only by separate political organizations in each, then our good citizen must be burdened with a multiplicity of political organization which he simply will not and cannot carry. As a matter of experience he finds his friends and those who think with him, interested in practically the same party in all elections, and thinks that one political machine is enough for all. He may be wrong. Theoretically he is wrong. It may be he ought to maintain separate and distinct political parties for each of the several popular governments in which he votes. But what he ought to do and what he will do are two different things. In experience it is safe to say your good citizen will refuse to carry the burden of five distinct political parties in Chicago.

Perhaps some one will cite the experience of New York in electing John Purroy Mitchel, a Democrat, mayor over Judge McCall, Democrat and Tammany candidate, as an instance of a successful non-partisan campaign in a large city. In one sense it was. The voters of New York who are overwhelmingly Democratic in national politics, disregarded party designations in the result. It ought to be remembered, however, that it was not a non-partisan campaign in the sense of abolishing the party ballot or disregarding the use of party organization. Mr. Mitchel was elected by a fusion of existing party organizations. He was in fact nominated by the Republicans, the Progressives and the citizens' union party of New York, and his name and the names of the other fusion candidates appeared in the separate columns of each one of these parties on the ballot, and their party organizations were used to the limit in bringing the voters to the polls. Even at that he could not have been elected, except for the political folly of the Tammany organization and its leaders in impeaching Governor Sulzer. This instance forms no precedent for the non-partisan elections which disregard the need of organization to achieve results.

I have tried to suggest that the problem of mobilizing the electorate for something more than the experience of good purposes and defeated efforts, means organization and organization means parties. I have tried to suggest, too, that if national parties are a bane in other than national elections, the difficulty is more or less inherent in the situation. One thing, however, is obvious. We have complicated the situation by too many elective governments. We ought to abolish the sanitary district altogether, and absorb its powers and obligations in the city and state governments. We may well question, too, whether at the proper time the city of Chicago, and county of Cook ought not to be consolidated into one local government. This would help to simplify the situation. There would then be left three popular governments in which our good citizen would be a voter. Would he then be willing to maintain three separate and distinct political organizations. I doubt it. The line of least resistance is the usual line of human action. The line of least resistance would still be the line of single, rather than multiple political organization.

If this be true, is there no road to better government? We know no special way but better citizenship. After all, the word "non-partisanship" expresses in negative form what should be a positive virtue—patriotic service—whether in citizen or public servant. This service cannot get far by going it alone. In my humble judgment, too, it handicaps itself in multiplying organization. If the good citizens instead of being periodic patriots and denouncing the bosses, will, in sufficient number take the organizations that exist and stick by the job, they can mould them to proper use in every one of the elective governments in which we live. This does not mean a blind following of organization. Every man reserves to himself the right to revolt when his party goes wrong. Indeed, revolt then becomes a public duty. It does mean that good government cannot be secured by simply wishing for it, but can be secured only by working for it. Working for it means permanent party organization where the number of the electorate is large.

THE BOSTON CHARTER

BY ROBERT J. BOTTOMLY,

Boston, Mass.

THE present Boston city charter was passed by the legislature in 1909. Its political features were accepted by the people at the state election in the same year and it went into effect as a whole on February 1, 1910. It was adopted in practically the same form in which it was recommended by the original finance commission, composed of five Boston citizens who had studied the Boston municipal situation for the preceding eighteen months.

The Boston charter is an extreme form of centralization of executive and administrative authority in the hands of a mayor elected for four years. The council is composed of nine members elected at large, three each year for a term of three years, and their authority is practically confined to the passage of appropriations, loans and ordinances. The mayor has an absolute veto of all orders of the council. The charter created a permanent finance commission of five members appointed by the governor. It is the eyes and ears of the citizens to inform them as to what is going on in the various departments of their city government.

The state civil service commission is required to pass upon all appointments by the mayor to positions of heads of departments. All party designations were abolished from the municipal ballot and the nominations for both mayor and city council were to be made by petition signed by 5,000 registered voters of the city. This requirement was reduced by the legislature of 1914 to 3,000 signatures for mayor and 2,000 signatures for the council. By the act of 1909 the date of the city election was changed from December to January, but it was changed back again to December in 1914.

It can be said without hesitation that this charter constitutes an enormous improvement over the antiquated form of city government under which Boston was previously operating. While, of course, improvements are bound to come in the future, no practical suggestions have yet been made which the people of Boston would care to substitute for it at the present time.

The small council of nine members elected at large, without party designations, which was one of the features which the practical politicians said would have no chance of success, has proved to be one of the most satisfactory provisions of the charter. The political features of the charter were adopted on a referendum in alternative form in 1909 by a majority of about 4,000, the vote being approximately 39,000 to 35,000.

Every year from 1910 to 1914 the small council was attacked in the legislature by the old ward bosses, and finally in 1914 they secured the passage of an act which referred to the people the question of substituting a larger council elected by districts for the small council elected at large. The best proof that the small council had made good with Boston is that the act providing for a council by districts was rejected by a majority of 21,000, the vote being approximately 26,000 Yes to 47,000 No.

In calibre the membership of the council has been steadily increasing. Under the old system with 75 members in the common council and 13 in the board of aldermen, the council was always dominated by those who made politics their business, or their hangers-on. The new council has always been dominated by men who were personally honest and who, in different degrees, looked upon membership in the city council as an opportunity for public service. There has never been a council under the new charter, a majority of the membership of which was not recommended by the good government association at the time of their election. The association has been able to insist upon a constantly rising standard of qualifications in candidates in order to secure its recommendation. In the old days, if no charges were preferred against a candidate and if, in addition, he happened to be a good husband and father, many people at once assumed that he was thoroughly qualified to decide how the people's money should be spent. Now it has come to be assumed, both by the committees of the association and by the people of Boston generally, that personal honesty is a *sine qua non* for membership and that the real question is to decide which candidates have shown the more ability and experience to entitle them to a place on this small board, which has charge of spending so many millions of the people's money every year. The small council elected at large has undoubtedly proven to be a success.

The permanent finance commission, a body of five citizens of Boston appointed by the governor, the members of which, with the exception of the chairman, serve without pay, has performed a very useful function. Each year it issues a considerable body of reports upon different departments and activities of the city government. Their criticisms have resulted in a great number of improvements, as well as serving to focus public opinion upon other evils which need to be improved. In the last two or three years, however, its work has been hampered by the fact that at least one of its membership was heartily out of sympathy with its purpose. While this member resigned something over two years ago and a great improvement in the work of the commission would have resulted if his resignation had been promptly accepted, no action upon his resignation has been taken, either by the well-intentioned procrastination of our present governor, or "the mild and amiable inefficiency" of his predecessor.

The mayor must send to the state civil service commission all appointments to positions of heads of departments and unless the commission certifies within thirty days that the appointee is a recognized expert or qualified by education, training or experience for the position to which he is appointed, the appointment becomes void. This provision was framed for the purpose of freeing either a good or a bad mayor from those political influences which tend to drag his appointments below the level of efficiency, while leaving him entire freedom above that level. In the administration of the first mayor elected under the new charter 25 appointments were not approved by the civil service commission. The finance commission stated that 23 of these 25 rejected appointments were made for political reasons. This action served to focus, not only in the minds of the office seekers, but also in the minds of the community, that some other qualification than political activity was necessary in order to secure a position as a head of a department. Under the second and present mayor no appointments have been rejected by the civil service commission[1] although some two or three have been withdrawn. In the opinion of most observers this failure to reject certain appointments has not been due so much to the exceptional qualifications of the appointees as to the lowering of the calibre of the civil service commission. It is to be hoped and expected that the present governor will sooner or later grapple with the problem of restoring a reasonable amount of ability and courage to the membership of the commission. In spite of the present situation, however, this provision has served to foster in the minds of the people of Boston a more definite idea of the standard of public service required for the administration of the head of an important department. It has had an important effect upon public opinion in the city and has thus proven of real value.

With regard to the powers of the finance and civil service commissions, the average charter student at once says that they violate the principle of home rule and therefore in the long run must prove unwise. If he means that he believes that municipal Boston should be governed solely by the people who reside within its municipal limits, it is quite true that the principle of home rule is violated. Metropolitan commissions appointed by the governor have charge of water, sewers and parks for the entire community. The police of Boston have been run by a commissioner appointed by the governor since 1885 and with very satisfactory results. The attempt to establish a minimum level of efficiency for the heads of the important Boston departments and the preparation and publication of information as to how Boston's city government is conducted, are both functions in which many people who do not reside in Boston have a vital interest and in which they may be allowed and expected to co-operate through the governor whom they help to choose.

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[1] Since this article was written, one appointment of the present mayor has been rejected by the civil service commission.

Boston is peculiar among American cities in that its immediate suburbs are vastly more populous than the municipality itself. Very likely not more than one in three of the people whom you meet in different parts of the country, who call themselves Bostonians and who have their offices in Boston, have any direct share in Boston's government. Newton, Brookline, Cambridge, Somerville, in all some 32 towns and cities immediately contiguous to municipal Boston, all of which constitute part of the great urban community at the head of Massachusetts bay, have clung so firmly to the traditions which have clustered about their local names in past generations that they have been unwilling to become part of a greater city. The vast majority of their citizens, however, have their offices in the city and they use the city for many of the important functions of municipal life. The offices, the stores, the warehouses, the docks, the hotels and the theaters which are used by the entire community, are all within the limits of municipal Boston and it is a matter of vital importance to the nine hundred odd thousand people in the immediate suburbs that the 750,000 people within the municipal limits should not be allowed to fall into a condition of misgovernment, which would set back the welfare of the entire community. Until a greater city can be brought about, it is perhaps necessary in Boston that the suburbanites should be allowed, through the state government, to take some part in Boston's municipal government.

The fact that the great majority of the moderately prosperous middle class do not vote in municipal Boston has constituted one of the serious troubles in the two non-partisan mayoralty elections which have been held under the present charter. In both mayoralty elections the candidate of the so-called "gang" element in Boston politics has been successful, although the fight has been infinitely closer than it could possibly have been if national party designations had been retained.

The first reason for that result has already been noted and the second reason, and the vital one from the point of the actual city, is that the people of Boston have not yet developed a proper standard or conception of the type of man that they wish for mayor. Every important municipal election in Boston turns on the fact that the gang element in politics has so far been able to secure the practically solid support of the city employes. When it is remembered that the municipal government is obliged to perform a great deal of service for a vast number of people who have no voting share in its makeup, it will be realized that the city employes in Boston constitute a disproportionately large share of the voting population. This year there are approximately 117,000 people on the voting list. Last April there were 14,943 people on the city payroll. It will thus be seen that the city employes, with their relatives and friends, constitute a solid block which is practically large enough to swing the mayoralty election. The city employes of course desire that their wages and working conditions should be improved as rapidly as possible. It is sad but true that many of them believe that this improvement can only be obtained as a reward for political activity rather than as result of well-rendered service to the city.

It is the constant effort of the good government association to make the city employes realize that better conditions and better wages may be hoped for in the long run by the elimination of the enormous extravagance and waste which the administrative inefficiency of the present type of chief executive brings about, rather than by pandering to gang leaders in return for the crumbs which they may let fall from their table. As this change comes in Boston, we will have constant improvement in our municipal government, whatever form of charter may be in existence at any given moment.

THE NON-PARTISAN BALLOT IN PITTSBURGH

BY A. LEO WEIL

Pittsburgh, Pa.

LAST evening Professor Beard and Commissioner Murphy, respectively, gave us the Genesis of political parties and the Exodus of the citizens' union of New York. Professor Beard, from his study of the motives which underlie the creation of political parties, concluded that non-partisan ballots at municipal elections would not be practical, while Commissioner Murphy, from his experience with the citizens' union of New York, came to the same conclusion.

It seems hardly fair from a single organization in the city of New York, where in reality there was no trial of a non-partisan ballot, to draw such a sweeping conclusion. If I understand the situation in New York aright, the people, aroused over conditions theretofore existing, formed the citizens' union for the purpose of taking part in the elections, and were successful in the first election and unsuccessful in the next. They then abandoned the union. Is that an experiment in the operation of a non-partisan ballot? As well say that the day-after feeling of the members of our owl club was an experiment in prohibition.

As to Professor Beard's position, all of us have some knowledge of the rank and file who follow the national political parties. Without questioning the accuracy of the underlying causes given by Professor Beard for the original creation of political parties—there are few who have had experience with the followers of the national political parties to-day, who believe that any appreciable number of such followers are consciously moved by the reasons for originally creating such parties. They follow the party because of environment, of tradition, of habit, or for selfish reasons, political, financial, or social.

I think this may be illustrated by the story, which it is said Ex-President Roosevelt told of himself. He says when he was conducting his campaign for president on the Bull Moose ticket, he was delivering a speech in a Western town when some one in a front seat interrupted him from time to time, and so annoyed him that he finally said to his interlocutor: "You must be a Democrat." "Yes, I am," said the man. "Well," said Mr. Roosevelt, "why are you a Democrat?" The man replied: "My father was a Democrat, my grandfather was a Democrat, my great-grandfather was a Democrat, and I guess that is why I am a Democrat." "Suppose," said Mr. Roosevelt, "your father was a donkey, and your grandfather was a donkey, and your great-grandfather was a donkey, what would you be?" "Oh," replied the man, "I don't know; I guess I would be a Bull-Mooser."

Now, I think you will agree with me that a great many of the followers of our national political parties are followers of such parties simply because their ancestors were followers of such party, but few indeed are moved by the motives which have been ascribed by Professor Beard to the original creation of such parties.

However, opposed to the argument of Professor Beard and of Commissioner Murphy, we have the experience of Canadian cities, of the German cities, and in this country of a number of cities,—with one of which I am somewhat familiar—the city of Pittsburgh. We have a non-partisan ballot in that city, about which I have been asked to tell you, and the only reason I can conceive why the program committee has placed me on this program.

When Lincoln Steffens wrote his "Shame of the Cities" and described the government of the various municipalities of this union, he said Pittsburgh was not controlled by the bosses, but the boss was the city, and that was a correct statement of the situation at that time. Absolutely uncontrolled, they did what they liked. That was but a few years ago. What is the condition to-day? We have an administration elected upon a non-partisan ballot—a non-partisan ballot framed under an act, in which the election of municipal officers cannot take place even the same year with the election of either state or national officials. It must be a separate and distinct election, the ballots having no party designation. It has been on trial a few years. The result has been that the candidates for the respective offices are not such because they are Republicans or Democrats. The greatest contests so far have been between those of the same political faith, even between candidates who had been prominent in the same party for many years. Each was supported by his particular friends, or by factions or by organizations of various character, but none of them by the national political party. The administration of the city of Pittsburgh, for several years, ever since that system was adopted,—notwithstanding its former reputation as boss-ridden; notwithstanding the one-time existence of almost indescribable conditions as shown by the graft disclosures that shocked the country a few years ago,—as I say, since the introduction of this system now after several years' trial, there is not even a suspicion on the part of the people of Pittsburgh that we have not an honest administration.

The men who have been elected for the respective positions are, as a rule, far superior in every way to those who prior to that time occupied those same offices. This is particularly true of the city council composed of nine men.

We believe that this has been accomplished in large measure and continued in large part through the non-partisan ballot. We have found in the actual operation of the city of Pittsburgh—and the same is true of other cities in the state of Pennsylvania, so far as my observation goes—

that the non-partisan ballot has worked out in actual experience exactly as we had expected, with but one exception, and that is, that those elected to office after they have obtained their office, are still disposed to play politics. In other words, in many cases they seek other political offices. They are personally honest in their action, being free from graft, but some are actuated by the desire for political preferment, and they do play politics in office. I believe those who live in the city of Pittsburgh will agree with me that with that exception our council has exercised its best judgment upon all public matters, and that we have an exceptionally good council.

That we have not a perfect government; that our city is far from the ideal in its administration, we of course admit. I think that a large part of our criticism of municipal officials arises from the fact that we fail to recognize the change that has taken place in municipal government. We do not appreciate what is required of the city administration of to-day, to wit: a foresight, a wisdom, a preparation, equal—if I may use an exaggerated comparison—to that possessed by the officers of the National Municipal League; and I venture to suggest, that if the councilmen of Pittsburgh, or of any other city, were selected by the National Municipal League from its own officers and ablest members, there would be a great difference of opinion on the part of the people of that city as to the wisdom of much of their action in office. We have to contend to-day in our municipalities with problems that at one time were not considered in connection with a city administration.

I have in my hand, one of the responses that was required yesterday at the meeting of the civic secretaries, in which one civic secretary was asked to tell "What is the relative importance of such movements as charter reform, recreation facilities, single tax reform, housing betterments, city planning, prevention of unemployment, social insurance, and municipal and governmental insurance." Those are only a small number of the questions that must arise in and be determined by every city administration of the present time.

There was a period in the history of our municipal governments, many years ago, when, representing as they did only the sovereignty of the state, and exercising by proxy, as it were, only state powers, such as preserving order, etc., our city administration did not require a high order of ability on the part of city officials. Their activities were few and their duties were easy of performance. To-day, however, the administration of the modern city involves the exercise of functions once undreamed of. They have come to represent the progressive social obligations of modern society. The city administration of our period involves the consideration of transportation, lighting, heating, the supply of water, and all of the public utilities. To this must be added the preservation of the health, with its municipal hospitals, and all the machinery of modern times for the prevention of disease. Another department, becoming more and more important, is the protection and up-building of the morals of the people, young and old, regulating to this end the playhouses and plays, the social evil, the liquor traffic, etc. Then, too, a city administration, alive to its obligations, looks to the amusement of its people, and provides parks, playgrounds for young and old, bathing facilities, and the like.

Also equally as important, as bearing upon the health, morals and amusement, is the unemployment and housing problems, with all the tremendous possibilities therein implied.

This is not intended to be an inventory, but only a suggestion of some of the activities of the cities of to-day.

Compare, therefore, the necessary qualifications of a mayor or a councilman of a city of 50 to 100 years ago, with those required of like officers now, and we will at once appreciate that the type then sufficient is now wholly insufficient.

While we are improving our city administration, let us bear in mind that those who are placed in office have before them a work that is stupendous—work that calls for the greatest effort of the greatest minds. Do not let us get too impatient with the progress we are making. Even the most confirmed pessimist, so confirmed in fact that he Fletcherizes his quinine pills, if he will look backward instead of forward, if he will compare conditions to-day with what they were years ago, and then look forward and conjure up a like degree of progress in the years to come, ought to become an optimist. I have confidence that the future of our municipalities will redound to the credit of our American institutions. I want to register my protest here and now against any movement which in my judgment will take away from us the one best leverage to this consummation, namely: the non-partisan ballot in municipal elections.

DISCUSSION

BY ROBERT S. BINKERD

New York City

MY FRIENDSHIP for Professor Beard is such that I do not have to appear unduly respectful; and so I warn you against him. He is the *enfant terrible* of American political history and theory. I not only allege this, but can prove it; for did not he admit, only a few minutes ago, that Aristotle had written a better book on politics than he had!

The cause of my irritation is that Professor Beard is too satisfied; that he overrates certain elements, and underrates others, and thereby reaches a substantially false conclusion.

So I think it would be helpful if we were to realize the fundamental nature of the municipal struggle in which we have been engaged for the last thirty or forty years. It has been a fight for the liberation of the mind of the American voter. You ask, liberation from what? I reply, liberation from slavish, cattle-like following of partisan leadership, which enabled our national political parties to make our cities, with their contracts, and their treasuries, and their administrative machinery, the great feeding troughs of their organized political appetite. Just so far as we have been able, in any city, to increase the proportion of the independent electorate, just so far have we been able to better conditions and to redeem our parties by compelling them to compete in some degree of public service.

I have no quarrel with Professor Beard's statement that economic and social causes have much to do with the lines of national party cleavage. In all human affairs, sub-conscious inclination or prejudice are much more important factors than are generally realized. Mankind arrives at various decisions and then seeks to justify them by catchwords and argument.

But while I thank Professor Beard for continuing to insist upon this too little appreciated truth, I can see no reason why we should be satisfied with artificial electoral conditions, which give to these inclinations and prejudices a greater force than they intrinsically possess. I am convinced that the election of city officials upon national party tickets does just exactly this thing. It follows, that to provide a proper non-partisan municipal election system will reduce the lines of national party affiliation to their irreducible minimum in city elections.

This conclusion is logical in theory and demonstrated by fact. We know that partisan considerations had their greatest effect, and that our cities were most scandalously betrayed, during the period when municipal offices were filled at the same elections in which state and national officers were elected. We know that the holding of municipal elections at a different time of the year from other elections, or in the off-years between other elections, has automatically acted to increase the consideration given to municipal candidates and affairs, and to decrease the weight of national party considerations among the voters.

We know, moreover, that the abolition of the party column ballot has the same effect. We know that the office group ballot, on which the voter is obliged to vote specifically for a candidate for each public office, increases the amount of free and independent judgment exercised by the electorate.

I freely admit that for many years to come national political parties will continue to be important factors in our municipal elections. I freely admit that many voters will continue to vote for candidates because they are members of national political parties. But I maintain, nevertheless, that separate municipal elections, and the office group ballot have demonstrated that the weight of partisan considerations in the electorate is dependent, to a strikingly large extent, upon the character of our electoral arrangements. I submit, therefore, that it is a further and logical step in the progress we have already made to provide a non-partisan election machinery for municipal officials. The experience of the last thirty years warrants us in believing that this will ultimately reduce national party considerations to their irreducible minimum in city elections.

DISCUSSION

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Harvard University

THE chairman's gracious invitation for those who wish to be heard is an opportunity which I do not wish to let pass. This evening we were talking about the early history of the League and recalling the first meeting of this association at Philadelphia—a time when things looked rather desperate—and the fact that so many people unexpectedly attended. As a matter of fact, the discussion of grievances was the motive for many of the early members of the National Municipal League. They felt that there was such an intolerable condition in so many cities that they were anxious that there should be some kind of an organization to confront those evils.

It is interesting to see how the point of view of the National Municipal League has changed as the years have gone by—not because the abominations of city government have ceased. The abuses in many cases were temporary; but sometimes they disappeared and then reappeared again. The aim and business of thinking men interested in the affairs of their communities has been to build something that would stand, and that is why the activities of the League at this time and its publications appeal so strongly for support. I take it upon myself to say, after an experience with many organizations, that there seems no national society of this general type which has contributed so much to the actual upbuilding of the subject in which it is concerned. There is no society whose reports, whose discussions, whose personal work, has gone so far in actually affecting the text of charters and acts of the legislature. Notwithstanding, it would appear that the millennium has not even yet arrived; that there will still be an opportunity both for the criticism of abuses and for the suggestion of mitigation or prevention of abuses.

The real difficulty is one which has barely been touched upon here. I am not altogether in sympathy with all the speakers, though substantially at bottom I think they agree with each other. What! Three or four gentlemen agree in the National Municipal League? Forbid it, Heaven! I might illustrate by a remark made by one of the characters in Les Miserables somewhere, in which the speaker is discussing the creation. "God made the rat, then he said, 'Go to! I have made a mistake. That will not do.' And he created the cat." God saw the tenement houses in New York city, and he said, "Go to! I have made a mistake. That will not do." And he created Commissioner Murphy.

If there is too much national and state party spirit in municipal relations, it is because those most concerned prefer that way at present. I am a great believer in the doctrine that whatever is, is right. That is to say, that nothing exists in any form in municipal government that is accidental. Nothing exists because a few men here and there desire it. There is no abuse in municipal government which does not seem to some persons a simple method of increasing their income. We respectfully believe, meeting from year to year, that we are fixing the moral standards of the nation. Now, in New York city it is perfectly clear from the local elections during the past ten years, that a considerable part of the population, frequently a majority, in its own mind prefers what we think to be corrupt government. We define it as corrupt. You know the Tammany definition of the true type of man: "The man who is willing to go to hell for his friends." That is not so far from Jonathan Edward's doctrine, who served in the neighboring hamlet of Northampton. The best thing in society is the adhesion of individuals to individuals. You are my friend; I like you; and I will back you up. Even if you do things that I don't like, I will like them because I like you.

We leave out of account the force of personality in our governments of every type. One of the main reasons for the limited interest in municipal government as compared with national government,—which is also the main reason for the predominance of national parties in cities—

is that there is so little opportunity for a personal tradition to form in municipal affairs. Not every person has had the advantages of our chairman or Mr. Murphy in and under municipal service. You can be mayor once or twice or even three times, but you can't imagine a life mayor. A municipal public man goes on flowery beds of ease for two or five or ten years; but there will come a time when the people will be tired of seeing the same man at the head of the government; and until you can obviate that difficulty you can't get permanent reform in American municipal life.

It is much easier to interest men in individuals than in movements. The solution of the difficulties of democracy—the only solution—is to develop personality and group men more and more about commanding figures. That is the secret of the great success of the English parliamentary system of government. It is a system in which a few persons are looked up to as the examples of their party. They vote for one group because they are interested not only in the principles it represents, but because of the manner in which those principles will be represented.

We have had many men of commanding figure in the United States. During the Civil War a host of such men of character and strength were brought out; and there have been many since that time in this country. On the other hand we have too many small men. I come from a city which in the middle ages of American municipal reform was a model to the country. I lived in the midst of the Cambridge Idea. A non-partisan government was formed which consisted in organizing all the Republicans, plus a small part of the Democrats. Election after election we elected non-partisan mayors on that basis; but the truth is—I can see another Cambridge man here, and I think Mayor Rockhill will bear me out—that the result was at last weak mayors, a succession of men who ought never to have been elected.

After a time there appeared a bookbinder who knew how to defeat non-partisanship, and in the last ten years we have had party and partisan mayors till in 1915 we chose a man by something resembling fusion. In the long run the people of Cambridge are more interested in national affairs than in local issues. If I were not a professor I would say that one of the great election evils is the presence of a considerable body of very undesirable citizens, namely: the two hundred members of the Faculty who live in Cambridge. I assure you they pay their debts promptly and attend church frequently—especially those churches where there are no collections on the Sabbath Day; but as citizens they are absolute failures. You can't interest them in the welfare of the city in which they live. There isn't anything to stimulate their imagination. What is the remedy? I see none on the face of things.

I am greatly interested in what Professor Hatton has said about the development in Cleveland. I suppose that at bottom the main reason for that state of things is Tom Johnson. Results have been achieved there because of his strong personality, his ability to convince the majority of his fellow citizens, and the discovery that a campaign could be waged on the issue in which he was strongly interested. This feature seems to me to be one of the dominant influences in politics. The strong adhesion to national parties exists because there are reasons for it which are satisfactory year after year to most of the voters. If you want to go to the legislature in most of the states you must have served as a city official in some capacity. If you want to go to Congress, you must have served a term or two in the legislature. If you cut loose from your party you are out of the running for the great prizes, because there are no leading permanent places in the municipalities. The directing minds change so rapidly that nobody can expect to achieve permanent distinction even in his own district.

When Alexander, Prince of Battenberg waited upon Bismarck and asked him if he should accept the proposed headship of Bulgaria, Bismarck replied: "Accept by all means. It will always be something to remember to have been Prince of Bulgaria."—So, it will always be something to remember, to have been mayor of a great city.

COMMISSION MANAGER GOVERNMENT IN SAN JOSÉ, CAL.

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT C. BROOKS
Swarthmore College

THERE is no more beautiful or fruitful valley in the world than the Santa Clara in California, and San José is its principal city. The prosperity of the valley is reflected in the growth of the city, which increased in population from 21,500 in 1900 to 28,946 in 1910. At present it claims, not without large apparent justification, some 40,000 people.

In addition to the superb natural advantages for which it has long been famous, San José recently drew attention to itself by becoming the first city in the state of California to adopt the orthodox commission manager plan.[1] Its former government was also "orthodox" enough according to the old style, that is with powers and responsibility bewilderingly diffused among various boards, commissions and single officers. The new charter which went into effect July 1, 1916, provides for a council of seven members, all of whom are ultimately to be elected at large for terms of six years. A city auditor and police judge are also chosen by popular vote for terms of four years each. The council selects the city manager and the following other appointive officers: a city clerk, a civil service commission, and a city planning commission. All other appointive officers are appointed and removed by the city manager. The charter also provides for the initiative and referendum, and for the recall of elective officers, the latter action requiring as its first step a petition signed by 25 per cent of the total number voting at the general municipal election next preceding.

As city manager under the new charter, Thomas H. Reed of Berkeley was chosen. At the time of his appointment, Mr. Reed was associate professor in the department of political science at the University of California, and since his graduation from Harvard had won for himself wide recognition as an authority upon municipal government. For a time he served as executive secretary to Governor Hiram W. Johnson. Mr. Reed had been of material assistance to the board of fifteen freeholders who drafted the new charter for San José. He entered upon his office, therefore, well trained in both scientific and practical politics, and thoroughly familiar with the terms of the new instrument.

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[1] "City Manager Plan," by Joseph H. Quire, Bulletin University Extension Division, University of California, vol. i, no. 18. June, 1916.

It is, of course, too early to express a definitive opinion on the workings of the new charter. There lies before the present writer, however, a brief "Report of Progress, July 1 to November 30, 1916," prepared at the end of the old fiscal year by city manager Reed. It is one of the most interesting municipal documents recently issued by any American city, first because of the considerable number of problems which it reports as already solved, and second, because of the new problems indicated for future solution.

Limitations of space forbid more than the briefest mention of the more important items in this record of achievement. The new city manager lost no time in announcing that his office was to be regarded as a bureau of complaints open at all times to all citizens. Purchases were centralized and a system installed whereby it became possible to tell at any moment the exact condition of any city fund. A functional segregated budget was drawn up. As a result some noteworthy savings in purchases were made possible.

An official of one of the leading banks of the city was appointed city treasurer to serve without salary. The funds of the municipality were thereupon transferred from an old ramshackle vault in city hall where they were a constant source of anxiety, to the vaults of the bank which agreed to pay interest at the rate of 2.52 per cent on average daily balances. As a result of this one transaction a saving of $1,560 on salaries was effected, to which may be added approximately $3,000 a year new income from interest, making a total gain of $4,560 annually.

Prior to the first primary occurring under the new régime, the personnel of the city administration was withdrawn from the field of local politics by a "non-participation-in-politics" order issued by the city manager's office. Some compliance on the part of public service corporations with their paving obligations was secured. An ordinance was prepared providing for the co-ordination of the numerous charitable activities of the city, and establishing an effective check upon the solicitation of funds for unworthy objects or for organizations with wasteful methods. An appropriation was made by the council for the codification of the ordinances of the city. Recent appointments to the board of education, the civil service commission, and the board of health have been followed by most gratifying new activities in all three of these fields. A separate and distinct department of electricity was created.

Largely because of the interest taken in the new form of government, San José has been able to secure without payment much valuable technical advice and assistance. Most of this service was rendered by experts from Stanford University and the University of California. One novel contribution of this sort was made by Professor Terman of the department of education of the former institution who employed the Binet and other intelligence tests in a civil service examination for the police and fire departments.

In Alum Rock park, San José possesses one of the most remarkable scenic reservations adjacent to any American city. It is located in a wild and beautiful cañon seven miles out, but is readily accessible by trolley and excellent roads. All the equipment in this park has been improved, special attention being given to the safety of bathers in the splendid plunge which the city owns. Rentals on concessions were increased about 40 per cent, representing an addition of about four hundred dollars a year to the city's revenue.

Considering the extreme salubrity of San José's location and climate, it comes with something of a shock to learn that its death rate has been "as high as the average for the whole registration area of the United States, which includes good and bad communities alike." The new administration, and particularly the new health officers, recognize in this condition one of the gravest problems confronting the city. Already they have to their credit the prevention of two threatening outbreaks of diphtheria. A new laboratory has been fitted up for the work of the health department. Other of its achievements are increased success in securing abatement of nuisances, the institution of a system of standard dairy score cards, and the inspection of tenement and lodging houses. The council has adopted a revised meat inspection ordinance.

For the police department provision has been made in the budget for the purchase of new Bertillon equipment, also for a finger print file. The Boston property file is also being introduced. A police school of instruction is to be started. An adequate supply of ammunition for revolver practice has been provided for in the new budget.

California cities do not grow many stories high up into the air. On the other hand, they do spread in leisurely fashion over ample areas. To enable patrolmen to cover the great beats assigned them in San José, three Fords have been purchased and six new flashlights installed.

With the fire department out of politics the loss from conflagrations has been materially reduced. Ten full-time men were added to the service and other reforms made by which it is hoped that the city may be able to secure from the underwriters' association the lowest key rate for insurance.

A new city engineer has been chosen to direct the important department of public works. Large problems have been marked out for solution in this field, including the control of Coyote creek, sewage disposal, paving, and street cleaning.

In spite of this stirring record of five months' work,—perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say because of it,—some opposition has developed recently to city manager Reed. It appears to be engineered by a small clique of old line officeholders who were dismissed after their inability to measure up to the new requirements had become manifest. Quite naturally this opposition takes the form of an appeal to a perverted local patriotism, a sort of municipal know-nothingism. A small number of appointments of men not at the time living within the immediate limits of the city furnished occasion for the cry: "San José for San Joseans." City manager Reed's reply would seem to establish clearly the pettiness of this attack. "Out of seven heads of departments selected by the manager," he writes, "but one is not a San José man. The only other outsider is the manager's personal assistant. . . . Out of 208 permanent positions in the classified service there are only three filled by technical non-residents. Even these are not genuine outsiders, for it is hardly to be said that persons living in the country adjacent to San José, who have been educated in our schools and employed by our citizens, are outsiders."

Another ground of attack is the rather vague insinuation of corporate influence over the new administration. The absurdity of this charge is evident to all who will take the trouble to study the record of the new city manager. The alleged impracticability of college professors is also being worked overtime, although in the present instance it is quite clear that the extreme practicality of Mr. Reed is alone responsible for the attacks upon him.

No doubt San José did make something of an innovation in choosing its new executive from the academic career. Hitherto men trained in engineering have been preferred generally for such positions. In smaller cities where the revenue is not sufficient to justify good salaries both for a manager and a city engineer no doubt this course is justified. In cities with larger revenues it is doubtful whether men of engineering training largely should be chosen as city managers. Engineering talent can always be secured, but broadminded executive ability is a much rarer quality needing cultivation in a somewhat more liberal environment. Walter Lippmann is undoubtedly right in maintaining that the statesman,—and this is as true in the municipality as in the nation,—"need not be a specialist himself, if only he is expert in choosing experts. It is better indeed that he should have a lay, and not a professional view. For the bogs of technical stupidity and empty formalism are always near and always dangerous."

The case of Progress *versus* Reaction is now up to San José. It cannot be summed up better than in the words of city manager Reed himself:

> We stand to-day in a spirit of deep humility before the solemn responsibilities of the future. The force of traditional habits of thought on government and politics must be overcome. The municipal machine must be speeded up to secure substantial public improvements without increase of expenditure before success is assured. There is no more necessary, no more noble piece of work for real men left in our country. Other cities are hopefully watching our efforts. If we fail we set back not only San José, but every other city struggling toward light. If we succeed, it will only be by a strong united effort of council, manager and people, moving together in harmony and confidence.

CITY MANAGER PROGRESS DURING 1916[1]

IN INTRODUCING the speakers the chairman of the meeting, President Lawson Purdy, of the National Municipal League said:

We are to allow three minutes to each speaker on the program, and one minute for myself. The city managers have been asked to tell us the most important accomplishment of each of their cities during the last year. The first city manager was inaugurated in this country eight years ago. There are now twenty-eight states in which there are city managers. There are seventy cities managed by city managers, and there are eighty-eight cities in which the city manager system has been adopted. We will hear first from Mr. Waite of Dayton.

Henry M. Waite

Due to the new state law most of the smaller cities of Ohio are living within their income. None of the larger cities is succeeding in doing this. All have outstanding promissory notes. Dayton had $125,000 of these notes, and it was issuing bonds for the operation of the city. The new government has stopped entirely the issuance of such bonds; has lived within its income; has paid off $50,000 net debt, and is carrying over a surplus from 1916 into this, and will carry $40,000 from this year into 1917.

Gaylord C. Cummin, Jackson, Michigan

The greatest accomplishment of Jackson during the past year has been an increase in governmental harmony. We have harmony between city departments, which was never known before. We have harmony between city employes in the departments, which was never known before. We are acting in concert with the county of Jackson, which was never done before. We are co-operating with the school board in matters of recreation. We are co-operating with all civic agencies, which was never done before. That is being done because the administration of the city of Jackson is not jealous of any good that can be done by any agency, as long as it is for the good of the city, and we don't care who gets the credit.

Kenneth B. Ward, Sandusky, Ohio

The most important accomplishment of Sandusky has been the installation and maintenance of a city manager plan. So far, it has resulted in an increase in more and better service, and a decrease in the cost.

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[1] Being the report of a joint meeting of the City Managers' Association and the National Municipal League, Springfield, Mass., Nov. 23, 1916.

C. A. Bingham, Norwood, Massachusetts

Whatever has been accomplished in Norwood has been accomplished by the constant co-operation of our citizens, and not so much a matter of work on the part of the manager, because he is simply a part in the proceedings.

I think our most important endeavor has been to improve and repair our streets, which were full of ruts and holes and in very bad shape. Today, instead of receiving complaints from automobile owners because of broken axles and springs, we have to arrest them for speeding. We have increased the efficiency of the various departments, especially in the purchasing department, where we combine all purchases, including the department of schools. We can trace a saving of $9,000 in purchases. We have our storeroom full of coal. We have increased the efficiency of all departments, especially the electric light plants, but I think that our main accomplishment has been to get the people to work together in better harmony, and especially between the different officials, as Mr. Cummin remarked.

R. L. Fitzgerald, Winnetka, Illinois

We have installed an accounting system that tells us at all times where we stand financially and what we are doing. It shows that we have reduced the floating debt from $9,000 to $4,000. When you take into consideration that the total revenue from all taxes is only $24,000, that is quite an item. We have also reduced the floating debt on the water works by $8,000, and the entire amount will be wiped out very shortly. We have reduced the debt on the municipal lighting plant and have made lower rates than all adjoining towns and put the electric light plant where it gives us a revenue of $30,000 over and above all expenses of depreciation and fixed charges, which can be used by other departments in municipal work.

Arthur M. Field, Winchester, Virginia

The city operates under and in accordance with a town charter, and has a mayor and council of twelve, elected by the people, and they elect most of the other officers. The council is a political body entirely elected by wards. The city manager, I think, was put in more for good luck than anything else. Nevertheless, we have got better service this year and have done more work and have reduced our operating expenses $6,000 in a total budget of $75,000. Next year we expect we will reduce them by at least $10,000.

Harrison Gray Otis, Beaufort, South Carolina

The elimination of the factor of politics from the city administration is the one big thing in our town this past year. We have organized our local government along the lines recommended in the model charter of the National Municipal League, and have turned a deficit into a surplus with considerable less revenue than the city has ever had heretofore, making an investment equal to 7 per cent on the manager's salary for the past year. We keep the citizens in constant touch with the government by constructive, continued publicity.

J. G. Barnwell, Rockhill, South Carolina

The most important accomplishment of our administration is that the floating debt has been reduced $7,000. Seven thousand dollars were made on the electric light plant, and 10 per cent deduction was made in water rates. All the departments are now working in unison. We have accomplished much and we contemplate further advances.

Chairman Purdy: The next and last speaker of the city managers is the new president of the City Managers' Association, Mr. Carr of Niagara Falls, New York.

O. E. Carr, Niagara Falls

The city manager plan of municipal administration went into effect in Niagara Falls on January 1, 1916. From the standpoint of the citizen I feel safe in saying that the greatest accomplishment during this year is a reduction of the tax rate of 97 cents per thousand dollars without an increase in the amount of valuation. This, without decreasing the efficiency of any department, but, on the contrary, extending the means of municipal work.

My own opinion, however, as to the greatest accomplishment in Niagara is not quite along those lines. Niagara Falls, like many of our cities, is divided very evenly into two political camps. In spite of that fact, however, there was no question asked of the city manager when he went there or previous to his appointment as to which of these two political parties he belonged. Furthermore, in the various departmental appointments in Niagara Falls, the administration was criticized more on account of not making appointments on non-partisan lines than for any other reason. That is the sort of criticism we desire. I will say further in this same connection that the administration of the fire and police departments has been and is now out of politics, both as to appointments and as to discipline of members of either of those departments. Not only that, but the members of the police department are now able and for the most part do exercise their duties without any regard to the political affiliations of the party whom they may have reason to suspect, or against whom complaint is made, irrespective of his standing in the community.

I want to say in this connection that our fines in Niagara, our police court fines for the year 1915, amounted to about $3,900. For the first ten months of 1916 our police court fines amounted to $7,800.

CHAIRMAN PURDY: I must call your attention once again before we adjourn to the fact that in sixteen minutes the city managers have told you more than we have probably ever heard before from a like number of cities of real accomplishment in those cities, and if that does not show a real efficiency under the city manager service I do not know anything else that would.

A PROGRAM OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC EFFORT[1]

BY H. S. GILBERTSON
New York City

WHAT I propose to do in these remarks is to point a way in which, I am confident, the body of men and women of whom this gathering is highly representative, could go very far in shaping the future of American political democracy. We do not now exercise any very effective leadership. Powerful democratic movements go on, in the same old way by an endless series of experiments and bad guesses, either without any guidance or under the guidance of men who are distinguished more for benevolent instincts than for their knowledge of the principles and measures which make for popular rule and efficient administration. In the face of this situation we have been blind to a big opportunity; we are lamentably equipped for our task. But we can remedy that condition by going to the bottom of things and facing our failures squarely.

As we look back upon the powerful popular movements of the past we know perfectly well that most of them were so ill-conceived and so ill-timed that they actually defeated their own purposes. In the early part of the last century there was a mad rush to get every public officer on the election ballot, because it was perfectly *obvious* that that was democracy. There was no analysis of community life, no distinction between politics and administration—just a wild, leaderless stampede after an attractive, superficial idea. The progress of democracy was set back; how many decades it would be impossible to say. And who can begin to estimate the cost of this great mistake in terms of graft and inefficiency and the general lowering of political morals that followed?

In our own time the direct primary movement has gone the same way—an idea probably right in principle, it swept the country like a prairie fire. And now it has proven a huge disappointment because it came into being out of its due order when it was out of keeping with the existing organization of our governments. Even some of the most active promoters of the direct primary are going to extremes in the other direction and are repudiating it. The initiative and referendum movement also suffered grievously for lack of standards, so that many of the constitutional provisions which put them into effect have proven practically worthless.

While these movements have been running their several courses, what has the competent leadership of the country been doing? In two or three special fields it has been demonstrating that carefully prepared standards are acceptable and will be sought after and adopted by the leaders of the people. The civil service reform organizations have been effective in establishing certain standards of official employment. The National Municipal League and the Short Ballot Organization have done something to standardize municipal characters. The bureaus of municipal research have done much to raise standards of administrative procedure and organization. In these and a few other limited fields men of special training have come into their own as constructive leaders.

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[1] An address delivered at the annual meeting of the League, Nov. 24, 1916.

But so far from attempting to direct the main course of democratic development, the type of men to whom the leadership should be committed have been principally spectators.

But I do not wish even to seem to minimize the efforts which have been made by earnest men within and out of these organizations. These men have been careful, cautious and sincere. The fact is that they probably have not been quite sure of themselves.

In our constructive political thinking we have passed through a period of incubation in which a lot of ideas and remedies were developing. The fittest have survived. I shall indicate shortly what I think they are. It is not long ago, perhaps not over a half dozen years, since each of these ideas had its separate distinct group of proponents who looked with tolerance but not with any great enthusiasm upon the others' favorite reforms.

But they have been getting together! Every intelligent political reconstructionist knows perfectly well that the new political democracy, if it ever comes about, will be the product of the practical working out of *several* ideas, each of which was once the peculiar possession of certain individuals or groups. I believe that we are now about ready to formulate a rather comprehensive constructive program of political democracy upon which a great constituency could be united. And I believe that the emphasis in national civic work should in the immediate future be rather less on the discussion of principles and should be very much more definitely directed toward a well-considered campaign to put into practice the principles which are now so generally accepted among progressive thinking people that they may be set down as practically undebatable.

Now what are these principles? My own thinking along these lines was started by a casual statement by Henry L. Stimson in the course of an address in the New York constitutional convention last year. Mr. Stimson was one of a group of men in that convention who are generally acknowledged to represent the keenest practical intelligence in the Republican party—men like Elihu Root, George W. Wickersham, Herbert Parsons and John Lord O'Brian (there was a corresponding group on the Democratic side). They had set themselves seriously about the business of constructing a modern commonwealth. They had listened attentively and sympathetically to the active promoters of every specific political reform; and the program which they evolved and fought for in the convention was a composite of the fundamentals of democracy as enunciated by such organizations as the National Municipal League, the bureau of municipal research, the civil service reform league, the municipal government association and the Short Ballot Organization. Mr. Stimson in summing up the program said in effect: "What we have been trying to do in this convention is to erect a government, the cornerstone of which is the principle of responsibility. We started out with the executive budget —that implied a clearer definition of executive responsibility with reference to the finances of the state. We took up home rule for cities and for counties—that involved the fixing of community responsibility for taking care of its own proper affairs. We have taken up the civil service clause whose purpose is to fix the undivided allegiance and responsibility of the employes of the state to the visible government. We recently took up a provision for a short practice act, the effect of which would be to fix the responsibility of the judiciary over its own procedure. And finally now we are taking up the short ballot, for the purpose of fixing citizen responsibility and still further defining executive responsibility."

There you are—the principle of responsibility. I think I am perfectly safe in saying not only that all of us here believe in it but that it has the support of a vast constituency everywhere, which is waiting for competent leadership to work out the specifications and put the thing through. I have not by any means enumerated all the items in a complete program, but rather some of the items upon which I think we are all agreed. I strongly suspect that after a further period of incubation we shall want to come out for legislative responsibility to be achieved through a single-chambered legislature, a simplification of procedure and provision for expert bill drafting and a few other accessories of a well-rounded democracy.

Now I believe that through a program organized around this comprehensive idea, we could very shortly broaden the constituency interested in political reconstruction. For thirty years our various organizations have been industriously cultivating the sympathy and the pocketbooks of a relatively small group of rather well educated citizens in different parts of the country. I should say that there were a few thousand of them at most. They are the only people who have the patience to grapple with or to sympathize with these more or less technical and special reforms. They constitute the limited class of people who are willing to devote themselves to what seem to most people mere abstractions.

On the other hand I know that there are thousands of plain citizens who are itching to get into the kind of a fight for a more efficient democracy in which they can make themselves felt. We cannot get them into the Short Ballot Organization because they know perfectly well that the short ballot is not a complete remedy. They are perfectly willing to give it passive support but they do not think it important enough to bleed and die for. For the same reason they do not warm up to the civil service reform associations or bureaus of municipal research. Political parties offer these people no outlet for their energies. So far as any active, positive political service to their communities is concerned, they are practically disfranchised.

The fact is that our organizations, owing to the lack of a complete program, have had nothing to offer those important groups of public-spirited citizens who approach the problem of representative government through a special interest like public health, charities, engineering. We have thrown aside great opportunities for demonstrating that representative government is a very tangible, vital, practical thing; that it is the leverage for effecting any far-reaching public purpose. We have yet to learn the art of the successful advertiser who sells his goods because he individualizes his appeal. People do not buy Dutch Cleanser because of its chemical formula. They buy it because it "chases dirt."

A program of responsible government offers an approach to the solution of a lot of human problems. In Dayton, for instance, the new government, as you know, has performed a variety of important services that directly touch the lives of a great many people; it has decreased the infant mortality rate something like 50 per cent, it has given legal aid, better recreation facilities, etc. Now, I have no doubt the citizens of Dayton appreciate these services and if you were to ask them what did it they would say "our new city manager government"—not our new budget system, or the short ballot, or the civil service provisions in the charter, but the combination of all these things which gave them an effective leverage to the things they wanted; what we who are constantly working in political science call the principle of responsibility applied to government.

I believe that people would warm up to such a big fighting program as I have outlined. And the basis of my belief is that they have already actually done so in some four hundred cities. Commission government is a program of responsibility. The average citizen sees it as a complete whole. He does not linger long upon its short ballot features, or its civil service provisions or its non-partisan elections. Indeed he takes his commission government mostly on faith. He knows that it is well sponsored and that it really works in other cities and he goes out and fights for it with as much zeal as a ward heeler who expects some definite reward.

There are now some ten or twelve million people who live under a local government organized around this principle and in general they know that it is good. I believe that those millions and some millions more who envy their good fortune are right now in a receptive mood to listen to a proposition for commission government in counties, states and nation. By that I do not mean the commission *plan* or any other mere form of organization, but the principle which underlies its success. Commission government principles applied to the nation would mean among other things the establishment of a budget system and the end of the pork-barrel. It would end the spoils system in the post-office and treasury department and the diplomatic service. It would put an end to the abuse of senate "courtesy."

But I have said that we must have a fighting program. By that I mean first of all a campaign to popularize fundamental reconstruction, not a special phase of it, but the fact that government all along the line needs more or less reconstruction before it can perform the services which we, the people, expect it to perform.

It means, secondly, the formulation of an adequate program to meet this situation; a program which will grow from year to year as our knowledge advances and conservatism recedes.

It means, thirdly, the framing of specific measures and their advancement through publicity and other legitimate forms of political pressure.

How can such a plan be put before the people?

In the first place I believe that the present multiplicity of organizations, each covering a phase of political reform, overlapping at many points, leaving many important fields untouched, coming before the same constituency interminably with appeals for funds, is in itself the greatest sort of impediment to our civic movements. I believe there should be an organic unity which will follow very closely the lines of our unity of purpose. And so I am going to make certain suggestions which may be treated as a "pipe-dream," or otherwise, as you see fit.

I believe that the ideal way to bring about this unity would be for the half dozen or so propaganda and discussion organizations like the National Municipal League, the civil service reform league, the National Voters League and the Short Ballot Organization to sink their identity in a new organization which would cover the whole field of representative responsible government.

Some of you will immediately object that these organizations are firmly rooted in the affection of particular groups of people who would not relish the experience of acting as pallbearers at their own funerals. That is doubtless a very real difficulty, but although I may be indulging in a "pipe-dream" I am convinced that the practical advantages which would accrue to these separate interests would more than compensate for the loss of identity. What would it mean to our civic work, if instead of several slimly attended meetings of this Municipal League, the civil service reform league and the others, they were combined into one great gathering of civic leaders on the scale of the National Conference of Charities and Correction that would make a real impression not only in the city of their meeting place but in the press of the country. It would mean not simply the sum of the attendance and the publicity and the prestige of the separate organizations, but the sum multiplied several fold because of the wider circle of citizenship to which we would appeal.

And a similar logic applies to finance. At present we are constantly competing against each other and against dozens of other organizations in related fields for membership and contributions—with what success we all know too well. But unless I miss my guess, the dynamic force of a comprehensive program, backed by a strong organization employing modern methods of publicity would bring in more funds than the separate units, for reasons which I have already suggested.

At the same time I would make it possible for individuals to express their special interest in special phases of the program just as they now express that interest through one or more special organizations. The work of the present organizations should go right on, but through departments of the new organization. And, in order that any financial supporter might express his particular interest, I would segregate the funds so that those who wished to emphasize civil service could devote a part or the whole of their contribution to that specific phase of the work. Others would prefer to put their whole financial weight behind the municipal movement, and so on. From the general funds these separate funds would be supplemented according to some predetermined principle, which ought not to be difficult to decide upon.

I am convinced that the future success of our civic organizations is dependent upon their ability to make a big appeal to the imagination of the people, to humanize the issues as they have been humanized in some of our cities.. We certainly cannot do this as distinct units. We *can* do it in my opinion by pooling our interests and our resources. There are situations in which it is actually much easier to do the big progressive thing rather than the safe little conservative thing. We civic workers in my opinion now face an unprecedented opportunity to do a big thing, if we are prepared to attack it in a big, constructive, fearless way.

DISCUSSION OF MR. GILBERTSON'S PAPER

BY RAYMOND B. FOSDICK[1]

New York City

IN DISCUSSING the subject of co-ordination or amalgamation of civic forces, Mr. Gilbertson has addressed himself primarily to the latter, evidently on the theory that of the two possibilities, amalgamation is preferable. I confess I cannot quite follow Mr. Gilbertson in this belief. There are so many human factors to be taken into consideration in the amalgamation of separate organizations that I am afraid we should find such a plan far more difficult than it looks on paper. Each of us is primarily interested in a particular line of civic work. Some of us believe in single tax, and are bending all our energies to that end. Others of us have no sympathy with single tax, and see in municipal research the avenue of most rapid civic advance. It would be extremely difficult to find common factors enough for such an amalgamation as Mr. Gilbertson suggests. And even if we did succeed in combining on certain movements or ideas as the basis of the militant program that Mr. Gilbertson talks about, I am fearful that we should antagonize large sections of the public in our endeavor to gain support for the plan. The public could not whole-heartedly endorse an organization which included certain movements in which it had no interest or with which it frankly disagreed. As a result, we would weaken the whole cause by trying to associate it with movements which for the time being, perhaps, are too undeveloped to obtain any appreciable amount of public support.

Moreover, I would suggest the thought that progress is not achieved in the fashion that Mr. Gilbertson implies. Reform is never accepted wholesale. Civic ideals never advance in a uniform line. A little progress in this direction is followed by a little progress in another direction, or from another angle. These advances are irregular, sometimes irrational, often without relation to each other, but by and by we find that the whole line has gradually moved forward. The result has been achieved not by a mighty "drive" but by a series of petty skirmishes. The methods by which human society changes its form may not be scientific but they have to be given pretty weighty consideration.

While, therefore, believing that such an amalgamation as Mr. Gilbertson has indicated is impossible at the present time, I am heartily in favor, as anyone would be who has studied the subject, of a far greater degree of co-ordination between civic agencies than now exists. If we could harness up the energy that is lost and misspent through duplication of work alone, I think we would have momentum enough to reach a good many civic goals that now seem far ahead of us. Overlapping of activity is one of the chief characteristics of our civic agencies. In New York city, for example, we have a training school for public service and an institute for public service, both answering—at least both assuming to answer—the same needs. If the money which supports both these agencies could be used to support a single agency, the work could be far more effectively conducted. But here again we have to take human characteristics into consideration. Differences in temperament are often the sole basis for different organizations, and our theories of co-ordination suffer from the frailties of human nature. We may not succeed in eliminating all the duplicating organizations in civic work, but at least we can highly resolve never to lend support to any new society unless it can prove by preponderating evidence its individual right to live. We can afford to be ruthless in this matter, particularly when we remember that fully 25 per cent of our civic agencies—and I am sure my figures are conservative—should be scrapped.

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[1] Former commissioner of accounts of New York city; author of "European Police Systems."

One phase of co-ordination is not often discussed. Many of our organizations—I mean the necessary ones—have no effective means of getting their ideas before the public. Either because they do not know how or because they are without proper facilities, they are unable to popularize the proposals which have met with the approval of a few specialists. There is no widespread educational program to embrace the latest ideas in civic reform. A few movements like the short ballot proposition and the city manager form of government are striking exceptions to this general rule. The central ideas incorporated in these two propositions have by a very effective process been given wide currency throughout the entire country. One hears about them everywhere, and the gentleman whose paper I am discussing has had no unimportant part to play in this remarkably effective piece of political education. But there are other civic ideas with which the public is little acquainted, or imperfectly acquainted, because of the lack of educational propaganda on a broad scale. The executive budget, for example, the relation of cost accounting to effective government control, the broad principle of a responsible executive, could be made the basis of an educational campaign that would do more to wake up the country than anything else I can imagine. The trouble with many of our organizations is that they represent small groups of experts, whose thinking is largely confined to themselves. We are not putting across to the public on the scale that it should be put across, the result of our deliberation and investigation.

For example, the need of a national budget has been fully established by competent research. The facts have been completely developed by the Taft commission of 1912, by Willoughby's forthcoming volume on English budget practice, and by the forthcoming book on Canadian financial procedure. Very few people have read or will read these somewhat technical reports and books. They can be made the basis, however, of a propaganda that would arouse the whole country to the necessity of a responsible budget system in Washington. The same thing is true of state budgets. Maryland, for example, has recently adopted an executive budget system which may well serve as a model for other states. All that is necessary to its wider adoption is to give substantial publicity to its operation and effectiveness. Similarly, the principles of efficient state management in the form of a responsible executive have been pretty fully developed, and a propaganda on this point would lay the foundations for the reorganization of state government which is inevitably bound to come. The principles of county government are also being worked out, and here, too, there is a need of systematic publicity.

This situation seems to me to present a unique field for co-ordination. Why should not all our many organizations club together to support a common selling agency or clearing house, whose business it would be to take the well established results of study and investigation, and by temperate, sure-footed, and dignified publicity put them before the entire country? Such a program for political education, supported by bodies like the bureau of municipal research, the institute for government research, the National Voters' League, the National Chamber of Commerce, and the National Municipal League, would be far more effective than any of the retail methods at present employed. In this fashion our various organizations could find a common ground for fellowship, and out of this ultimately might come an approach to the amalgamation of which Mr. Gilbertson has been speaking.

THE CITY'S CARE OF THE NEEDY[1]

A PROGRAM FOR A DEPARTMENT OF CHARITIES

BY MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH

New York City

ONE of the most amazing lacks in our knowledge of city administration is the total absence of historical sketches of departmental development. Since Mr. Woodruff kindly asked me to address this gathering, an ancient habit of mine I had acquired in my youth, especially in Germany, led me to try to reinforce what I have to say by documentary evidence and support. There isn't any! As far as I can learn, and I shall be delighted if I am misinformed, no such material is available to the student of city government. There are indeed spasmodic reports published by the city departments of charities from time to time, but these are records of administrative detail or more often roseate and partial pictures perverted with an eye to forthcoming appropriations.

What I have to say, therefore, in regard to the position of the charities departments to other aspects of city development will be quite unsupported by adequate initial study. Let us hope that the attention of community students in the field of political administration may be directed to meet this need.

But certain broad lines in the development of the city's care of the needy are familiar to us all. We need only to organize the material fresh to our joint experience to be able to deduce from it, I hope, some salutary reflections on the course this care should take in the immediate future.

NEGATIVE CHARACTER OF EARLY GOVERNMENT CONTROL

Our city governments in their early history were negative in character. Laissez-faire—implicit in our entire social attitude—was at its height in our cities. Protection of life and property practically summarized the city's efforts in government. Police and fire departments were perceived as necessary for the common welfare. But the citizens otherwise were not thought of as engaged in a joint enterprise, but each was expected to protect his family's health, educate his children, engage in any kind of work any number of hours, live in any kind of building and enjoy such recreations as he saw fit. If these recreations became a public scandal, the will of the community began to organize itself in opposition and there fell under the ban of police surveillance or other social control, the saloon, houses of prostitution and gambling resorts.

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[1] An address delivered at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, Nov. 24, 1916.

INCREASED EMPHASIS ON POLICE POWER OF THE STATE

From the police powers of the state sprang a development of social responsibility. From the negative point of view of protecting the public against a menace to public health, a positive program of public health began to emerge. And under this most fortunate banner have marched into recognition an increasing number of social obligations. The slogan of public health has supported industrial improvement. This is the line travelled successfully from court to court, and sustained with increasing emphasis and certainty. Any reform that can take on the form of an improvement in public health has a chance of a successful issue. Under the general heading of public health measures we have improved our food and water supply, introduced medical inspection into our schools, controlled our building regulations, introduced building zones, etc. Our health boards are endowed with extraordinary powers which they are utilizing with increased boldness and with a larger and larger measure of public support. The course that public health programs have followed have all been from the negative and protective to the positive and preventative. Health officers early endeavored to isolate conspicuously infectious diseases. Smallpox houses were seen to be necessary. The care of the sick indeed has been from times immemorial a recognized community obligation where private charity and humanitarian impulse failed to meet the need. But as the sick in well-to-do families are generally looked after by their kinsmen it was naturally the sick poor that fell to the community's care and the accent was on the poor rather than the sick—not the poor sick but the sick poor needed the community's assistance.

From the initial provision against the spread of contagion and the care of the sick our city health departments have come now to the point where their great emphasis lies in the educational task of preventing disease and creating a positive constructive program of public health welfare. School children are examined for physical defects and treated for them. Insidious disease is checked and cared for in its incipient stages. The standards of purity in the food supply are raised. Dwellings are made by law fit for human occupancy. Opportunities for degradation are lessened or driven out in the name of public health. The evils of alcoholism and prostitution are beginning to be perceived from the angle of health rather than morals and hence to be subjected to a more rigorous and drastic regulation.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

While this evolution has been taking place in the health department a similar story may be instanced in the care of the departments of education.

While it was early recognized that no democracy is on a sound foundation that does not abolish illiteracy, education in colonial times was entirely voluntary, haphazard and private in character.

The first schools of the people in New York city were charity schools. It was not until 1874 that New York state established its compulsory public school system. The rich felt a responsibility to the state for the education of the poor but the community as a whole did not recognize its joint responsibility and its common task until much later. Education began as a privilege of the well-to-do. It gradually widened to an appreciation of its value to all and then blossomed out into a positive and vital necessity for which the community must hold itself liable and responsible.

A rich girl visiting a public school with me one day said "Oh, Mrs. Simkhovitch, what a lovely charity." What was going on in her mind was evidently this, "Schools are expensive. I went to an expensive school. This school too must be expensive. Poor people can't pay for it. Therefore rich people must be paying for it. Therefore it is a charity."

The idea of a community carrying on a joint enterprise in which the primary consideration is not the amount of money that each contributes but the amount of service the community confers on its members with the knowledge that it will all come back fourfold had not dawned on that girl's mind.

And this mental attitude is far from uncommon. We do not often meet it in the field of education because we have become accustomed to the American public school system and are deadened to its revolutionary implications.

For we have moved far from the early ideal of getting rid of positive illiteracy and we are now practically all united in defending a positive educational program which will provide for the free education of all children up to maturity with as many further free educational opportunities presented as economic circumstances allow. The state that educates its citizens will reap its own reward. We are so convinced that a better and more prolonged and varied education is necessary to our community welfare, and we are so convinced that drastic public health measures are valuable and necessary, that we may now practically take it for granted that prosperous cities will spend more money and energy in developing educational opportunities and a constructive health program, and will meet with no opposition except from those sinister interests whose only program consists of keeping down the tax rate regardless of social consequences.

CLASSIFICATION IN THE CHARITIES' DEPARTMENTS

But when we come to the charities' departments we find a different evolution, or rather as yet a very slight or no evolution. I do not mean to say that no progress has been made in administration. There certainly has. The terrible indifference or worse which used to surround the inmates of alms-houses is disappearing where it has not gone entirely. The poor are no longer lumped together indiscriminately, old and young; men, women and children; insane, criminal, diseased and simply poor.

A humane and intelligent classification has taken place. The old are treated with more respect. More is involved than an improved terminology when the old poorhouse is called "The City Home for Dependent Adults." There is also an improved mental attitude and a more humane care. Sanitation has been vastly improved and the whole tone of the city's care of dependents in institutions has decidedly advanced. Occupations have been introduced that give interest, hope and vigor to the inmates. The sick poor are segregated in hospitals, the insane are removed to proper institutions, the mentally defective are beginning to be classified as they ought to be. And yet when all this is admitted it must be pointed out that the city's responsibility for its needy has in no way been so constructively considered or met as has the city's responsibility for the education of its young people and for the general health of the community.

NO BASIC PROGRAM HAS EMERGED

There are indeed serious gaps in the carrying out of the community program for proper education and health but in the case of the departments of charities no constructive program has ever emerged.

In the case of education there is at least a census taken of all children and they are all registered in the various schools of their choice. But I do not know of any department of public charities that has ever taken any kind of census of those of the community who are living below the standard of living which should obtain in that given community. Just as the uneducated child will prove to be the uneducated voter, so the children brought up in families where the proper standard of living is not maintained will in all probability become sooner or later in one form or another public charges. Should not a constructive program for a department of charities then include as its basis a careful study of the standard of living of the community which it serves?

The results of that study might show defects in sanitation, in personal hygiene, in educational equipment, and also in industrial evils of unemployment, seasonal employment, and inadequate income.

The New York department of charities has a bureau of social investigation which aims at doing the same thorough work with individual families as is done by private societies dealing with industrial and family distress or destitution.

But, as in the case of the private societies, the weakness of this plan consists in the fact that it reaches only the more obvious cases, whereas the slow process of social deterioration that takes place in families where the standard of living is going down remains often unnoticed until positive breakdown takes place.

Visiting teachers, settlement visitors, parish visitors all have access to normal homes. It is not feasible or proper that the relationship thus established should become common property, but it would not be unsuitable to register in some central bureau anonymously the type of help that agencies are giving which results in tiding families over temporary distress or which permanently re-establishes their proper standard of living. This might help a bit in the collection of adequate data on which to build a community program for the proper care of the needy.

A BUREAU OF PREVENTION

But something more effective than this is needed. A bureau of prevention would seem to be an obviously necessary field of machinery for every progressive department of charities. Such a bureau would naturally classify the causes of family poverty, discovered by its social investigators. These are already known to be,

1. Inadequate income
2. Alcoholism
3. Unemployment
4. Sickness
5. Old age
6. Inadequate training for livelihood, etc.
7. Death of bread-winners

Take, *e.g.*, no. 6, inadequate training for livelihood, etc. Now, no department of charities would dream of undertaking to furnish vocational training for the young, although it is known that the lack of it makes for poverty. But that ought not to hinder the departments of charities from giving vigorous public support to vocational education on the ground that it will be a help in abolishing poverty.

So in the same way it has never been clear to me that the department of charities should be given the care of the sick poor. The sick should be the care of the department of health, just as vocational training is the duty of the department of education. The uneducated should be sent to school, the sick to hospitals, the convalescent to sanatoria. And a good bureau of prevention would advocate and promote social insurance legislation with especial reference to sickness. So, too, a bureau of prevention would recommend the proper care of dependent children. Children belong in homes; homes with a little not a big "H." And we must be grateful indeed that more and more children are boarded out in proper families rather than dumped even into the best institutions.

OUT-RELIEF AGAIN POSSIBLE

Out-relief was condemned in the past, not because home life is not best, but because city government was so corrupt that it was felt, and rightly felt at the time, that the wrong people would get the relief if administered to people out of institutions. The very fact that people hated to go to the poorhouse would keep out those who did not need relief. This was true—but it never met the problem. It simply concealed it. It meant that people who needed relief did not get it or else secured it from private sources.

The whole method of institutional care of the dependent tends by its very nature to conceal the magnitude of the problem with which a constructive department of charities ought to deal.

It has now been generally conceded that in the case of poverty due to the death of the bread-winner, adequate care of children would better devolve upon the widowed mother than upon any institution. Pensions for widows are now being supplied by many communities. The argument against out-relief becomes weaker as city administration improves. The last decade has shown a diminishing political corruption in all American cities, and we may naturally, therefore, expect to have the whole question of out-relief again reconsidered in the light of our improved political situation. More especially ought this to be emphasized in the case of the aged. Even if we had adequate social insurance there would be a certain number of aged poor who would have to be in one form or another pensioned.

An extreme distaste for the almshouse is universal. In many country communities the few dependent poor are boarded out by the selectmen as the simplest way of looking after people who have fallen into absolute poverty. I believe that the time has come when we ought also to consider boarding out the aged dependent in cities. I know that this is done in many instances and I believe it would be a great service if we could find just how this plan is actually working out, both financially and from the point of view of happiness and well-being of the aged poor themselves. As it is now, these poor old people drift in and out of almshouses. There is no stability or dignity in a situation filled with so much insecurity. Difficulties of proper inspection must be reckoned with, but these difficulties are not insuperable, as has been discovered in the case of the boarding out of dependent children and the community care of widows' families.

A bureau of prevention would certainly stress prevention for unemployment and would endeavor to do what is possible to lessen seasonal unemployment.

But most important of all is it that a city department of charities should face the undeniable fact that the most important difficulty it has to meet is inadequate income. If the department of education did its work, and the department of health did its work, the chief difficulty that the department of charities would still have to meet would be that which comes from incomes of families, inadequate to maintain a standard of living which is necessary to keep families from sinking into dependence.

PUBLICATION OF WAGE STATISTICS

I think that it would be quite within the proper province of a department of charities, therefore, to collect wage statistics of its locality and to publish them.[1] Publicity would tend to reduce the most shameful inadequacies of wage payment, and would draw the attention of the public as nothing else could do to the fact that where wages are inadequate, the community has to make up the deficit in the care of those who are broken down by an inadequate standard of living. Industries paying inadequate wages would then be seen to be what they are, parasites upon the community, accepting aid which they themselves should give. Taxpayers' organizations fighting the increased cost of city administration ought to be chiefly interested in maintaining the social structure so that it does not break down. But it is to be feared that many of those who are opposed to payment for proper care for the wreckage that takes place in society are among those who themselves are responsible for that wreckage.

CONCLUSION

To capitulate, the first duty of a department of charities would, therefore, seem to be to know the extent of poverty which exists, its second to establish a bureau of prevention which would include a study and furtherance of social insurance, the removal of unemployment (especially seasonal unemployment) and an industrial report including a public statement of wages paid in the industries of the community (such a bureau would also co-operate with educational and health departments but would not endeavor to encroach upon their fields as is done at present); and thirdly, such a department of charities should endeavor as far as possible to reduce its institutional care, although there will probably always be a certain number of persons who will have to be looked after in institutions. But, in general, dependent children and the dependent aged can be both humanely and as economically (or almost as economically) looked after outside of institutions as in them. The middle-aged dependent sick should be looked after by the health authorities.

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[1] Competent counsel informs me that a liberal construction of the powers of the board of charities of the state of New York would justify it in making an investigation of the general standard of wages and publishing the results. While there is no decision expressly dealing upon the point, the question is reduced to one of construction of the statute.

The Laws of 1909, chap. 57, sec. 9, state that:

"State board of charities . . . shall . . . investigate the condition of the poor seeking public aid and advise measures for their relief.

Collect statistical information in respect to . . . the number and condition . . . of the poor receiving public relief."

Section 19:

"The state board of charities . . . may, in its discretion . . . make other and special reports."

If the board has this power, it follows necessarily that it has a right to subpœna witnesses in the exercise of such power.

If such a program were to be inaugurated we should have the city's care of the needy brought up to the same high and constructive level as are the educational and health departments. Such a department might properly be called, not a department of charities, but a department for the prevention and care of destitution. Its aim would be to abolish itself. As it is now, the department of charities is a dumping ground. The amount of poverty in a neighborhood is the measure of its educational, health, and industrial inefficiency. The more imposing the charitable institutions, the more clearly does our social inefficiency manifest itself. Until the community learns to tackle the question of poverty from the point of view of the community as is done in the case of education and health, we shall never be able to show efficient results. But it is here that the trail of private profit as opposed to community interests is most in evidence, and until private profit is subordinate to community welfare, a genuine attempt to meet this situation is bound to be feeble and inefficient.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC WELFARE ACTIVITIES

BY ALLEN T. BURNS[1]

Cleveland, Ohio

THE program committee has suggested the subject, "When should private welfare activities be assumed by the public." You all remember only too well the fall of 1914. We were all wondering what we should do to get through the terrible winter of unemployment. Pursuant to that very common thought the Cleveland foundation made a study of the relief-giving agencies in its home city. It announced at the end of that piece of research that poverty is a community responsibility; that the community must come to know how much poverty there is; its causes and methods of prevention; that the community would adopt preventive measures only as the community felt the burden of poverty through the tax rate. Thinking we had said something profound, we rested on our oars, and nothing happened, except for such private effort as tried to meet the emergencies of the winter.

Some of you will remember the Pittsburgh survey of 1909. Perhaps as striking a feature of that report as any was a very clear description of how the old theory of compensation for accidents had broken down; that courts could no longer determine just whose was the fault of the accident and so failed utterly to meet the situation. Because of this breakdown between legal theory and practice it was recommended that some new form of public compensation for accidents should result. But nothing happened in Pennsylvania—at least not for many years.

When I remembered these two incidents and what seemed to be the fundamental character of the principles that had been announced as the results of these two inquiries, the whole plan of my address for to-night was changed. I had made out what seemed to me an adequate list of six principles that should guide the public in taking over private welfare activity, but as I went over the two instances mentioned, and many others, it seemed to me that the public was not acting on any philosophical or sociological basis in assuming welfare activity. For all practical purposes, it might be wiser to ask: "When *does* the public assume private welfare activities?"

A case already cited may, perhaps, enlighten us: That report of the Cleveland Foundation did nothing to lead the private relief agencies, especially the largest private relief agency of Cleveland, to turn over its work to the public. In only 44 per cent of the families cared for by this society was there adequate service rendered by the visitors, and in only

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 182.

50 per cent of the cases was adequate relief given to keep those families on a basis of physical welfare. What happened was that the private agency capitalized that report, or partially capitalized it, and proceeded to raise larger funds and make still larger expenditures in the effort to meet this need. So zealous were they, indeed, that they have, within the last three years, piled up a deficit of eighty thousand dollars.

Just recently their donors met and said: "This burden is becoming too great. If we are going to support you for another year you must begin to hand over some of your welfare activity to the city." It was a practical situation, and no philosophy used. Likewise, in the Pennsylvania situation regarding compensation for accidents, nothing happened from the pronouncement of the new legal principle that must be followed. Of course, the need was felt by the families of those five hundred working men that were killed every year in Allegheny county, but the state of Pennsylvania seemed to do nothing about it, until the United States Steel Corporation took an interest. The United States Steel Corporation had a compensation department, but its local competitors did not, so there was a compensation commission appointed by the state, with a local attorney for the United States Steel Corporation at its head. Eventually, because of the combined sense of need on the part of the working men and the feeling that the burden had been carried too long by private organization, and that it should be shared by the public, Pennsylvania became the thirtieth state in the Union to adopt a workmen's compensation law.

Take the most recent assumption of private welfare activity by the public—the Adamson bill, as we call it. There was no very long philosophizing about just where private functions end and where public functions begin before that bill was passed. It was a practical situation which had to be met, and though we may like it or may not, it was met, and the public has approved the verdict of the jury. In other words, society is very much like individuals, for when an emergency arises they are apt to act first and philosophize afterwards. All human nature faces practical situations and meets them, and thinks about why it was done after the need has been cared for. It does little good to sociologize as to when private welfare activities should be taken over by the public. We should study when it happens and how it happens and get ready for the procedure that is surely coming along with giant strides.

Just take a few more actual occurrences to illustrate the point: I remember in the city of Chicago that one of the social settlements had a little back yard of fifty-five or seventy-five feet, and in summer days some five hundred children used to play on that vacant lot. A great many settlements were trying to take care of the recreation needs of Chicago in some such inadequate way. To the astonishment of us all, one day a political office holder announced that there was to be an issue of five or six million dollars of bonds to meet the recreation needs of a part of Chicago, and we wondered where he got the vision. It was a stroke of lightning from a clear sky. Somehow he had been tipped off that a popular exigency was arising, and being much more sensitive than most reformers as to what the people are thinking, he saw that here was something that the public was bound to assume.

In the city of Detroit I found that what has been thought of as one of the most technical pieces of service, the central reference bureau, the clearing house of all applications for charity, had been taken over by the city—for the sole reason so far as I could see, that the men who had been supporting it would no longer do so. Yet in three years the number of cases reported to the central agency had doubled; the chances of duplication of relief service had been taken care of just to that extent, solely because the questions arose as to whether the men who had once been putting their money in this form of service would continue to do so, and whether undue duplication was not occurring with the work done privately. There we have an illustration of the public realizing that private resources were not meeting their need and at the same time of private resources feeling overburdened. The anti-tuberculosis movement is another case of both excessive burden on private resources and the feeling by the public of unmet needs. Both parties suddenly woke up to the fact that the death rates were not being decreased, and suddenly we found that this activity of a private welfare society was being assumed by the public. And well might it be, with very little theorizing, for in the city of Chicago within the five years that the tuberculosis work has been under the city rather than under private auspices there has been this kind of increase of service rendered: The first figure in each case is for the private agency and the second figure for the public. New patients, instead of 4,000, 14,000; of positive diagnosis, instead of 1,800, 6,600; dispensary visits increased from 23,000 to 70,000; nurses' visits to homes from 20,000 to 76,000; free beds from 10 to 650. Nothing but a practical situation. There was no theorizing about it; and so it is going to be. We will find in the answer to this question, "Shall the public take over private welfare activities," that the public will take them over when a preponderating weight of public opinion feels an unmet need and so makes the transfer advisable. Preponderating weight does not always mean majorities of persons, sometimes only the majority of the forces effective in creating voting majorities. But when the public refuses to have the burdens borne privately, we may be quite sure that they are going to be taken over, whether they are according to our theories or not. There seem to me to be two principles that have been followed—sometimes one and sometimes the other—sometimes a mixture of both: The people see something they need and they take it. Or the private agency feels it has borne something long enough and will get rid of it. If you will study the very rapid growth of welfare activities on the part of our public agencies you will find no other common principles underlying it. Yet, on this very practical basis, there has been the most astonishing increase. Just note the list of what public agencies are now doing in the welfare field: They are giving family relief and seeking to restore the family to independence; they are granting mothers' pensions; they are conducting visiting nursing; the anti-tuberculosis fight has been mentioned; infant hygiene and milk distribution bureau; public chaperones; municipal social settlement work; public dance halls and kindergartens; manual and vocational training; employment bureaus; insurance and savings organizations; social research; provident loans; legal aid; fixing of working hours and wages. And every one of these activities has been assumed within the last fifteen years by some public agency. Surely, not because society has set to philosophizing, but because practical questions had to be met. And that process is going on in some places more slowly, and in others more rapidly, but we may be perfectly sure that that course which has perhaps been going on more in our western cities will start in the East, and such things will take place.

I can hear some objections offered that it is a great pity to dam up and give no outlet to the plenteous resources of private philanthropy. If this assumption of the welfare activities by the public were to have that result, surely it would be regretted. But there is no such sequence necessary, nor is it taking place. There are still new complications, new social situations, enough to take care of all our private thought and money.

Just let me give you an illustration from a single agency in Detroit that has put over on the city practically all of its relief-giving in the last three years. Let us see what it has still on its hands. In the first place, there are always a few extra critical cases of distress or a few non-residents in the city that evidently cannot be cared for by the necessarily legalistic public charity. For these a private agency will have to care. But this Detroit agency in addition to doing that has established a new department of visiting housekeepers, women skilled in domestic science and in care of families, whose business it is to give domestic science lessons in the homes of those who have not learned to keep house, and who wish to make the most of the family income.

Then, again, this agency has tackled a problem sufficient for the resources of any private philanthropy. They are trying to do something about the discrimination against the negro in both housing and employment. Let me submit to you that as long as such situations continue, the private agencies will not be out of a job.

A fourth thing this agency has found to do in spite of giving up what has been considered its traditional activity. It is quite necessary after a public agency has taken over private welfare work that there be on the part of the interested citizens a very careful study of the kind of work the public agency is doing, and so this old associated charities of Detroit gets a report of every case that comes into the public registration bureau three times from one or more agencies. These "trouble" cases are looked into. The first thing done is to see whether the agencies helping such families are working in an adequate and efficient manner. They are asking whether the agencies of the city are so organized and so aligned as to be most effective, or whether reorganization or, perhaps, disorganization of some society, would make the situation more useful to those who need the services.

But this new activity goes behind the need of the helpful service. Its staff is also studying the causes of these mishaps; these breakdowns in some life; is going into industrial conditions, into physical, into governmental, to find out what the real causes of poverty are, and then urging upon the community the setting up of the pieces of machinery that are necessary to prevent poverty. When the community realizes the value of this new private welfare activity, the community in its turn will take over this research department, and Mrs. Simkhovitch's wish, which we all share, will be realized there. This last activity of the Detroit associated charities perhaps indicates the biggest field for private welfare societies, after their original work has been assumed by the municipality.

We are likely to think of government in a good deal the way that the old German did about a clock he bought. He went into a store to buy a clock, and he asked the clerk how often he would have to wind the clock that he had selected, and the clerk told him it would run seven days without winding. "Then," said the German, "how long will it run if I do wind it?"

We have thought that the government was somewhat automatic, and that it would run itself. When the playgrounds were assumed by the officials of Chicago, those formerly conducting them did not sit down, fold their hands and say, "Our work is done." They organized themselves into a playground association for the purpose of acquainting the community with the good done by these playgrounds, and for the purpose of suggesting ways in which the playgrounds could be made still more useful. In other words, they considered that this public activity would be successful only as the public showed their interest and attention to what the public servants were undertaking. The success of the public playgrounds of Chicago has been due in large part to these private agencies and to persons who have found this new outlet, and who, with careful persistence, guard and promote and develop the activity which has been taken over. Right in the same city the need of continuance of just this sort of private welfare activity was illustrated in the last great civic tragedy—the death of Doctor Sachs, head of the tuberculosis sanitorium. When the city took over that institution, many thought their work was done. Because public attention was diverted to some other problem, the tuberculosis sanitorium became involved in politics and led to the loss of that most valuable public servant. So do not despair as to the need and urgency for private welfare activity, be the public never so forward in assuming those pieces of work which we have so fondly cherished.

There is still one more objection that I can see in the faces of some of you: Your reformer is oftentimes a man so enthusiastic about his program of public welfare that he has forgotten that there is a financial consideration.

The committee suggested that I do no more than touch on this, because the subsequent paper was to deal with the question of municipal expenditure. I shall only mention this point. I wish our presiding officer to-night might repeat his very full and fundamental treatment given to this question of the financing of public welfare activities at the last National Conference of Charities and Corrections. Just let me state briefly what he said.

Mr. Purdy stated that the modern patriot of our day is thought to be the man who brings a new citizen to a community. We consider him a patriot because every citizen who comes to a community adds one thousand dollars of value to the real estate value of the city. "Now, if the booster of the town is such a patriot, by dint of adding to the wealth of the community," said Mr. Purdy, "why haven't these welfare activities just as good a right to high approval? Are not residents attracted or held by a good school system, by an adequate playground plan, and beautiful parks just as big assets as those secured by city boosters? Are not the welfare activities that are securing these new residents or saving lives adding just as really to the wealth of the conmunity?" If the welfare activities of the community thus create wealth, why should we hesitate to finance these welfare activities from the resources which they create? Just as surely as the community when it has felt its need, hastens to provide for welfare activity, so surely will the community thus creating wealth take this wealth to conduct the necessary public welfare activities.

CHICAGO'S GREAT OBJECT LESSONS

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

I. THE POLICE PROBLEM

PROBABLY but little surprise was excited in educated circles by the recent police disclosures and "graft" scandals in Chicago. In the last several years very high police officials, including the head of the detective bureau, have been indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to penitentiary terms for the crimes of blackmail and graft. We have come to expect an annual or semi-annual clean-up campaign of this sort, and we take it for granted—and quite rightly—that no permanent or lasting benefit can result from such campaigns. To see official crooks and civic traitors sent to prison satisfies one's primitive sense of justice, and, in addition, one feels that perhaps, for a time, such a consummation may put "the fear of God" into the breasts of the most hardened and cynical of our criminals in uniform. But, of course, there is a fundamental police problem, and the question is whether the majority of Chicago's citizens—her more intelligent citizens even—have grasped this problem and know where, and in what, its solution lies.

As a matter of fact, Chicago's painful experience has practically demonstrated the soundness of the solution proposed by scientific thinkers and based on European as well as limited American experience. The object lesson has been furnished, though it has not been driven home.

The sources of police corruption, here as in other of our cities, are mainly these: The social evil, professional gambling, and the lawless saloon. Mayor Thompson, either through ignorance and folly, or because of political ambition and hypocrisy, aggravated the saloon situation by his order "to enforce the state law against Sunday closing" regardless of local sentiment and of custom, tradition and precedent. The order has never been impartially enforced; powerful spoils politicians and others have treated it with indifference or contempt. The order became a prolific source of favoritism, cheap politics, corruption and gross unfairness. Many saloon-keepers sought and obtained "protection." This protection had to be purchased. Saloon-keepers sans pull resented the injustice and decided to "take a chance." Police officials, seeing and knowing that the anti-Sunday saloon was largely a farce, used their own discretion—corruptly or otherwise. "Passing the buck" became a favorite practice. The honest police captain had every reason to fear

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[1] See article entitled "The Liquor Question and Municipal Reform," by George C. Sikes, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 411.

that if he took the mayor's public protestations seriously and "enforced the law" strictly, influential politicians of the mayor's faction or brand would "get him" on false charges. The dishonest and crafty captain knew that he was comparatively safe so long as he was backed by the "right people."

This is the situation to-day. There has been no substantial change. The indictment and forced resignation of Chief of Police Healey and several subordinates were followed by the appointment of a new chief and a new "first deputy chief" who are generally believed to be honest and tolerably independent. The anti-Sunday saloon law is now enforced by them with reasonable impartiality. Perhaps the captains and other subordinates are "lying low" and pursuing a policy of watchful waiting. But violations of the law continue; arrests are made every Sunday; many saloon-keepers refuse to take the new policy seriously, and the mayor's various activities and utterances have not been of a character to inspire either confidence or respect. In a few weeks, or months, the collection of tribute is sure to be resumed. The temptation has not been removed; the opportunities for "pickings" are as ample as ever. It is not in police nature to ignore such opportunities.

The Sunday saloon question can be settled, and should be settled, by applying the local option principle in this sphere. Chicago ought to have the legal right to vote the Sunday saloon in or out; more, the several districts or wards of the city ought to have local option with regard to the question. It is idle and unintelligent to expect the newcomers from Italy, Greece, Bohemia, Hungary, Russia, to share the view which the native-born of Puritan descent, for example, take of the Sunday saloon. Where there is no real agreement, or like-mindedness, the law should, so far as possible, recognize honest, deep-rooted differences and conform to them. District local option is accepted by Prohibitionists when the anticipated result favors their policy; it should be as cheerfully accepted by them, and by all true believers on democracy, when the result is likely to be unfavorable to them. District option as to the Sunday saloon would in time eliminate police blackmail and corruption. Nothing else can—not even under an enlightened and incorruptible mayor.

Professional gambling and prostitution, manifestly, are not amenable to local option. They are bound to remain sources of police corruption and criminality. But they need not remain rich and easy sources of corruption. An honest and high-minded mayor, assisted by a vigorous and honest chief of police, and by competent and fit subordinates, would have no very great difficulty—although considerable difficulty—in dealing with professional gamblers and brothels. Consistency, uniformity and reasonableness—these are the desiderata in policy, these the conditions of successful warfare on policemen and politicians who victimize unfortunate women and protect or license gamblers.

In Chicago, the mayor appoints the chief of police. All subordinates are supposed to be under a merit system. Unfortunately, the appointment of chiefs has been governed by politics, by caprice, by anything but the proper considerations. Our chief has no security of tenure; he may be dismissed at any time—or forced to resign, which is the same thing—for any reason—good, bad or indifferent. Our chiefs have had to study the mayor's moods, words, intonations. They have had two sets of orders, one for public consumption, the other for private. A genuine merit system, the right kind of examinations, higher standards for applicants, sufficient training and discipline after appointment, are among the elements of police reform. We cannot have these elements unless we first secure a first-rate mayor and get from him a first-rate merit commission. In Chicago we have a notorious humbug in the mayor's chair and a grotesquely unfit "merit" commission—a commission which has been aptly called by the municipal voters' league "a wrecking crew." Of late its performances have been less reckless, but there is little consolation in this fact. The state's attorney and the grand jury, to repeat, have put "the fear of God" into certain hearts, and public indignation has counseled a measure of discretion.

To sum it all up, the solution of Chicago's police problem lies in a modern charter, home rule, district option wherever applicable, a sound merit system and a strong, fit and fearless civil service commission. A fit mayor could do something even under existing conditions—Mayor Mitchel has done something in New York—but we should think of permanent remedies and facilitate the tasks of good officials—at the same time hampering and shackling poor officials—by devising and installing better governmental machinery and more modern methods.

There is nothing new in all this, but Chicago has emphasized the soundness of it in a dramatic and impressive way.

II. THE MAYOR VS. THE COUNCIL

In the foregoing the existence and importance of the mayor had to be assumed. But Chicago has been led to ask herself another question—Why a mayor at all?

Chicago, as has been stated many times, is "council-governed." Not many appreciate the full significance of this statement. The Chicago city council enjoys real power, and there is no tendency to weaken it. On the contrary, the tendency is to increase the council's power and influence. The legislature unwisely attempted to deprive it of the power to regulate public utilities, but we expect this false step to be retraced. Public sentiment is for home rule even as regards the regulation of public utilities. Governor Lowden is committed to this principle, and so are the present leaders in the legislature.

If, then, the city is governed by its council, why the mayor with his veto, his spoils, his extra-legal and political influence, his machine? Why, having maintained council government in spite of reaction elsewhere, and having succeeded in reclaiming and elevating her council to such an extent that to-day it is a safe instrument of rational reform even at its weakest, why should not Chicago boldly take a stride forward and abolish the mayor? That is, why should not a new charter be framed and submitted to the people, and why should not this new charter provide for a city manager subject to the council instead for a mayor? Why stick to the federal plan and invite friction, waste, inefficiency?

This general question is up in Chicago. Mayor Thompson, by his blunders and offences, has made it vital and acute. Intelligent men in and out of the city council are answering it in the right way. The mayor, with us, is a fifth wheel. He is neither useful nor ornamental. Give the city a strong merit system, a city manager, a scientific budget, and the mayor becomes a superfluity, if not a nuisance.

Mayor Thompson has ventured to do things which abler and more sensible mayors shrank from. He has challenged the council. He and his appointees have waged war against it. He has traduced and misrepresented many of its members. He has fought them brazenly at the polls. His machine has fought good aldermen in obedience to his wishes. The mayor has defeated a few of his opponents and critics at the primaries or elections. Cant, misrepresentation and abuse have not been employed in vain in local politics. Still, on the whole, our council has defeated the mayor and defeated him badly. He is utterly discredited. The press rails at him, the courts have overruled the decisions of his tools, the progressive and decent citizens know that he is a complete failure as mayor. His ignorance and indolence are proverbial.

It is natural enough that in these circumstances the proposal to do away with the mayor should attract warm support in various quarters. But do not hard cases make bad law? Has not Chicago known good mayors and poor, untrustworthy councils? Did not Mayor Harrison fight Yerkes, the franchise-grabber, at a time when the council and the press almost approved a piratical franchise policy? Do we not owe many reforms to our late executives? May we not need executive vetoes in the future as we needed them in the past?

The answer is that whatever the mayor and his veto power may have done for clean government in the past, to-day and for some recent years the friction between the mayor and the council has proved a very serious obstacle to good government and honest municipal politics. The council has been greatly improved; the aldermanic office, in spite of the letter of the law, has been made non-partisan in the eyes of the intelligent voters. Steals and corrupt deals have become impossible in our council. If the council is not as strong intellectually as it should be, this fact is largely attributable to the mayoral factor, to efforts of the executive to control the council, to use it. The mayor's machine regards every able and independent alderman as an enemy and secretly, if not openly, seeks to defeat him at the polls. False issues are raised by the mayor and his machine for this purpose. The average voter is apt to become confused—especially if the mayor happens to possess the gift of buncombe.

Where the mayor is strong, a fusion movement is necessary to take his office out of partisan politics. Where the council governs, as in Chicago, public attention is properly fastened on the council. To expect two successful movements at the same time—one to elevate the council and another to insure the election of fit and non-partisan mayors—in the same city is to expect the improbable. It is certainly significant that in Chicago there is not even the faintest sign of a fusion or non-partisan movement with regard to the mayoralty. We have our hands full taking care of the council and preventing deterioration.

We are not likely to get a much abler and stronger council until we make up our minds that one governing body is enough, and that the mayor can and should be dispensed with in favor of an efficient city manager and expert administration.

Students of government in our big and heterogeneous cities will find it profitable to watch the developments in Chicago on the question of non-partisan councils versus partisan and spoils mayors.

EDITORIAL

THE LEAGUE BROADENS ITS FIELD

Our Springfield meeting is likely to be chiefly remembered for having inaugurated the movement to extend the League's activities to include the improvement of county and state government. The discussion of the proposals will be found in the January issue (pp. 183–191). After a careful survey of the field and a consideration of the questions involved, the following resolution prepared by President Purdy and Vice-president Childs was unanimously adopted:

> WHEREAS, municipal progress is reaching the point where it is increasingly embarrassed by the relative backwardness of state and county government,
>
> *Resolved*, that the League shall hereafter devote such time and attention as may be practicable to the problems of county and state government and that efforts be made to raise additional funds to meet the expenses of the proposed broadening of the League's activities.

A letter setting forth the above facts and others relating to the proposed development of the League's activities was sent to all the members of the League on January 29. The response has been cordial and hearty.

Beginning with this issue the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will be published bi-monthly instead of quarterly. This action is a part of the policy of development inaugurated at Springfield and authorized by the executive committee at its meeting of December 28, 1916. This will bring the magazine into closer and more frequent touch with the members and subscribers, and will increase its effectiveness as an interpreter of current municipal events and as an organ of sound public opinion on governmental problems.

A further step in this development has been the appointment of C. O. Dustin as assistant secretary. Until March 15, Mr. Dustin was the director of the Springfield, Mass., bureau of municipal research. His work in that connection and with the annual meeting in November last is well known. On April 1 he will enter upon his duties, which will include the development of the financial and publicity sides of the League's work and arranging for a larger co-operation with other organizations working in the same field, and in preparing for the annual meeting in November. The secretary of the National Municipal League bespeaks the hearty co-operation of the members with Mr. Dustin.

The present issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will be designated as the March number, and the remaining issues will appear on May 1, July 1, September 1 and November 1. The number of pages in each issue will be smaller, but the total for the year will be the same as heretofore. This change may necessitate the rearrangement of some of the departments, but the inconvenience, if any, will be of a temporary character.[1]

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[1] By reason of the conversion of the REVIEW from a quarterly into a bi-monthly, the publication of the following papers which we had planned to include in the next issue will be carried over to the May issue: "The Building Zone Plan of New York City," Robert H. Whitten; "Methods of Financing City Planning Projects," Nelson P. Lewis; "City Planning and Political Areas," George E. Hooker; "What Has Been Accomplished in City Planning During 1916," George B. Ford; "City Planning Progress—Discussion at the Springfield Meeting." Among the other articles which will have to be carried over under this arrangement is one by Dr. Delos F. Wilcox on "Experts, Ethics and Public Policy," and another by Frederic Rex of Chicago analyzing the measures relating to municipal administration and legislation submitted at the November election.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revision in Philadelphia.—In the summer of 1916 a committee was appointed to consider the revision of the Bullitt bill under which Philadelphia has been operating since the first Monday of April, 1887. This committee in turn appointed a sub-committee which late in December submitted a report under eleven heads.

1. The city and county of Philadelphia. That the existing constitutional distinctions between city and county in Philadelphia should be abolished, and the powers of local government vested in a single municipality. This requires an amendment of the constitution.

2. Making certain elective offices appointive. It was recommended that the city solicitor, one of whose functions is to act as legal adviser to the mayor, and the department heads should be appointed by the mayor, and that the receiver of taxes should be appointed by the city treasurer who is the responsible custodian of the city's funds. These changes do not require an amendment of the constitution.

3. Relieving the judiciary of political functions. The committee very strongly urged that the board of judges should be relieved of the appointment of the board of revision of taxes which is essentially an administrative body, and the board of education which now is a body charged with the duty of determining important questions of policy and wielding the taxing powers but answerable to the people only through the judges, whose selection ought to be independent of political policies. It also recommended that the duty of granting licenses had been harmful to the reputation of the bench in the community, and should be transferred to a board of commissioners to be appointed by the governor or mayor with overlapping terms.

4. Organization of councils. A redistricting of the city providing for 25 wards in place of the 48 was recommended, and a council composed of one representative from each of the new 25 wards suggested in place of the present bicameral system. A salary of $2,500 with an additional $2,500 to the chairman of the finance committee was recommended.

5. Functions of council. The committee recommended that it should be within the power of councils to determine the methods by which assessments of real estate should be made, and that it should be possible for council to delegate to an executive department minor administrative duties that now devolve upon it.

6. The office of mayor and the executive departments. A rearrangement of some of the functions of existing departments in order that there might be a better and more logical definition of functions was urged.

7. City revenue and borrowing. Under this head sundry questions of finance were considered. Among other things the committee recommended that real estate owned by public service corporations which is not now subject to local taxation should be taxed as other real estate, and that ground rents should be taxed as personalty. The committee was also of the opinion that the present method of collecting the personal property tax is inadequate.

8. Appraisement of real estate for taxation. There should be in the committee's judgment a delegation by the state legislature to the city council of the power of determining the method of arriving at the actual value of real estate and it should be made the duty of the board of revision of taxes to apply the method thus laid down.

9. Control of revenue and appropriations. The committee was of the opinion

that a requirement for an annual submission to council of a co-ordinated budget for action by council at a stated time was essential for the attainment of genuine financial efficiency. By budget was meant an estimate made by a responsible public officer, of proposed expenditures and suggestions for financing them.

10. The city's contracting powers and limitations. The present provisions embodied in the statutes of the state, restricting and limiting the right of the city to exercise discretion as to the terms upon which public work may be done, should be replaced by a provision granting to city council discretion to determine within proper limits the terms and conditions upon which city work may be let by contract or the terms and conditions upon which such work may be performed by the city's employes, without contract, provided, however, that no city contract for services should be for a longer period than five years.

11. Control of elections. The committee believed that the powers and duties of the present registration commissioners could very properly be expanded so as to control elections, certainly to the extent of vesting in it the powers and duties now exercised by the county commissioners. It was also recommended that the board should be given by constitutional amendment the power to appoint the election officers as well as registration officers in the various divisions of the city, and that these offices might advantageously be combined.

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The San Diego County Charter.—The San Diego (Cal.) county charter was defeated on February 27, but it is an interesting document, for all that. It marks a turning point in the reform of county government when communities as large as this take such advanced positions as the freeholders did at so many points. The charter really "goes the limit" in its acceptance of the county-manager idea, in the extent to which it recognizes the merit principle of civil service and in the spirit which underlies modern public welfare work.

Framed under the home rule provisions of the California constitution, it provided among other things for an enlarged board of supervisors, one each from nine districts—five from San Diego and its suburbs and the remainder from the outlying districts, these supervisors to be elected at large for overlapping terms. The board was to have only legislative powers and the members were not to be compensated for their services beyond the amount of their actual expenses incurred in pursuance of their duties.

The county manager was to be chosen by the supervisors from a list submitted by the civil service commission. He was to be the actual manager of affairs as well as purchasing agent, road commissioner and surveyor. Under these limitations it is obvious that the county manager would have to be a trained engineer. The appointing power of the manager would not have been large, since all of the principal county officers, with the exception of the civil service commission, the board of public welfare, the sheriff and the district attorney would have been appointed by the board of supervisors, but would doubtless have taken politics out of consideration and left the county manager to all intents and purposes the actual master in administration.

In some respects the county manager was given such large powers as to lead one to suspect that the charter framers somewhat misconceived the theory of the commission-manager plan. For instance, the board of supervisors could not increase the number of officers in any department or the items in the annual budget, except with the county manager's consent. This provision, of course, put the chief servant of the board of supervisors in the rather anomalous position of being able, formally, to dictate to his official superiors. Doubtless, however, in practice the situation would have worked itself out without serious difficulty.

In the matter of civil service, the charter took very high ground indeed. The commission consists of three members, one selected by the governor, one by the judges of the superior court and the third by the board of supervisors. This combination of appointing power should at least have secured independence. Whether or not it would have been a harmonious body is open to some question. All of the principal county officers would have been chosen from lists supplied by this commission.

Incidentally, the proposed new charter, by taking various officers from the ballot and in some cases consolidating two or more, laid the basis for a short ballot county in which the only elective officers were the board of supervisors, the sheriff and the district attorney.

Among other notable provisions of the charter are those which provided for the creation of the office of defender, the institution of a modern audit and purchasing system and the improvement of the judicial township and constable system. A specially constituted board of public welfare consisted of two members appointed by the governor, two by the judges of the superior court, two by the board of supervisors, with the county manager as chairman, ex-officio. This board was charged with the care of the county hospital, county poor farm, the detention home and all indigent and outdoor relief. The executive officer would have been the director of public health and charities, to be appointed by the board from an eligible list supplied by the civil service commission.

The county manager plan is included in the scheme of the city and county government association of Alameda county, Cal., and in the new charter proposed for Napa county. Governor Clark of Iowa twice, during his term, recommended county managers for that state. The adoption of the county-manager law is also part of the program of the county government association of New York state.

H. S. Gilbertson.

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Commission Government in Buffalo.—Commission government has just finished its first year of existence in this city and, in the opinion of most unprejudiced observers, has made good in several definite respects.

The franchise and referendum clauses of the charter were used with good effect at the last general election without friction or extra expense. The questions on the ballot received a reasonable attention on the part of the voter and the vote apparently was satisfactory to the majority. This use of the popular feature has begun to educate our people to a more careful consideration of public questions and to an appreciation of their duties as citizens.

Very definite improvement is seen in the police force, which is much more responsive to public demands than under the old charter. Much less criticism is heard of the chief, who is an appointee of the present government, than of his predecessor.

The health department has undertaken and is carrying out a progressive development in the shape of the establishment of four health centers located in sections of the city where the attention of the health department is most needed. These health centers extend the functions of the health department directly to the spots requiring attention and as each health center is in charge of a health physician giving his entire time to the work, it correlates other health activities such as babies' milk dispensaries, tuberculosis clinics, and all the regular activities of the health department. The result has been most beneficial to the poorer element of the population.

Education has received a new impetus by the appointment of an excellent board of education by the mayor. The work of this board is hampered by a division of responsibility between itself and the commissioner of public affairs. An effort is being made to correct this weakness in the charter by an amendment now before the legislature which will give the entire administrative control to the board but will leave the appointment of the board itself and the control of its budget in the hands of the commission. Discussion of this necessary change is arousing the interested attention of the citizens at the present time.

The administration of the parks has been much improved in the direction of developing their use for the public by the addition of many baseball diamonds, tennis courts, skating rinks, toboggan slides, etc.

In the department of finance and accounts the commissioner has, by his careful and scientific survey of the situation, raised the assessed valuation over two hundred million dollars. A large part of this increase has been obtained by the inclusion of the machinery in factories as real property, under a recent decision of the court, by an increase in the valuation of public service corporation property and of the larger industrial establishments. The attempt has been made to distribute fairly the burden of taxes, and that it has been reasonably successful is shown by the fact that there have been very few protests. This will reduce the rate of taxation considerably and in this way relieve the small taxpayer of a burden which has been growing too heavy for him to carry.

As a whole the tendency of this commission is to spend money rather than to save it but at the same time their efforts have been in the direction of a more democratic distribution of the benefits of the city government than heretofore.

Knowlton Mixer.[1]

Buffalo.

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An Engineer's View of Commission Government.—During this time (since the adoption of commission government in Galveston), certain defects have been found in the system. In the commission plan providing for three or five commissioners, each commissioner is head of a department and there is apt to be continuous friction between the departments. The commission plan gives one commissioner as much power as another, and the commission has no power to remove or discipline one of their number. Quite frequently, one commissioner resents interference from the other commissioners, thus giving the city three or five separate little governments.

While the commission plan got rid of ward log-rolling, it substitutes department log-rolling. A commissioner in order to get his own way in his own department, has to swap votes with and not criticize the other commissioners' budget, which does not tend toward economy.

The commission plan presupposes that commissioners will be elected who have had much experience in the handling of men and the directing of their labors. If only such men are elected, however, much of the population is not represented by men in their own class or walk of life, and usually we find that there are men elected to the commission not because of their special fitness, but because they are good fellows and have a large acquaintanceship among the population who deliver the vote.

The commission plan ignores experience or the value of experience, as the commissioners are frequently elected for only one term, and, therefore, do not hold office long enough to learn the job. With such an insecure tenure of office, it does not seem worth while for a commissioner to study the problems connected with his department, nor is he likely to give his whole mind to the completion of projects started by his predecessor.[2]

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Portsmouth, Va.—T. B. Shertzer of New York city has been appointed the first city manager of Portsmouth. When the position was created the council received 157 applications. The salary of the city manager has been fixed at $4,000 a year. Mr. Shertzer was at the time of his appointment a constructive engineer with the Texas company at Bayonne, N. J., and he has also had experience on the New York subway and with the New York water supply and public service commissions.

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Bristol's Town Manager.—Bristol is the largest urban community in Bucks County, Pa. It is trying an experiment, having appointed under a three years' contract a town manager at a salary of $2,000 a year. It will be his duty to conduct the affairs of this center "under a purely business administration and to get the highest point of efficiency in administration." The appointee is John Roberts.

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[1] A member of the council of the National Municipal League.

[2] From an address by Henry Gerharz, U. S. surveyor-general for Montana.

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"Firing" Engineers in Boston.—If it was intended to demoralize the department of public works in a large city, what better course could be taken than to "fire" some seventeen of its best and most experienced civil engineers because they had not been active in re-electing the mayor? The *Engineering News* of January 11 states that that was just what happened in the department of public works for the city of Boston. These men were under civil service rules. One of them, Mr. McInnes (the most valuable engineer in the city's water department), with two others, appealed to the courts and those courts have found that the removals were "without proper cause and in bad faith."

If it were desired to discourage any high-grade professional expert from accepting appointment in the Boston municipal service, what better course could be taken than was taken by the mayor of Boston in removing Lewis K. Roorke, some two years ago? Roorke was by far the best appointment made for a head of any Boston department in the last ten years, being a civil engineer of great ability and large experience.

The National Board of Fire Underwriters' report shows plainly how the installation of the high pressure service has since been delayed and bungled, so that it will be some years before Boston gets the decrease of fire risk it should have been enjoying now.

Mr. Roorke's position was not strictly under civil service rules. By the Boston charter every such appointment has to be submitted to the state civil service commission who must find after "careful inquiry into his qualifications . . . that in their opinion he is a recognized expert, or he is qualified by education, training, or experience for said office." (Notice "or" instead of "and".)

This is but slight protection. It is in the nature of a "pass" examination. The mayor has perfect freedom to appoint anybody who can "pass," while if the place were under strict civil service rules the mayor would be limited to a choice of one of three, giving very little chance to reward a political worker. There would also be an appeal in case of removal "without cause or in bad faith."

The new system used for seventeen years—of appointing to such high positions through an unassembled competitive investigation of training, education, achievements in life, personality, etc., conducted with the aid of appropriate specialists,—has produced wonderfully good results in hundreds of civil service positions with salaries from $3,000 to $10,000. Such a system, if adopted in Boston, would take the heads of departments completely out of politics. It would take contracts also out of politics and would be the best antitoxin for municipal waste and corruption.

Richard H. Dana.

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The Smoke Nuisance in Chicago.—The Chicago railway terminal commission has gone on record to the effect that it sees no reason why the ordinance to adjust certain matters between the South park commissioners, the city and the New York Central railroad should not provide for the electrification of the suburban service of the railroad within five years of the date of the passage of the ordinance, and the complete electrification of all branches of the service in Chicago within ten years from the passage of the ordinance. Among those signing the report are: Bion J. Arnold, Walter L. Fisher, E. H. Bennett, Frank I. Bennett, commissioner of public works; Morton S. Cressy, assistant corporation counsel; Ellis Geiger, chairman, committee on railway terminals; John F. Wallace, chairman, railway terminal commission.

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The Cincinnati Municipal Reference Library.—The library is under the control of the university, the head of the political science department of the University of Cincinnati being in immediate charge.

The city gave the space in the city hall in a room adjoining the council chamber.

Some months ago the mayor decided that "to save expense" the library should be moved from the city hall to Burnet Woods, some three miles from the city hall and heart of the city where its good influence would be entirely negatived. It was shown that the library cost the city nothing in so far as it was a charge not on the city but on the University, an expense of $1,200 a year.

"Want of space" then became the excuse for the removal of the library as it was claimed this room should be used by the charter commission to be elected April 17. As a matter of fact the space without the library would not be of any real value to the commission as the library proved invaluable to the former charter commission of two years ago.

Numerous civic organizations became active in urging that the library be allowed to remain at the city hall. The board of education adopted a resolution against its removal and stated that it had held sessions there so that it could have at hand information that could be obtained nowhere else. The former charter commission urged that it remain in its present place. In all, nine civic organizations passed resolutions urging the retention of the library at the city hall.

Mayor Puchta then made the rather surprising statement that he had questioned all the department heads and found that, with one exception, none of them used the library.

On January 9 the mayor's ordinance for the removal of the library was unanimously passed, under suspension of the rules, by council.

Just what will be done with the library is at present undecided, although civic organizations have been considering retaining it in the heart of the city. Although the ordinance can exclude it from the city hall, it cannot force the library to go to Burnet Woods since all branches of the university are regulated by state law and are not subject to ordinance of council.

So far as the bureau of research is concerned, the city has a department that is known as the bureau of information and research which does little more than exist and whose title seems to be rather a misnomer. The former, which has always been active for the betterment of municipal affairs, has found it practically impossible to co-operate with the administration.

Herbert F. Koch.[1]

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The Missouri City Manager League was formed in December at a conference at Excelsior Springs under the leadership of Leslie E. Bates, for the purpose of getting through the legislature an optional city manager bill applying to third class cities, between 3,000 and 30,000 population. The bill may be extended to include other classes of cities.

Missouri cities are also supporting bills for extensive amendments guaranteeing larger powers of home rule in police excise and public utilities matters, and the right of excess condemnation, with the creation of county planning boards and city plan commissions in all cities.

✠

New York Police Records.—The entire system of police records in use in New York has been revised by Police Commissioner Woods. Arrests, accidents and complaints are recorded by patrolmen on the street on loose leaf pocket memorandum forms which have been specially prepared to give pertinent data of each case with a minimum amount of writing. Formerly the patrolmen wrote these reports on scraps of paper or in their personal pocket memorandum books.

In the station house the data of arrests, accidents and complaints are transferred to cards under the direction of the lieutenant instead of being entered in books. Each precinct sends its cards to the district inspector daily to be collected by a messenger in an automobile and taken to headquarters where the data from an average of 2,000 cards received daily are transferred to punched Hollerith tabulating cards. By means of this system all police activities are recorded and classified with a minimum of clerical labor and the department has a complete record of every case available at any time.

Leonhard Felix Fuld.

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[1] Executive secretary, Cincinnati city club.

II. POLITICS[1]

Atlanta's New Mayor.—Asa G. Candler, the multi-millonaire manufacturer of coca-cola, began his term as mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, January 1. He was nominated in the primary in August, 1916, over a single opposing candidate by a vote of two to one. Prior to his entry into the race, three candidates, all of whom were identified with the existing political potpourri, had announced their candidacy. They were all regarded as good men, but by virtue of their connection with city politics they had a drab color to the popular view, and the general attitude towards the race was characterized by indifference and a feeling that there was no use trying to secure any effective improvement in the city's administration; but two of the candidates withdrew from the race in favor of Mr. Candler, who was induced against his personal wishes to make the fight because he recognized the baleful effects upon the city's welfare which citizen indifference were causing. Mr. Candler is said by local correspondents to be a deeply religious man "whose spiritual nature has found expression in regular church activity and generous gifts to many good causes, including a million and a quarter dollars to Emory University. He could not resist the call to service when a group of citizens faced him with the public demand for it. His liberality is widely appreciated and his honesty and sound sense widely trusted. He seemed the only man in the city who combined the power to win the election and to bring the people together in a government for public welfare."

After his election in the primary a street car strike took place and a new source of division arose. Mr. Candler's participation in the efforts to preserve order caused an independent candidate to come out against him. This candidate did not receive even a solid labor vote, and Mr. Candler began his administration as the "people's mayor."

There is already a different public attitude towards the city government. Co-operation between different departments and between citizens and civic organizations with public officials is becoming more and more apparent.

Mr. Candler went into office on no other platform than that of his personality. He made no extravagant promises. In the primary he surprised people with his ability as a campaigner. He took his audiences into his confidence. He would give vent to statements like this: "They say I don't know anything about city government. When they proposed to make me president of the Central bank, Gene Black said I didn't know anything about banking, but I told Gene I could learn about banking and I guess some of you know that I can tell when it is safe to lend a fellow money. I can learn about city government, too, without having to unlearn a lot of things some other fellows know to your sorrow."

"There is every reason to believe" our correspondent writes, "that Mr. Candler has learned and is learning, and that he recognizes the handicaps of inflexible tax laws and an obsolete charter. Doubtless he feels that he must make the people also recognize these handicaps before he can speak freely, and that in order to open their eyes and unify opinion for changes which must come if his administration is to be genuinely successful, a fact basis must be laid through research and appraisement.

"Mr. Candler is a big man whose money has not dulled his sympathy for the little things which make up life for the average human being. He is approachable and cordial in manner. He is decisive without being overbearing; quick but sure of judgment. He is outspoken without a trace of bitterness. An incident which throws much light upon him occurred recently when Harry Gardiner, 'the human fly,' sought permission to climb his skyscraper. There was some question in the mind of the manager of the building as to legal liability in case Gardiner should fall in the course of his climb. They took the matter to Mr. Candler's lawyer who advised that they submit it to Mr. Candler himself. So Gardiner and the manager and the lawyer went down to his office and explained how Gardiner wanted to climb the building, and that there might be some accident and liability. 'Well,' said Mr. Candler 'I always decide against a fool.' They all laughed and Gardiner went in search of another skyscraper."

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

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The Completed Vindication of A. Leo Weil.—A special grand jury of the intermediate court of Kanawha county, West Virginia, in January, 1915, returned four indictments against A. Leo Weil, the purpose being to cover different phases of the same alleged offence.[1] The circuit court of the county granted a writ of prohibition which, upon hearing, was made permanent, prohibiting the intermediate court from further proceeding in any way with the cases. The state appealed from this decision to the supreme court of appeals of West Virginia, and the circuit court was reversed. From the decision of the state supreme court, the defendant was granted an appeal to the supreme court of the United States where the case is now pending. The criminal charges against the defendant grew out of the rate case of the Manufacturers Light & Heat company against the public service commission, involving the fixing of gas rates for industrial and domestic consumers throughout a large section of the northern part of the state. The rate case a short time ago was amicably adjusted, and the suits involving the several phases of it pending in the federal courts were dismissed.

In the formal statement the prosecuting attorney, who had prepared the indictment said:

> As a result of the investigations which I made while prosecuting attorney of the county and recent developments in connection with the criminal charges, which satisfied me that there was not sufficient evidence to justify the state in bringing Mr. Weil to trial, I became and am convinced that it was impossible to secure a conviction. The criminal charges have already cost the state much money, and to proceed further with this case upon the indictments would involve the further expenditure of large sums. Being familiar with these cases in every detail, and convinced as I am that a conviction could not be secured, it would be abortive to proceed further. The present prosecuting attorney of this county, with the consent of the court, has signified his willingness to *nolle pros* the indictments pending against the defendant upon this recommendation from me, and with the further assurance that this action is satisfactory to all parties interested in the prosecution.

The following is a statement made by the present prosecuting attorney:

> The Weil indictments were pending when I went into office as prosecuting attorney, and upon investigations of the contemplated procedure, theretofore undertaken by the state, and the evidence upon which it relied to secure a trial and conviction, I became convinced of three things:
>
> First: The state could not secure a conviction for the alleged offence under its circumstances.
>
> Second: That no offence in fact had been committed.
>
> Third: That if trial and conviction were to be based alone upon the statements of such witnesses as one Guy Biddinger, upon whose evidence the state's case was predicated, and who is now under numerous indictments in Illinois, Kanawha county for the next four years would have a minimum of criminal court work.
>
> In the first two, I have been borne out by the statement of Mr. Townsend, former prosecutor, who was originally in charge of the case and who in view of his statements should have taken this step himself.
>
> It is my hope and desire to prosecute violations of the law as contemplated by the statute of this state, but to make such prosecutions justly. I am convinced of the injustice that has been done in this matter, and don't hesitate to remedy it to the extent of my ability.
>
> This is my answer to those who seek prosecutions for political purposes in Kanawha county throughout the next four years.

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[1] See article on "The Vindication of A. Leo Weil," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 455.

The Interesting Experience of Paducah, Ky.—On January 1, 1916, five men took office, four as commissioners, one as mayor. A suit was immediately filed against four of them, alleging fraudulent election, and in June the court of appeals ordered them "ousted." The question then arose, who had the power to fill vacancies. The governor jumped into the breach and appointed two of those who had been ousted, and two others; the remaining commissioner, against whom no suit has been filed (who simply sat still in the boat), then appointed four commissioners to fill the vacancies. The two of those ousted who were not reappointed by either the governor or the hold-over commissioner, refused to vacate, until the court of appeals decided the governor had the power to appoint, and all the others stepped down and out. The appointments were to hold until November, when another election was held. At that time, about November 10, four entirely new commissioners were declared elected to sit with Mr. Washington. No sooner had this board qualified than suit was filed under a new "corrupt practices act" against the four new men. This suit is now pending, but it is believed that the present incumbents will have to step out.

It has been suggested by representative citizens that when the time came for the next regular election (the men being elected only for the year November, 1916, to November, 1917) they would endeavor to secure four or five (as the case may require) men of unimpeachable character, and good business ability, to run for office, and every endeavor would be made to have them elected, and that these men pool their salaries and hire a city manager. The great difficulty now is that the salary ($3,000) is too much for the type of men who run for office, and it would be hazardous to make the salary more, until the people are sufficiently aroused to demand the best men for office.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

An Important Billboard Decision.—On January 15, 1917, the supreme court of the United States[1] affirmed the decision of the Illinois supreme court[2] which sustained a Chicago ordinance provision prohibiting the erection of billboards in any residence block without the consent of the owners of a "majority of the frontage of the property on both sides of the street in the block." Following the line of reasoning pursued by the Illinois court, the highest court of the land did not base its decision upon æsthetic considerations. The prohibition involved in the ordinance was justified wholly upon the ground that it was "in the interest of the safety, morality, health, and decency of the community." Referring to the evidence in respect to insufficient fire and police protection in residence districts, which the Illinois court held to have been erroneously excluded at the trial, the United States court declared broadly that even if this testimony were neglected there remained sufficient evidence to show the propriety of the prohibition in question.

In spite of the grounds upon which the decision was reached, this case will naturally be acclaimed with joy by all those who are interested in furthering the cause of municipal æsthetics. The court evidently did not deem it necessary to discuss the question whether these usual subjects of the police power—the public safety, morality, health, and decency—could have been adequately protected by regulation falling short of actual prohibition. The requirement that billboards should be constructed of fireproof materials, without obstructive supports, and with sufficient clearance above the ground to prevent the harboring of lawbreakers and immoral persons or the collection of inflammable rubbish or filth would doubtless have accomplished every one of the specific public purposes mentioned. But the court elected, without considering these details, to rest its decision upon the broad grounds indicated.

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[1] *Thomas Cussack Co.* v. *City of Chicago.*

[2] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 312.

There is no question, moreover, that the case sustains the rule that billboards may be absolutely prohibited, at least in residence districts; for it was pointed out that the provision allowing the erection of billboards with the consent of property owners was in the nature of a *concession* to the billboard interests. The prohibition could have been made absolute. The claim, therefore, that the ordinance was impaired by this provision was "palpably frivolous."[1]

Although the point was not stressed, this case must be taken to sustain the competence of a city to create zones or districts for purposes of billboard exclusion. This would be in line with recent decisions[2] upholding zoning ordinances enacted for the purpose of excluding more or less offensive trades and industries from residence districts.

Howard Lee McBain.

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City Manager Charter.—In *Kopczynski* v. *Schriber*,[3] the validity of the charter of Grand Rapids was attacked partly on the ground that after creating the office of mayor it conferred certain powers on the city manager in conflict with those of the mayor. The relator in the case was trying to get a mandamus compelling the city clerk to accept and file his nominating petition for alderman, an office not provided for by the new charter. The court insisted that this was not the proper proceeding in which to test the validity of the new charter, but felt that public policy required that they consider the question. They decided that the charter, in so far as it provided for the election by the council of one of their own number as mayor, did not conflict with the home rule act[4] requiring the election of a mayor, since the word "election" is not limited in its meaning simply to a vote of the people. They decided that the city charter did not conflict with the constitution and was not invalid in its entirety.

Construction of Municipal Powers.—In the case of *Stevenson* v. *Port of Portland*,[5] the incorporated port of Portland planned to erect bunkers and coal ships in order to meet the competition of Puget Sound ports. The plaintiff sued to prevent the carrying out of the plan. In 1908 the voters had initiated and adopted a measure, attempting to confer this power. The court decided that the port would have to get enabling legislation, although they admitted that the coaling would be incidental to the public purpose for which the port was created.

In *New Orleans* v. *Shuler*,[6] it was decided that by a charter giving the city all powers, privileges and functions which pursuant to the constitution could be granted to or exercised by any city, the legislature has delegated to the city the power to license or prohibit placing gasoline storage tanks under sidewalks with the pump at the edge of the walk. The defendant refused to pay the license fee and claimed that the power had not been delegated to the city. The upper court affirmed his conviction of violating the city ordinance.

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Home Rule.—In *Loop Lumber Company* v. *Van Loben Sels*,[7] it was decided that the statute requiring a contractor for city work, before entering on performance, to give a bond for payment of materials and labor, is inconsistent with the city's freeholder charter, purporting to provide all the conditions precedent for a contractor for city sewer construction proceeding with the work, including the giving of a bond, conditioned, however, only on faithful performance of the contract, and so inapplicable to such work in such city. The California constitution makes the city charter absolutely controlling, and free from impairment by general laws as to all "municipal affairs."

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Mandamus - Salaries.—In *People* v. *Prendergast*,[8] the New York board of estimate and apportionment was mandamused to appropriate salaries for positions established by law and salaries fixed by law. A special statute[1] was held to be an exception to the Greater New York charter. The county register appoints; the board of estimate can only appropriate. This is a splendid example of state interference with local affairs. It shows how difficult budget procedure becomes under such conditions.

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[1] The case was distinguished from *Eubank* v. *Richmond*, 226 U. S. 137, 1912.

[2] Notably *Hadacheck* v. *Sebastian*, 239 N. S. 394, 1915.

[3] 161 N. W. 238.

[4] Pub. Acts 1909, no. 279, section 3.

[5] 162 Pacific 509.

[6] 73 Southern 715.

[7] 159 Pacific 600 (California).

[8] 114 N. E. 860.

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Municipal Exemption from Liability for Torts.—There have been decided recently a number of cases in which municipalities have been sued on the ground of negligence in the management of parks and other recreational facilities. In most of them the usual interpretation of no liability for acts of the sovereign in the performance of governmental functions as distinguished from private proprietary or corporate acts has been continued. In *Bolster* v. *City of Lawrence*,[2] the Massachusetts supreme court said that though the city makes a small charge for use of its public baths from which it derives a comparatively insignificant income, that does not affect the public character of the baths so as to render the city liable for the torts of its officers in connection therewith. This is the conventional Massachusetts view. In *Robbins* v. *Omaha*[3] the Nebraska court said that although a boy was drowned from a raft in a pool in a public park, the pool and raft did not constitute a nuisance and the city's demurrer was sustained. There was a brief dissenting opinion in which one judge felt that unless it was conclusively shown that the city was performing a governmental function the plaintiff stated a good cause of action. In *Hibbard* v. *Wichita*[4] it was decided that maintaining a zoölogical garden in a public park is a governmental function and that the city is not liable in damages for injuries inflicted by animals on visitors through the negligence of the city's officers or agents in not properly confining them. One judge felt that the city maintained a nuisance and should be liable. In *Pope* v. *New Haven*[5] the court decided that when the city gives a fourth of July celebration with fireworks and a spectator is killed by a bomb failing to explode in the air, the city is not liable because it is engaged in a governmental duty. The city held the celebration under authority of its charter and not for pecuniary profit. It was held in a dangerous place, however, near a crowded street. The court said in passing that if the act had been intrinsically dangerous the city would have been liable. We now come to a case in which the city was held liable, *Kokomo* v. *Loy*.[6] Here the employee of park was injured while trying to unload a cannon under the direction of one acting for the park superintendent. The park commissioners were appointed by city councils. The court said that there were two kinds of acts, one, political and governmental, the other, private, proprietary or corporate. Liability depends upon the capacity in which the city was acting at the time. In this case the city was acting in its corporate capacity.

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Municipal Pensions. — Although the Seattle charter[7] provides that any person in the civil service disabled in the course of his duty shall receive full pay during disability, not to exceed thirty days, and half pay not to exceed six months, the employe will receive this pay though he is injured by a third party in the course of his employment and recovers from the third party. The lower court felt that the pension should be compensatory and not cumulative. The upper court[8] reversed the decision and the causes were remanded with instructions to enter judgment for the plaintiffs.

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Municipal Regulation of Gas Rates.—In *Newark Natural Gas and Fuel Company* v. *The City of Newark, Ohio*,[9] the question was whether an ordinance fixing the maximum price for natural gas at 20 cents per thousand cubic feet for a period of five years with 10 per cent discount for prompt payment, described as 18 cents "net" is confiscatory and therefore contrary to the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment. The gas company, in this case a distributing company only, operated under a 25-year franchise which permitted a rate of 25 cents for ten years, but the company within the period had reduced the rate to 18 cents net and maintained it for several years before the ordinance of 1911 was passed. The company refused to accept the terms of the ordinance and insisted on a 25 cent rate. The city filed a petition for a mandatory injunction. The court decreed for the city, but without prejudice to the right of the gas company to apply for a modification if it should appear later that a rate of 18 cents did not render an adequate return. The supreme court of Ohio[1] affirmed the decree. No confiscation was found after full examination of the value of the property. The supreme court of the United States affirmed the decision of the state court, stating that the gas company had failed to show that the ordinance had the effect of depriving it of its property without due process of law.

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[1] Laws of 1913, chapter 776.

[2] 114 N. E. 722.

[3] 160 N. W. 749.

[4] 159 Pacific 399.

[5] 99 Atlantic 51.

[6] 112 N. E. 994.

[7] Article 16, section 32.

[8] 159 Pacific 816.

[9] 37 Supreme Court Reporter 156.

Robert Emmet Tracy.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Charitable Transportation in the South.—A year's experience as secretary of a charity organization society in a southern city affords sufficient proof of seriousness of the charitable transportation problem of the south. During 1916 the associated charities of Jacksonville has dealt with 530 homeless men, and never less than seven transient families per month, one month as high as 21, and an average of 14 per month. The experience of other charity organization societies throughout the seven southeastern states is quite similar. For example, during the past fiscal year of its society, Atlanta had 225 homeless men and 89 transient families; Charlotte, N. C., 98 homeless men and 11 transient families; Columbia, S. C., 190 homeless men and transient families. The Jackson, Miss., society worked with 272 homeless men and 19 transient families; while New Orleans had the highest number of homeless men, namely 1,250, and a large number of transient families of which they could give no definite statement as no count had been kept separate from that of the resident families for which they cared. Jacksonville, however, has had to face the problem perhaps more often than any other southern city. It was this fact that led Mayor J. E. T. Bowden to call the first annual convention of the mayors' association of the South Atlantic and Gulf states, in Jacksonville, January 18, 19 and 20, 1916.

Private organizations have often supplied the method for dealing with certain social problems of public significance, and in this particular case the way had been paved for dealing with this question by a committee on charitable transportation of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. In conjunction with the Russell Sage Foundation this committee has worked out a transportation agreement that has now been signed by over 600 cities and societies throughout the country. By its terms no charity transportation of any form is to be granted until it is definitely established by other means than through the applicant's statements that the applicant will have at the point of destination, such resources as will insure his condition being materially benefited by the change in locality. One of three conditions must be fulfilled before it can be adjudged that the applicant's condition will be bettered: He must have at the point of destination a legal residence, or friends or relatives who will care for him, or a position awaiting him in which he can earn a living.

The purpose of the mayors' convention, as the meeting in Jacksonville came to be called, was stated in these words, "to consider the best methods of handling the traveling dependent and to adopt rules and regulations, prohibiting sending such from one city to another." Early in its session a committee brought back a proposed model ordinance which incorporated, word for word, the national transportation agreement, and made it obligatory upon any city, which might subsequently adopt the ordinance, to fulfill the terms of the transportation agreement in the issuance of charity transportation. This was adopted by the convention as the principal feature of its proceedings. A copy of it was sent to every society and charitable organization in Georgia, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida. Subsequent to the convention, this ordinance was passed by a number of the cities. Exact results are not available, but such cities as have passed it are the larger centers. The vast number of smaller places throughout these states have not as yet taken any definite stand.

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[1] 92 Ohio State 393.

The general practice of the railroads has been to issue a straight two cent mile rate on the recommendation of the mayor or some charitable organization in the city from which the transportation is to be secured, to any point lying within the area of the southeastern passenger association. The social results have been very bad indeed. It is actually easier for the dependent to travel from city to city in the south, especially if he is maimed or disabled so that he may become a successful beggar, than it is for him to live in one particular spot. For example, recently a crippled beggar who had lost both of his limbs in an accident, rolled into our office on a wheeled contrivance of his making, and asked for assistance. Upon being interviewed he disclosed the fact that within the past two years he had passed through 102 southern cities, the names of which he remembered, besides others, doubtless, which he had forgotten. In practically all of these cities he had found it possible, after begging a few hours, to secure through someone, cheap rate transportation to the next town.

Bad as the effect of this haphazard way of passing on dependents has been upon the homeless men, it is much more disastrous, of course, in its effect upon families where there are little children. Some months ago a mother and seven little ones arrived in Jacksonville, having been passed on by a smaller town a little farther down the state. Her story was that they had arrived in the former town penniless, and that kind-hearted people had taken up a collection with which to send them to Jacksonville. The associated charities attempted by every means, so long as their legal residence could not be established anywhere else, to plant them firmly here, but it seemed that for years they had been travelling from one place to another, living in a hand to mouth fashion upon the mistaken generosity of the public, and it was only a few weeks after they came in spite of the fact that they were being assisted materially and otherwise, that between night and morning, the whole family disappeared to go on its wandering, precarious way.

The south is literally full of such families. They have become detached from their own locality and have found that city after city will gladly take up a collection for them, or secure relief from the city officials, sufficient to send them to the next town to avoid making a real investigation, or providing any systematic method by which they can earn or otherwise be furnished a real livelihood.

It was, however, not so much the effect of this haphazard policy upon the homeless men and families themselves that caught the attention of the mayors and social workers who met at the convention, as it was the tremendous expense ultimately involved. The testimony of such societies and cities as have signed the transportation agreement, is that the taking of this step, even without a reciprocal agreement on the part of many other cities, has meant an immediate saving in money. It has been demonstrated that an attempt definitely to plant the transient family in the new community, and to realize its economic and social possibilities is less immediately costly to the city, in the average instance, than the sending of the family on to the next town.

It is impossible to calculate the still greater saving which would result providing all southern cities should adopt the principles of the transportation agreement, and thus, not only protect themselves from the expense of wholesale issuance of charity transportation, but also refrain from burdening sister cities through the passing on of paupers.

A much more rapid method of making progress is that suggested by the action taken by the trunk line passenger association of the east, and the central passenger association, which operates out of Chicago. That taken by the former prohibits railroads from issuing charity transportation except on the recommendation of the society which is a signer of the national transportation agreement. The same principle has been adopted by the central association, only in this case the united charities of Chicago is alone accredited for such issuance. Were the southeastern association to adopt this principle it would materially hasten complete co-operation among the southern cities through the universal signing of the transportation agreement.

The whole question was up before the southeastern association early in 1916, but no definite action was taken. The feeling seemed to be that the granting of transportation only on the basis of signature to the transportation agreement could not be enforced at the present time owing to the small number of such signers throughout the southern states. However, this consideration of the question has paved the way. It may be possible that by working at both ends the difficult situation can some time be met. Meanwhile, among themselves, the charity organization societies of the south are living up to the agreement. Occasionally they are also able to secure control of granting of transportation in their respective cities by securing close co-operation of the city government, even though the cities are not signers of the agreement. This is notably true in New Orleans, and Munroe, Ala. In still other cities, even where the city is a signer, it has been found to be satisfactory to have a private organization make the investigations and administer transportation under the law. Examples of this are to be found in Jackson, Columbia, and Jacksonville.

This regulation of charity transportation is only one of the first steps in the long struggle which will be necessary before the transient family and the wandering homeless man are made social phenomena of the past. Our loose social organization, the comparatively few opportunities in small towns for proper industrial training and vocational guidance, and many other facts, contribute to the causes which uproot individuals and family groups from localities, and start them wandering about over the country in the hope of securing real or imagined advantages. However, the spirit which is now working so strenuously for the systematic regulation of charity transportation is the spirit which will eventually save us from more fundamental social difficulties.

Homer W. Borst.[1]

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The College in Politics.—A rather novel illustration of what a college may do for the cause of good government is found in the recent experiences of Reed College in Portland, Oregon, where the college provided speakers on the initiative and referendum measures in the election of 1916 to sixty audiences reaching perhaps one-fifth of the registered voters.

The ballot presented eleven measures covering a wide range of issues, such as registration of ships, single tax, rural credits, variations of prohibition, anti-vaccination, Sunday closing laws, single item veto, normal schools, and tax limitation. To form an adequate decision on these measures demanded a vast amount of information and research.

The task of spreading this information over the whole city was truly great. It was approached in the following manner: For a month prior to the campaign, five members of the faculty and seventeen students from the departments of politics, sociology, economics and public speaking formed themselves into a group for the purpose of studying the measures. Special committees of research were appointed on each measure. The group then met at regular intervals and discussed the measures from various angles. As a result at the end of a month they felt pretty thoroughly prepared to present the measures adequately and to answer the thousands of questions that were sure to come. A publicity agent and manager were appointed by whom circular letters were sent out to the various clubs and organizations of the city offering the services of the college speakers. As a result, during a campaign of six weeks, speakers addressed sixty audiences averaging seventy individuals in the audience. If each individual in the audience on the average discussed the measures with five other individuals, the Reed College speaker probably reached one fifth of the registered voters. This is a conservative estimate, for in Oregon before an election there is a great deal of discussion on the measures between individuals. Furthermore, these meetings covered the area of Portland fairly thoroughly. There were really few individuals in the city who did not live within three quarters of a mile of a place where a meeting was held. The meetings were held in school-houses, churches, settlement houses, community centers, club houses, libraries, fraternity halls, private homes and hotels. Usually three speakers addressed each meeting for perhaps an hour and a quarter. Questions and discussions followed for an hour. The discussions were generally lively and sometimes were a little warm for the speakers, inasmuch as there were partisans or specialists on a particular issue in the audience.

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[1] Associated charities, Jacksonville, Fla.

This activity was of very great value for the cause of intelligent voting, as the information was thorough, accurate, unbiased and spread widely. It was also of educational value to the speakers. It is also a precedent showing that a college's activities need not be confined to the classroom and the athletic field, but rather that a college may enter politics and speak on political, social and economic issues. William F. Ogburn.

Reed College.

American Political Science Association and Municipal Government.—At the meetings of the American Political Science Association held at Cincinnati during the last week of December, two sessions were devoted to the discussion of municipal government. At the session of Thursday, December 28, Henry M. Waite, city manager of Dayton, gave an interesting address on "Three Years of Commission-Manager Government" in which he laid particular emphasis on what had been achieved in the humanitarian departments of the Dayton administration; such as promotion of public recreation, interest in music, and the general awakening of civic interest in things worth while. Hon. Henry T. Hunt, former mayor of Cincinnati, read a carefully prepared paper on "The Obstacles to Municipal Progress," in which he dwelt upon the difficulty of transforming civic ideals into concrete realities of administration. Ex-Mayor Hunt's address, which was of a most interesting character, will be published in the *American Political Science Review.*

The foregoing papers were discussed by Dr. Robert C. Brooks of Swarthmore College and by Dr. L. D. Upson of the bureau of governmental research, Detroit. There was a further discussion from the floor in which Professor John A. Fairlie of the University of Illinois, Professor Edgar Dawson of Hunter College and Professor Henry Jones Ford of Princeton University took part.

On Friday, December 29, there was a luncheon conference on "Bureaus of Reference and Research as Aids in the Teaching of Political Science." Professor S. Gale Lowrie of the University of Cincinnati presided. Short addresses were made by Professors Lowrie, F. G. Bates of Indiana University, W. B. Munro of Harvard University, Charles A. Beard of Columbia University and R. T. Crane of the University of Michigan. It came out very plainly in this discussion that the problems confronting a bureau of research in connection with a university were altogether different from those of bureaus maintained for cities either under public or private auspices.

Community Giving.—Gifts in money or in art treasures, reaching a grand total of $300,000, have been recently presented to the city of Denver by her citizens. When Mayor R. W. Speer re-entered office last May he announced that one of the chief adornments of the civic center should be a Court of Honor to Civic Benefactors, where all gifts of moment would be recorded in stone. This announcement awakened a sense of civic patriotism, of which the gifts that followed were merely the expression.

Mr. J. A. Thatcher, a pioneer banker, gave a $100,000 fountain, designed by Lorado Taft of Chicago. The heirs of Junius F. Brown, a pioneer merchant, presented paintings valued at $100,000, which had been collected by the merchant during his lifetime. John C. Shafer of Denver and Chicago, a newspaper proprietor of Denver, presented a $50,000 painting. Various individuals and business concerns raised $50,000 for a monster pipe organ in the municipal Auditorium. Another citizen gave $20,000 for an ornamental entrance to the city park, and still another $10,000 for an ornamental gateway. One citizen presented $5,000 for bubble drinking fountains in the business district. And these, apparently, are but the forerunners for greater gifts, for a citizens' committee is now being organized to raise funds for a municipal art gallery on the civic center.

W. F. R. Mills.[1]

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Secretary's Trip.—The secretary of the National Municipal League left Philadelphia on January 23 for a trip which occupied twenty-four days and included visits to Austin, Waco, Fort Worth and Dallas in Texas; Kansas City and St. Joseph, Mo.; Topeka and Lawrence, Kansas; Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee and LaCrosse, Wis.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Davenport, Iowa City and Des Moines, Iowa.

Most of his 29 addresses were before business bodies, although four state universities were included in his trip: Texas, Kansas, Minnesota and Iowa. The secretary reports a very general interest in the city-manager form of government as embodied in the model city charter of the National Municipal League, also in the subject of city planning as involving preparedness along governmental, material and social lines. Everywhere he found a deep interest in the control of the liquor traffic through prohibition. He further reports a general and enthusiastic response to the recent announcement of the League's determination to take up for constructive consideration the questions of county and state government. While in Topeka he had an extended interview with the governor of Kansas, the Hon. Arthur Capper, a long-time member of the League, who is not only interested in the city-manager form of government, but in the suggestion of a state manager to look after the various state institutions and bureaus.

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St. Louis Outer Park and Boulevard System.—The recent approval of a three million dollar road bond issue by St. Louis county, makes possible the development of the outer park and boulevard system advocated since 1907 by the St. Louis civic league. The movement has had a rocky career for nine years, with obstacles thrown in its way by the legislature, the supreme court and city officials. It was once defeated in a popular election, largely because of the feeling that the city would be taxed for the benefit of the county (St. Louis being entirely separate from the county). While the voting of the bonds will not make possible the purchase of the scenic reservations contemplated in the original plan, it will at least provide boulevards and highways connecting the city and suburban towns with the chief scenic areas on the three rivers which bound the county. The county is planning to employ an expert engineer to conceive the plan in the spirit of city planning.

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Instruction of Policemen.—In 1915 Raymond B. Fosdick of New York gave a course of six lectures to the police of

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[1] Manager of improvements and parks, Denver, Colo.

Washington. There were two lectures to sergeants and patrolmen on methods of patrol, use of weapons, methods of supervision, etc., two were devoted to the detectives on matters relating to their department, and two to the higher offices of the department, all illustrated throughout with references to European methods. Mr. Fosdick has been invited by Professor William Bennet Munro of Harvard to deliver the same addresses to the policemen of Cambridge, and especially to consider criminal identification, methods of patrol and supervision, and the scientific detection of crime. This course has been inaugurated at Harvard at the suggestion of Mayor W. D. Rockwood of Cambridge.

Plans for the establishment of a school for policemen and another for firemen of San José, Cal., are being made by City Manager Thomas H. Reed. The courses for the firemen will include lectures by prominent fire chiefs and experts from the coast, and will include administration and practice in climbing, jumping and rescue work and study of the lighting methods. The policemen will be required to make a study of the ordinances of the city and the laws of the state and of the whole penal code, and will also be given a thorough training in first aid work. One of the most important parts of the course will be the study of criminal identification, including finger prints, the Bertillon system and the *modus operandi* of the system.

The faculty of the law school of Northwestern University has offered a course of systematic evening instruction to the members of the Chicago police force.

Members of the faculty of Columbia University, including Professor Gifford, Emory R. Buckner, Dr. Bernard Glueck, and Professor McBain, are giving a course for the policemen of New York City, in which more than five hundred members of the force are enrolled.

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Motion Pictures of Recreation Activities.—Park Commissioner Raymond V. Ingersoll of Brooklyn[1] has shown what can be done through motion pictures in bringing to citizens a vivid impression of actual conditions and activities in a system of parks and playgrounds. During the summer of 1916, more than 3,000 feet of films were taken under careful supervision. It takes about one hour to show these films. They were first produced at the Triangle theatre, Brooklyn, at an entertainment at which all the employes of the park department were present. Since then the department has responded to scores of invitations to have the pictures shown in the public schools and before various organizations. As Brooklyn has a large area, a population greater than that of Philadelphia, and more than 40 separate park and playground properties, these pictures are serving to show to the people certain existing opportunities for wholesome outdoor recreation, with which very few are completely familiar.

The pictures show some of the picturesque landscape in Prospect park, on the boulevards, and along the shore fronts. There are also illustrations of interesting park operations, such as the spraying and pruning of park and street trees. The chief emphasis, however, has been placed upon active recreation. Three hundred tennis courts in Prospect park are shown in active use as are also 25 baseball diamonds at the Parade grounds. Boating on Prospect park lake and winter skating on this lake and on the small artificial ponds, which have been built in various parts of the borough, make scenes full of life and activity. Pictures are shown of games and dancing in the playgrounds; and interesting views are given of children in the wading basins, swimming pools and on the Coney island beaches. Views of the children's farm gardens are particularly picturesque and appealing.

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The League of Iowa Municipalities has heretofore had no special legislative funds, but this year it is asking the different cities and towns, members of the league, to pay from $5 to $20 according to their population, to pay the expenses of the legislative committee and employ a man at Des Moines to read all bills and see that they do not have anything in them that would be detrimental to the cities and towns. This man will also keep track of each bill as it is reported by the different committees and see that after the bill is reported by the committee that it has nothing inserted that would be detrimental to the cities and towns.

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[1] A member of the Council of the National Municipal League since 1909.—EDITOR.

In writing of this work, Secretary Pierce of the Iowa league says: "I might state that the Iowa league of municipalities probably gives more time to legislative matters than any other league, as we feel that in a way we represent the people and that it is up to us to look after their interests as opposed to the interests of the corporations' special interests, who usually have large lobbies at the legislature to see that their interests are taken care of."

⁂

The Texas City Planning Association met in Sherman, February 8. There was an attendance of over 400 from northern Texas and southern Oklahoma, in addition to the 600 Sherman people. The *Dallas News* is now featuring the papers that were read. It is expected they will be published in pamphlet form.

⁂

"New Jersey Municipalities," devoted to efficiency and progress in municipal administration, is the title of the official organ of the New Jersey state league of municipalities. The editor is Claude H. Anderson, who is in charge of the bureau of municipal information conducted jointly by the Princeton University library and the New Jersey state league of municipalities. In addition to being well arranged, the magazine is well printed which adds to the pleasure of its reading.

⁂

"The Modern City" is the title of a new "international magazine" published by the League of American Municipalities as its official magazine. Its editor is Robert E. Lee, the secretary of the organization. The first number, which contains 64 pages, is profusely illustrated and contains the pictures of the mayors of the leading cities of the country and the officers of the League.

This publication bears the same title as another publication published at Indianapolis, of which J. Ewing Cowgill is editor, volume 2, number 1 of which bears the same date as the first number of the first mentioned publication. The Indianapolis publication is designed according to its publishers "for thinking people who live in cities."

⁂

Municipal Year Book of the City of New York.—Eight thousand copies of the 1915 edition of this book edited by Dr. C. C. Williamson were sold in 1916. As a text-book it has been used extensively in the schools and colleges of the city and by those preparing for civil service examinations.

⁂

Public Health Notes.—The *American Journal of Public Health* carries a department of reports and notes giving the more important developments in the field of public health. The same publication is carrying on a bureau of information which readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are at liberty to resort to and which they will find most helpful.

⁂

A Woman Council.—Umatilla, Oregon, has the unique distinction of having a legislative body composed entirely of women, due to the fact that the women's ticket defeated the men's ticket at the recent election. The new mayor, Mrs. E. E. Starcher, defeated her husband for the office.

⁂

Fairhope, Alabama, the oldest single tax community in the United States, celebrated its twenty-second anniversary on January 22.

⁂

Professor William Bennett Munro has been appointed by Governor McCall of Massachusetts, chairman of the committee to prepare information for the use of a constitutional convention to be convened this spring. His colleagues are Roger Sherman Hoar of Concord, and Prof. Lawrence B. Evans of Medford. These appointments are made upon the authority of an act which has just passed the legislature empowering the governor to appoint a commission of "three learned and discreet persons, whose duty it shall be to compile such data as may seem desirable for the use of the delegates to the convention and to transmit it without comment or expression of opinion."

⁂

Lawson Purdy, the president of the National Municipal League, spoke in Pittsburgh before the chamber of Commerce at luncheon, and before the civic league at a dinner on February 5, and on February 26 in Cincinnati before the council of social agencies. On March 5, 6 and 7 respectively he spoke at Rochester, Syracuse and Colgate universities.

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James H. Wolfe, of Salt Lake City, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, has been appointed assistant attorney general of Utah.

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H. G. Hodges, of the department of politics and municipal government, Western Reserve University, has been chosen secretary of the recently appointed committee to investigate the city manager plan and its availability for Cleveland.

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James H. Quire, formerly secretary of the Berkeley city club has become legislative reference librarian in the state library at Sacramento. J. R. Douglas of the political science department of the University of California has succeeded Mr. Quire as secretary of the club.

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Winfred B. Holton, Jr., formerly assistant director of the New York bureau of municipal research, has been appointed director of the San Francisco bureau of governmental research.

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John Ihlder, for a number of years field secretary of the National Housing Association and later superintendent of the Ellen Wilson homes of Washington, has been made secretary of the Philadelphia housing commission.

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Dr. L. G. Powers, former chief of the division of wealth, debt and taxation of the census bureau is giving instruction in statistics at the University of Wisconsin.

⁂

Charles Mulford Robinson has been appointed city planning adviser to the city of Greensboro, North Carolina.

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William B. Howland, since 1904 treasurer of the American Civic Association and from 1910 to 1911 a member of the council of the National Municipal League died suddenly while sitting at his desk on February 27. Mr. Howland, a lifelong publisher, is perhaps best known for his connection with *The Outlook*, although latterly the owner and publisher of *The Independent*. Mr. Howland was a forceful and stimulating coadjutor with all the modern forward movements. Although a member of the council of the League for only one year, he was a member of numerous committees and was always available for advice and suggestion. He gave freely and effectively of his experience and inspiration. Warm-hearted and sincere in his personal relations, he will be missed by a wide circle of friends and acquaintances in the various organizations with which he was actively identified.

A meeting in memory of Mr. Howland was held at the National Arts Club, New York, Friday afternoon, March 2, with J. Horace McFarland presiding. Among the speakers were Hon. Alton F. Parker, Lord Aberdeen, Dr. Albert Shaw, Ernest H. Abbott of *The Outlook*, John DeWitt Warner, Herbert S. Houston, George Kennan and the secretary of the National Municipal League.

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Robert D. Jenks, for a number of years chairman of the council of the National Civil Service Reform League, died January 24, after a short illness. Mr. Jenks was connected with the old Philadelphia municipal league and for a number of years was a member of the National Municipal League, although the bulk of his active work was in connection with the National Civil Service Reform League.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

Justice to All. The Story of the Pennsylvania State Police. By Katherine Mayo. With an Introduction by Theodore Roosevelt. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 8½ x 5½, pp. 364. Illustrated. $2.50.

The Pennsylvania state police was created by an act approved on May 2, 1905, by Governor Pennypacker. The history of the force organized under this law is told vividly and with enthusiasm by Katherine Mayo in this volume. It is the story of a little band of picked men whose energy, courage, resourcefulness, and devotion to "the finest thing in the world" mark them as an organization unique in the United States.

Major John C. Groome has been superintendent of the state police since the beginning, with undivided responsibility for every phase of the work. The troopers pass a rigorous physical and mental examination, and then are taken on probation for four months, during which time they receive instruction in the criminal, forestry and game laws of the state. At present all except five members of the force are honorably discharged soldiers from the United States army.

The schooling of the trooper by no means ends with his four months of probation. On the contrary, recruits' schools, troop schools, and non-commissioned officers' schools are held in every barracks four times weekly. In these various classes are studied criminal law, criminal procedure, the laws of evidence, detective work and psychology, the game, fish, forestry, and automobile laws, police duties, including conduct of patrols, the manner of making arrests and preferring charges, etc., detailed sectional geography of the state, discipline, deportment, the preparation of reports, vouchers, and official communications, care of equipment, stable hygiene, diseases of the horse, and horsemanship. And the man in his sixth term of service is as strictly kept to his own grade of class-work as is the newest novice. Regular mounted and dismounted drill, and frequent target practice are also obligatory.

Appointments to the higher positions are made only from the ranks, and the men are enlisted for a term of two years. There is no instruction book or manual, dependence being placed on regular military discipline and the occasional promulgation of general orders by the superintendent. For these troopers there is no guard house and no second offence; a first offence entails dismissal, for the superintendent means what he says. Politics plays no part where this force is concerned; the men maintain a strictly impersonal attitude toward the people, and are never stationed long enough in one section to form sympathetic connections. They understand perfectly that "the state police has no purpose save to execute the laws of the state."

The question—"What good could two or three state policemen be to a whole country?"—which was raised at the inception of the state police, has been effectually answered by their record of accomplishment. The force seems omnipresent. Its 230 men cover the state, tracking criminals, putting out forest fires, preserving order during strikes, delivering a terrorized section from the grasp of the Black Hand, catching horse thieves, guarding against violations of the game laws with a rigor unknown in local constables and wardens, patrolling the waste places between town and town, and otherwise filling in the gaps left by the uncoordinated authorities of city and state. The book teems with records of clever detective work followed by unceasing pursuit of the offender until he is found—and apparently he is always found. After that he is seldom left unconvicted, for the state trooper knows what constitutes a crime, and is skilled in the proper presentation of evidence before a justice.

The book is an indirect plea for such an organization in other states. It quotes state and city officials, heads of large corporations, and individuals in private life, who express a belief that the security of life and property, particularly in the rural districts, has measurably been increased in Pennsylvania within the last twelve years; this without taking into consideration the socializing influence emanating from the presence of an organized body of highly trained and disciplined men who are unflinching in the line of their duty.

Miss Mayo has approached her subject rather from the standpoint of the history and the usefulness of the state police than from an impersonal, scientific standpoint. If any adverse criticism could justly be made of her book it would be that it is a bit too eulogistic in tone. The work is plainly that of an outside observer who was favorably predisposed toward the subject. While the book clearly indicates the potential value of such a force to any community, it is in no sense a guide, except in the most general way, as quoted above, for the organization and training of similar forces in other states. No attempt is made to form a comparison as regards scope, training, equipment, personnel, or the number of convictions obtained as against the number of arrests made, between the Pennsylvania state police and, for instance, the French *Gendarmerie* or the Italian *Carabinieri* or even the Canadian Northwest mounted police. The reader is left with the impression that the state police is an excellent institution, but he remains in the dark as to just how good it is in comparison with older and more experienced organizations of the same general nature.

Raymond B. Fosdick.

New York City.

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Woman's Suffrage by Constitutional Amendment. By Henry St. George Tucker. New Haven: Yale University Press. $1.35.

The author is not concerned, according to his own statements, with the question of woman suffrage. He has simply chosen the proposed amendment to the constitution, providing for woman suffrage as an excellent example of an "attempt to break down that just equilibrium between the federal and state governments."

The author does not claim that the constitutional amendment would violate any principle of law, written or unwritten. "My plea," he says, "is for the preservation of the integrity of the constitution in all of its parts as the surest guarantee of liberty for the American citizen." Therefore the constitutional suffrage provisions; that the qualifications for voters for the house of representatives and senate be the same as the qualifications for the voters for the most numerous branch of the state legislature; and that each state appoint the electors to vote for the president and vice-president, should be carefully maintained.

These provisions, Mr. Tucker claims, give the states exclusive and full power over suffrage. But Madison, the author of these clauses of the constitution, interpreted them as giving the states control at the outset, but as reserving to congress the power of control over suffrage.[1]

The fourteenth amendment, which defines United States citizenship and reduces the basis of representation of those states which deny the right to vote to certain citizens, and the fifteenth amendment, which prohibits the states from denying suffrage on account of color or race, show that the federal government has already acted to some extent within this field and has been upheld by the courts.

Nor was it a principle of the just division of the suffrage power between national and state governments which determined the suffrage provisions of the constitution. "We have most abundant proofs that the question" of suffrage regulation was "a matter of mere state policy," in that a reduction of the various state suffrage qualifications would have thrown "a great embarrassment in the way of the adoption of the constitution."[2]

Even if we agreed that these provisions gave the states the full power over state and federal suffrage, and that the makers of the constitution founded these suffrage provisions on a principle of division of powers, would we agree that the preservation of these regulations was the "surest guarantee of liberty"? Evidently not, for we have already amended the provisions relating to the election of the president and senators, nor would anyone argue that the present provision defining the method of electing the president should not be changed because it would "impeach the integrity of that instrument." Many changes have been made and many more will be made as new conditions arise, that were "clearly never intended by the makers of the constitution." Are the pure food and drug acts endangering that just equilibrium between federal and state governments or would the federal laws concerning military education? These questions as well as the question of suffrage must be decided on their own merits and not on the grounds of some theory respecting the "integrity" of the constitution.

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[1] Speech at Virginia Convention, 1788.

[2] Story, Commentaries on the Constitution, p. 404.

Mr. Tucker presents only one argument, in discussing the question on its merits, which is based on the principle that, "The nearer the government comes to the man—the closer it touches him in his home life—that there his power should be greatest for the protection of his home and his rights." Thus, "in those matters in which all are equally interested, the federal government should act for all, but in matters in which each locality alone is interested no outside power should be permitted to interfere." We agree with this general theory, but does it help us separate federal from state functions in the questionable fields? Certainly the federal suffrage would by his own theory be a matter for federal control. Also local improvements, restrictions as to dogs and fences, as he says, are purely local and should not be controlled by the federal government. But where is the line to be drawn between national and state governments in the field of commerce, education, suffrage and taxation, for instance? This theory of local self-government does not show us, nor has he given us any other material that goes toward the solution of this, the real problem of state rights and local self-government, to say nothing of establishing the view that the control of suffrage is given or should be given entirely to the states.

M. P. Bassett.

New York Training School for Public Service.

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City Residential Land Development—Studies in Planning. Edited by A. B. Yeomans, Landscape Architect, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 138. 75 half-tone and color illustrations. $3.

A selection of twenty-seven plans from a larger number submitted by architects and landscape architects in a competition recently instituted by the city club of Chicago are shown in this most attractive book. The terms of the competition called for a comprehensive plan of a layout for residential purposes of a typical quarter-section in the outskirts of Chicago. The competitors were asked to submit descriptive texts with their drawings and these have been printed along with the selected plans. The report of the jury and critical reviews of the plans from social, economic and esthetic points of view by Carol Aronovici, William B. Faville, Albert Kelsey, Irving K. Pond, and Robert A. Pope are also included.

The form and makeup of the book are unusually good. The plans are large and carefully printed. The type is of a size which makes the book attractive for reading and the aggregate of the illustrations and explanatory texts combined, make the whole book an accomplishment of which the city club may indeed be proud. It is unfortunate, but to be expected, considering the limitations of the competition and the unique character of the problem, that so many of the plans shown fail both in the technique of execution and in a grasp of the essentials of a problem of this character. Perhaps the most valuable and interesting portion of the book are the reviews by Messrs. Aronovici, Faville, Kelsey, Pond, and Pope, which conclude the volume. The book should prove interesting to the real estate man, the architect, the engineer, the sociologist and hundreds of others, who see in a proper solution of such problems as are embodied in this one, an opportunity for bringing into the lives of the great mass of city dwellers, more wholesome family life, larger opportunities for recreation and play and fuller enjoyment of social and esthetic pleasures.

George B. Ford.

New York City.

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A Social Study of the Russian German. By Hattie Plum Williams. A thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate College in the University of Nebraska in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. University of Nebraska, Department of Political Science and Sociology, Lincoln, Neb.

Hattie Plum Williams has begun an interesting study of one of our least known immigrant groups in her work "A Social Study of the Russian German." This, as the author points out in her introductory note, is but a part of a more detailed study which will appear later under a slightly different title.

This particular group of immigrants comes from two provinces in Russia which were settled in 1763 by Germans at the behest of Queen Katherine of Russia who offered them in return for their settlement of the Volga provinces of Saratow and Samara immunity from military duty, religious freedom and continuation of German schooling for the young. The status of these colonists was greatly changed by the Serf Act of 1861 and we find in the early '70's that they were beginning to emigrate to America. We find their settlements in Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas.

Mrs. Williams shows very clearly and ably that the group which settled in Lincoln, Nebraska, is an exception to the sociological rule that passage-paid immigrants are an undesirable class. This semi-rural settlement of Russian Germans is highly moral, religious, thrifty and very cleanly. The thrift is shown by the following: of those who have been in America over five years, 60 per cent own their own homes, of those here for less than five years, 8 per cent own their homes. One wishes that here Mrs. Williams had given some idea of the value of these homes as well as the wealth of detail about number of rooms, size of lots, number of summer kitchens, etc.

From the first part of this book one gathers a fair idea of picturesque communal life transplanted from the Volga. The second part deals with "Birth and Death, Marriage and Divorce." It is a wealth of detail and statistics interesting chiefly because the author seeks to establish a working basis for the compilation of future and more reliable figures. Pervading the study is a carefulness of method and an attempt at accuracy which is highly commendable. It is regrettable that more and similar studies are not being made of our smaller and less well-known immigrant settlements throughout the country.

Nellie M. Reeder.

Wellesley, Mass.

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Our America: The Elements of Civics. By John A. Lapp. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $1.25.

Elementary Civics. By Charles McCarthy, Flora Swan and Jennie McMullin. New York: Thompson, Brown and Company. 75 cents.

These two text-books are to be added to Dunn's "The Community and the Citizen" as encouraging sign-posts, pointing the way out of the Valley of Dry Bones where the teaching of formal civics in both elementary and secondary school has been slowly shrivelling for the last two decades.

The Lapp book is the larger of the two, and hence finds space for a fairly adequate discussion of the elements of civic welfare such as the protection of life and property, the safeguarding of health, provision for education, recreation and civic beauty, as well as means of communication and transportation, the promotion and control of business, the care of dependents. There are interesting chapters on conservation and on the keeping of records, besides the usual chapters on the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. Despite a chapter on "Some Rural Problems," this text-book is primarily one for urban rather than rural schools. For the latter, one must go to a text like Field and Nearing's "Community Civics"—which should have been called "Rural Civics."

The Lapp book is well equipped with such indispensable accessories as excellent illustrations, suggestive questions for investigation and discussion, and a number of useful appendixes among which is one on "Where to write for further information." Brief bibliographies accompany each chapter, the most of which are for teachers or for upper high school pupils. However, as a whole the book may be used most profitably in the junior high school. Fortunately, it is so planned and written as to meet the interests and needs of boys and girls of that age, to whom the appeal is coming to be made most strongly by the teachers of the new "Community Civics."

The McCarthy, *et al.*, book[1] is especially strong on the historical side; in fact, its historical excursions come rather early, before the pupil has laid a basis for them by acquiring a fairly good knowledge of things as they are. A trip "From the Cave Dweller to Modern Boston" is rather startling for the unprepared youngster to take in four pages, even though he stop at a picture of the Boston Public Library on the way!

Seriously, the book is written in the new spirit and with the new viewpoint, and its illustrations, its questions for discussion and its appendixes are commendable. If it were only twice as long, more consecutively planned, and better balanced in its historical perspective, it would deserve to stand high in the estimation of teachers of elementary civics. Here's hoping that the second edition may appear soon! J. LYNN BARNARD.

Philadelphia School of Pedagogy.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 134.

MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING PRACTICE. By A. Prescott Folwell, Editor of Municipal Journal. New York: John Wiley and Sons. Cloth; 6 x 9 in.; pp. 422; 113 illustrations. $3.50 net.

Drawing from a wide range of experience and data gathered as engineer, professor and editor, the author presents a little of the theory and much of the practice of municipal engineering. The volume contains little on water-works, sewers or paving, since these subjects have been fully treated elsewhere. It deals with the population growth of cities; the elements of city planning; sidewalks and other street details; bridges and waterways; city surveying; street lights and signs; street cleaning; garbage and refuse collection and disposal; public markets, comfort stations and baths; parks, cemeteries and shade trees. As a whole, the book is for engineers and heads of administrative departments, but it contains much information well within the understanding of any intelligent citizen. The illustrations are truly illustrative and of wide appeal.

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THE BREWERIES AND TEXAS POLITICS. Volumes I and II. 1605 pages.

These two volumes contain the testimony developed in the prosecution by the state of Texas of various Texas breweries for violations of the anti-trust law of the state and the use of their corporate funds and assets in elections in violation of both the general and specific statutes as well as the constitution. The evidence consists mainly of letters, telegrams and documents as well as the oral depositions of the brewers. The defendants in effect pleaded guilty to the charges brought and accepted a fine aggregating $281,000, together with the expenses incurred by the attorney general and the court costs amounting to $8,000. Moreover, all agreed that their charters be forfeited. If there were any doubt as to the participation of the brewing interests in politics, the facts set forth in this testimony would quickly and effectively dispel the idea.

New York City Building Zone Resolution. By George B. Ford. New York: New York Title and Mortgage Company. 1917. $2.

Mr. Ford has done an excellent piece of work in preparing an edition of the now widely discussed New York city building zone resolution, restricting the heights and use of buildings and prescribing the minimum sizes of their yards and courts. While his explanatory notes are designed to be of special service to owners, builders and architects, they will be helpful to all students of this problem. Mr. Ford expresses only his own personal interpretation of the law, but as he was the consultant of the commission these views will be of great value.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

The Corporation of the City of Capetown. Minute of His Worship the Mayor, for the Mayoral Year ending September 11, 1916. Capetown, South Africa: Cape Times Limited. 1916.

Form and Functions of American Government. By Thomas Harrison Reed, A.B., LL.B., Associate Professor of Government, University of California. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company. 7½ x 5, pp. 549. Illustrated.

Government Telephones. The Experience of Manitoba, Canada. By James Mavor, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company. 7¼ x 6¾, pp. 176. $1.

Housing Problems in America. Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Housing, Providence, October 9, 10 and 11, 1916. Published by the National Housing Association, 105 East 22d Street, New York. 9 x 5¾, pp. 563. $2 postpaid.

Madison, Our Home. By Frank A. Gilmore. Prepared especially for use in the city schools. Madison, Wis.: Madson Board of Commerce. 8 x 5½, pp. 192.

Manual of Accounting, Reporting and Business Procedure of the City and County of Philadelphia. By John M. Walton, City Controller. Second Edition. Issued by the City Controller in conformity with existing laws and ordinances. 11 x 8½, pp. 218.

Philadelphia Year Book, 1917. Published by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. 9¾ x 12¾, pp. 544.

Principles of American State Administration. By John Mabry Mathews, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 8 x 5¼, pp. 534. $2.50.

Profitable Vocations for Boys. By E. W. Weaver, Pd.M., formerly director of the Vocational Guidance and Industrial Education Bureau of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, and J. Frank Byler, Ph.D., principal of the George Brooks School, Philadelphia. New York and Chicago: The A. S. Barnes Company. 7¼ x 4¾, pp. 282. $1.

The Public Defender: A Necessary Factor in the Administration of Justice. By Mayer C. Goldman, of the New York Bar. With a Foreword by Justice Wesley O. Howard, of the Appellate Division, New York Supreme Court, Third Department. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 7½ x 4¾, pp. 96. $1 net.

Sixty Years of American Life: Taylor to Roosevelt, 1860 to 1910. By Everett P. Wheeler, A.M., M.S. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 8 x 5¼, pp. 489. $2.50 net.

State Government in the United States. By Arthur N. Holcombe, Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University. New York: The Macmillan Company. 8½ x 9½, pp. 498. $2.25.

The Taxation of Land Value: A Study of Certain Discriminatory Taxes on Land. By Yetta Scheftel. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 8 x 5, pp. 489. $2.

Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago, Municipal Economy. By Walter D. Moody, Managing Director, Chicago Plan Commission. Especially prepared for study in the schools of Chicago under the auspices of the Chicago Plan Commission. Second Edition. 10 x 8, pp. 137. Illustrated.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Standard Specifications for Personal Service.[1]—This report of the bureau of standards of the board of estimate and apportionment of New York city is a contribution of exceptional value to the science of public employment. It represents at least four years of intensive study of the most extensive municipal service in America, and embodies a comprehensive plan for the standardization of conditions of employment in that service.

In the language of the report itself, "the standard specifications for personal service aim to furnish a simple and logical classification of all employments in the city government, with general descriptions of duties, appropriate titles and rates of compensation, and conditions governing initial appointment, advancement and promotion as a basis for appropriation and current fiscal and civil service control and for information to present and prospective employes and the public."

Standardization of personal service, as a movement for administrative reform, has hardly passed the pioneer stage, and its technique is still in the process of experimentation and refinement. The proposed plan of the bureau of standards is a bold effort to apply to an enormously large service a set of minutely detailed specifications governing the selection, compensation and promotion of employes, and its operation will be watched with the keenest interest in all parts of the country. Many features of this plan commend themselves immediately. This is true especially of the classification of positions along functional and vocational lines which is an aid in making specific appraisals and in establishing definite avenues of promotion, and also of the detailed descriptions of standard duties which help to avert a great deal of argument regarding the grading of individual jobs. Doubtless some of the specifications can be improved, particularly those applying to the clerical service, but this is due more to the inherent difficulty of the task than to any fault of workmanship. Opinions will differ as to the wisdom of including in a legislative measure rather detailed qualification statements which will require frequent revision by the civil service commission in accordance with its experience in holding examinations. The proposal to make efficiency records part of the scheme of advancement and promotion is in line with a general tendency in municipal employment in this country, but is not supported by any brilliant successes of similar experiments in the past.

Those who are interested primarily in the humanitarian bearings of this report will find gratification in the fact that the bureau of standards inquired into the cost of living of a workingman's family in order to determine what would be a proper wage for unskilled laborers, but they cannot help feeling keenly disappointed in the practical application of the bureau's conclusions. After finding that $840 a year is the smallest income on which an unskilled laborer's family of five persons can maintain a "standard of living consistent with American ideas," the bureau recommends $840 as a *maximum* rate which is attainable only after at least seven years of satisfactory service at lower rates! The introductory statement of this report contains an excellent discussion of basic principles and methods of standardizing personal service.

William C. Beyer.[2]

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Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands.[3]—The Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands is a compilation of material relating to the administration of the islands enacted into law, and composed for the greater part of laws of the Philippine government in force, rearranged under appropriate general group headings. Parts of the code have been drawn from acts passed by the United States Congress, from civil service rules, auditor's circulars, orders of the War Department issued before the Philippine government was organized, opinions of the attorney general, President McKinley's instructions, etc. Entirely new matter is also included.

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[1] Since this review was written the report has been revised to some extent and reprinted. The volume is not available for free distribution, but may be purchased from the Municipal Reference Library, 512 Municipal building, for $1.00, postpaid.—Editorial Note.

[2] Bureau of municipal research of Philadelphia.

[3] Effective July 1, 1916. 1128 pp.

While the code relates to the administration of the entire government, including a customs service, postal service, postal savings banks, superior courts of justice, the Philippine currency, internal revenue, etc., comment will be confined to such portions of the code as pertain to municipal government.

The laws relating to the administration of provinces and municipalities were particularly in need of revision. In 1907, when a compilation of laws was made, but which was not enacted into law, the committee stated that due to the enormous number of amendments, both express and implied, which had been made to the original provincial and municipal acts, it had been impossible in many instances for the committee to determine from the language of the amended act, what the administrative practice in certain particular cases was.

Municipal home rule in the Philippines is greatly restricted, many municipal functions being controlled either by the insular government or the provinces, and there appears to have been a reduction of the powers granted to municipalities by the original Taft code rather than an extension of them.

Under the conditions existing in the Philippines, however, it is probable that better results are secured through centralization.

Municipal governments are classified as municipalities, townships and settlements. Municipalities are those organized under the general municipal act in regularly organized provinces. Townships and settlements are governmental units organized in specially organized provinces. A township is practically the same as a municipality; a settlement is a much more simple form of government.

In the Moro Province, now known as the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, there is another municipal enabling act which is different from any of the above.

It may be well to state that the legislative power of the Philippine legislature, composed of the Philippine commission and the Philippine assembly, extends to all parts of the Islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes, which are under the sole jurisdiction of the Philippine commission. The specially organized provinces, including the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, with their municipalities, are those inhabited by non-Christian tribes or Moros.

In addition to the above, there are two chartered cities; Manila, the largest city in the Philippines, and Baguio, the summer capital. Manila is allowed to elect a municipal board of ten members who each year are required to elect one of their number as president of the board. The governor-general of the islands appoints the mayor, the city fiscal and his assistants, the judge and clerk of the municipal court, the justice of the peace, the city engineer and his assistants, the chief of police and his assistant, the chief of the fire department, and the city superintendent of schools.

Aside from the two chartered cities, municipalities and townships are of the mayor and council form. Each has an elected presidente or mayor, and a council of from eight to eighteen members, depending upon the population of the municipality. The chief financial officer of the municipality, the treasurer, is appointed by the provincial treasurer.

Each provincial board exercises general supervision over all municipalities within the province; the provincial governor appoints the chief of police of each municipality and the provincial board authorizes the number of police to be employed.

Education is under the control of the division superintendent of schools who is responsible to the insular government at Manila. Health and sanitation is likewise controlled by a health officer, who is responsible to Manila. The construction and maintenance of roads, bridges and ferries is likewise controlled to some extent by the insular government through a district engineer.

Each municipality is required to prepare an annual budget by January 15 of each year. The appropriations for school purposes must be approved by the division superintendent of schools after which the whole budget is required to be approved by the provincial treasurer.

Municipalities render monthly accounts to the district auditor, who examines and settles them and who is also required to make periodical visits to the municipalities for the purpose of examining the treasurer's office. Standard forms of budgets and accounts are required of all municipalities in the archipelago.

A matter worthy of notice is that municipalities under the jurisdiction of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu have the right of excess condemnation. Since the municipal act relating to this department is the latest one enacted, it indicates that the Philippine commission is progressive in adopting advanced legislation.

On the whole the administrative code is a step in the right direction. It repeals laws no longer operative and parts of laws relating to matters which are better left to the judgment of the officials of government. The code is of convenient size, with index section numbers at the top of each page, facilitating reference thereto.

The enactment of a code, however, along the lines indicated, is a drastic step and its value depends upon the degree of care exercised in its preparation.

Thomas R. Lill.

East Orange, N. J.

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Missouri Children's Code Commission.—So many topics are included within the work of the Missouri children's code commission that even to mention them in a brief review is out of the question. The commission was somewhat too large and unwieldy for sufficiently frequent meetings to bring about a unanimous conclusion on all questions. It has, nevertheless, done a larger and more thoroughgoing piece of work than any of the state commissions on child laws has yet done. In general it may be said that they have attempted to bring the laws of Missouri on all children's questions up to the most modern standard; endeavored to make possible for the country districts the same kind of high grade and universal service for children that is already rendered children in large cities; and have done this both through the laws and the administrative methods which they suggest.

Among the laws suggested it seems worth while to mention the following: The recommendation of the committee on marriage laws of the National Committee on Uniform Laws; the abolition of the common law marriage; and notice of five days before the granting of a marriage license.

It proposes to bring the statutes of Missouri concerning illegitimate children up to the best modern practice by providing for support and inheritance from the father as well as from the mother. It goes further than United States practice by making possible support from all men who could possibly have been the father in cases of doubt, although inheritance is restricted to inheritance from the definitely ascertained father.

Among other proposals are: A model child labor law; restriction of the work of women before and after pregnancy; the extension of the country districts health work, including routine medical examination of children, and recreation work, throwing open the public schools after school hours for public purposes; full-time compulsory education applicable to the country as well as the city; a juvenile court for each county in the state. In general this court is to operate under what may be called a model law, providing for non-criminal jurisdiction, for jurisdiction over children up to eighteen years of age, and on parental petition in cases of incorrigibility up to twenty-one, for adequate power over contributory delinquency, for referees to hear girls' cases, etc.

Some of us had hoped that Missouri would recommend as a promising experiment something like a state circuit court for hearing juvenile cases, rather than relying upon the county court judge, whose chief business is the hearing of other kinds of cases. Experience in so many states has shown that local judges elected for straight judicial work either through hostility or indifference are unwilling to undertake juvenile work. Some day some state will have to work out something better. Unfortunately, because of local conditions, the commission found it necessary, even against its own judgment and against the tendency of modern thought, to continue within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court cases of dependency.

Important as all these modifications of the law are, it is, however, on the administrative side that the commission has been most inventive. Its chief contribution is the recommendation for the establishment of boards of public welfare in each county. Following the successful experience in Kansas City with the board of public welfare, the commission recommends that in every county in the state the three county judges,—who, it should be understood, are not judicial officers, but are the administrative officers of Missouri's counties,—the county superintendent of schools and the judge of the court hearing children's cases shall *ex-officio* constitute a county board of public welfare, which shall work through a paid county superintendent of public welfare engaged by the board, who must hold a certificate of fitness from the state board of charities corresponding to the teachers' license issued by the state educational authorities. The boards of public welfare are to have under their jurisdiction all the following kinds of work: truancy and probation for children; mothers' pensions; supervision of children in institutions and placed out in foster homes; probation and parole work for adults; local work in the state free employment bureau; placing-out work; inspection of commercial amusements; local health work. It is provided that the state supervisory agencies dealing with health, charities and corrections shall have direct relations of a supervisory kind with these local boards. Work in country districts throughout all the states in the Union is backward. Specialized work which cities are able to support is impossible in the country districts. Children in the country districts suffer. The Missouri plan promises well, as an agency economically possible and expert in bringing the best which the cities have worked out to bear upon the problems that arise in the country. It is earnestly to be hoped that the legislature will adopt at least this much of the Missouri plan in order that their promising experiment may be tried out.

One or two other administrative matters seem to deserve mention. The requirement that the county superintendents of public welfare shall be licensed by the state board of charities as school-teachers are licensed by the state board of education, is an important and pregnant provision.

The suggestion for the provision of a state bureau for the feeble-minded to be managed under the extension department of the University, by which accurate diagnosis and record of mental deficiencies can be made for all courts, poor law officials and institutions throughout the state, seems also to have large possibilities.

The giving of additional powers to the state board of charities, especially that requiring annual license of charitable agencies, follows some successful experience in other states.

Roy Smith Wallace.[1]

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Municipal Efficiency under Popular Control.[2]—The October, 1916, issue of *Equity* undertakes to present "an authoritative record to date of the experience of American municipalities under the commission or other new and improved forms of government, including their use of the initiative and referendum and the recall." To obtain this record the editor sent inquiries to "responsible officials or citizens of prominence" in more than 550 municipalities which were known to have the commission, commission-manager, or some other new and concentrated form of government; replies were received from 449 of these municipalities in the 43 states which make some constitutional or statutory provision for the municipal reforms indicated above; the five "unworthily distinguished" states are New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Delaware and Indiana.

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[1] Executive secretary, the Seybert institution, Philadelphia.

[2] The October, 1916, issue of *Equity*, Philadelphia. 311 pp.

The issue contains an introduction of a dozen pages, setting forth the method pursued in assembling and checking up the reports and presenting a discussion of the scope, operation and effects of the newer devices. This discussion is colored by the propagansist purposes of the magazine. Following this introduction there is a comparative table briefly analyzing general laws and constitutional provisions concerning municipal home rule, commission or commission-manager government, and the initiative, referendum and the recall. A short examination by the reviewer discloses a few incorrect or misleading expressions in this table. For example, for Mississippi the laws are named as follows: "commission law 1908 and 1912 permissive; law of 1914 obligatory"; the Mississippi law of 1914 relates solely to the initiative, referendum and the recall, not to commission government. For Ohio the 1913 I. and R. law is not named in the appropriate column; the petition percentage for the referendum under the 1913 law should be given as 10 instead of 6.

The major part of the issue is devoted to a more extended *résumé* of constitutional, statutory and charter provisions, and to the survey of experiences of the municipalities operating thereunder, arranged in alphabetical order of states. For each state the summary of state laws and constitutional provisions is followed by the reports from residents of the "reformed" cities. Each city report is under the following divisions: (1) a sketch of the form of government and provisions for the initiative, referendum and recall; (2) a brief statement on the instances of the use or on the non-use of the methods of direct popular control in that city; (3) an evaluation of results of the city's experience with the new devices.

The reports from the municipalities were made in most cases (nine out of ten, approximately) by city officials—mayors, city managers, city clerks, etc. The opinion of these writers as to the success of the new plans is favorable in the great majority of cases. To the reviewer, this part of the work seems of little value, despite the editor's statement that "it is clear that officials, as a class, would be inclined to regard with scant favor the existence of powers enabling the voters to interfere with privileges heretofore resting entirely in the hands of officials." Officers as a class are inclined to express themselves approvingly, or at least forbearingly, with regard to institutions under which they themselves are operating. A more pertinent observation is that in the report by the city manager of St. Augustine: "An official is undoubtedly prejudiced, and, of course, we say the plan has worked well." It therefore seems of little significance that, for example, the mayor of Baton Rouge should report that the "plan works very satisfactory," or that the city clerk of Saginaw should explain that "taxes have not been materially reduced, but the money has been made to go farther," or that the mayor of Lawrence, Kansas, should acclaim—"This plan has pleased the people. I have been elected a second time."

The second parts of the city reports—sketching questions that have been submitted in each city to popular vote, and the results of such votes, and also retailing the instances of recall elections—constitute the distinctive contribution made by the volume, making more complete and up-to-date the editor's earlier recapitulation of these experiences, in the October, 1914, issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.[1] Considering the difficulties in assembling adequate data on these points, the study in this feature seems as thorough as could be reasonably demanded. The first parts of the reports—summarizing provisions of laws and charters—is useful as extending and presenting in a compact form information obtainable in another shape in the Short Ballot Digest.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, pp. 693–701.

The pamphlet may be regarded on the whole as a serviceable compilation of facts relating to the newer forms of municipal organization and popular control. The heading—"nation-wide movement for municipal efficiency under direct popular control" is, however, broader in its connotation than the scope of the survey, which leaves out of consideration many essential elements in the movement for municipal efficiency.

F. W. Coker.

Ohio State University.

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Joint Report on Foods and Markets of Governor Whitman's Market Commission, Mayor Mitchel's Food Supply Committee, and the Wicks Legislative Committee.—This report was submitted to the Governor of New York on December 28, 1916. Mayor Mitchel's food supply committee, of which George W. Perkins is chairman, had begun to study the problem of food supply and marketing conditions in 1914; the Wicks legislative committee had been holding hearings throughout the state and in New York city for several months; the governor's commission, of which Mr. Perkins was also chairman, had been appointed more recently. These three bodies joined in the preparation of this report.

The causes of high prices and "existing conditions" are found to be as follows: the lack of "comprehensive" market departments for the state and for the principal cities; the European war; ignorance on the part of the public with regard to the relative values of different foodstuffs; lack of proper transportation and terminal facilities; the difficulties under which farmers of New York operate and the exodus of boys from the farm to the city; and the lack of supervision over interstate transactions in farm produce.

To remedy these defects, the joint committee advocates an elaborate system of market departments, the furtherance of co-operation, the encouragement of cold storage, adequate supervision of commission men and wholesalers, and the extension of agricultural education.

The system of market departments is to include: (1) a state department of markets, with commission appointed by the governor, which is to study and analyze sources of farm produce and methods of marketing, to inform the public about market conditions, to educate the public concerning food values, to issue bulletins from day to day giving correct market prices and to prevent false and misleading market quotations, and to have power to subpœna witnesses in order to make inquiries into all matters concerning the production and distribution of products; (2) municipal market departments of similar nature; (3) an interstate market commission; and (4) a state board of foods and markets, to consist of the state commissioner, the interstate commissioner, the New York city commissioner, and "four or six other commissioners to be appointed by the governor."

In some ways this report is encouraging. It does not decry the whole middleman system; it realizes the futility of retail public markets where farmers sell direct to consumers; it does not denounce the cold storage interests as highway robbers; it realizes that the majority of middlemen are honest.

In other respects the report is disappointing. As a result of the activities of three commissions it gives us no new and important facts about the marketing system, although it is to be hoped that the extensive hearings held by the Wicks committee may yield something of this nature in the future. The advocacy of better terminal facilities and of wholesale terminal markets all sounds very plausible, but nowhere is there given any positive evidence of actual losses under the present system, or possible savings under the proposed system. Careful analyses of marketing costs of different products are necessary before any such evidence can be given, and such analyses have apparently not been made.

Although market departments can perform useful services, the report apparently puts too much faith in the possible accomplishments of such commissions. It would be easy to give such departments too much power, and there are indications that the joint committee might go too far in this respect. There is also danger that the officials on such commissions may not have sufficient expert knowledge of market practices and of the fundamentals of market distribution to carry out their functions wisely. That such a complex system of commissions as is advocated would prove beneficial would be decidedly questionable even if there were enough capable men to fill all the positions that such a system would involve.

The suggestion that market commissions issue daily price sheets and prevent the publication of false and manipulated market quotations indicates that the joint committee has not gone into the matter thoroughly enough to learn that there is an efficient and honest system of market reporting already in existence in New York city. This is one of many indications that the joint committee has not gone into many important matters thoroughly enough to furnish a basis for wise legislation. It is too early at present to foretell what the resulting bills or laws may be, but the indications point at least to the possibility and danger of unwise legislation.

L. D. H. Weld.[1]

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The Chicago Loan Shark Survey.—The November *Bulletin* of the Chicago department of public welfare is devoted to the report of a survey of loan shark conditions in that city conducted by the department's bureau of social surveys under the direction of Dr. Earle E. Eubank. The survey grew out of the experiences of the department of public welfare in dealing with small borrowers who had been forced to submit to the exactions of usurious money-lenders. The purpose of the survey was: (1) to ascertain and present concretely the facts concerning the extent and character of the operations of professional money-lenders in Chicago; (2) to suggest ways and means of eliminating their extortionate practices; and (3) to suggest methods of meeting the demand for small loans by means of legitimate substitutes for the loan shark.

The study included the extent of the money-lending business in Chicago; the devices employed to attract borrowers and secure high returns; the condition of the laws with respect to usury; the methods used in other communities to eliminate the loan sharks,—including publicity campaigns, legislation, organized defence of loan shark victims, and substitutes in the form of employer's loan funds, co-operative loan associations, credit unions, the Morris plan and the remedial loan societies.

The survey brought to light the existence of 229 separate loan concerns in Chicago, against 199 of which over 3,000 cases of extortion were obtained. It was estimated that 139 separate concerns actively operating on November 1, 1916, were doing an average annual business of $85,000 or a total of $11,000,000. It was shown that most of the lenders are associated in a clearing house which affords mutual assistance in obtaining information regarding applicants and collecting overdue accounts. As the usual rate of interest exacted is in the neighborhood of 120 per cent per annum, the reader of the report cannot fail to appreciate the magnitude of the evil in Chicago; its effect upon the efficiency and general welfare of borrowers and the need for an organized movement toward its elimination.

As a result of the survey the department of public welfare recommends:

1. That remedial loan societies be formed at once to make loans at reasonable rates on security of chattel mortgages and personal character.

2. That laws be enacted placing all money-lending organizations under the supervision of state authority; limiting the interest on loans to 3 per cent per month without additional fees; requiring that borrowers receive copies of the law and clear statements of the terms of their loans; rendering illegal loans void and unenforcible, and providing penalties of fine and imprisonment for violation of law by licensed or unlicensed lenders.

The object which the survey sought to accomplish was distinctly worth while.

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[1] Professor of business administration, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University.

The study was unusually well done; the report is presented in a clear and convincing manner, and, judging by the experiences of other cities, the recommendations made are distinctly in the right direction.

A. H. HAM.[1]

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Boston Public Schools.[2]—The people of America believe in education. They have always believed in it in a general, "charter-of-our-liberties," Fourth-of-July-oration manner, but now they are beginning to believe in it in a practical fashion. They have spent more money on universal public education in the last quarter century than any other people in the world, and they stand ready to spend vastly greater sums, if they can be convinced that they are receiving an adequate return for the investment. Just as the people of the middle ages poured forth their treasure to build churches and cathedrals as the embodiments of their highest ideals, so the people of to-day are contributing of their means to establish, equip, and adequately maintain temples of learning, which represent their conception of what is highest and best and most worth striving for in modern civilization.

But they are becoming practical in their belief in education. They are beginning to realize that universal education, with the maximum development of each individual's productive capacities, is a tremendously complicated and intricate matter, quite as complicated as modern society itself, and as such is worthy of a lifelong study by the best intellects of the time. When questions of educational organization arise, they are no longer settled on the basis of high-sounding phrases, or according to the opinion of some eminent clergyman or politician, but they are referred to a group of educational specialists for careful study and expert advice. This is what has recently happened in the city of Boston. The finance commission thought that in some respects the city was not getting as much as it should for its investment, but instead of plunging in at random and perhaps crippling valuable educational projects, it invoked the aid of experienced educational investigators in determining what steps should be taken to increase the efficiency of the school administration.

The special committee was not asked to survey the Boston schools, but to confine its attention to certain specific problems, the most important of which were the cost of administration, the organization of school districts, the number and length of school sessions, the reduction of the elementary course from eight to seven years, the value of vocational schools, and desirable school-house construction. Perhaps the most radical recommendation of the committee is the abolition of the board of superintendents, as a board, and the assignment of the members to supervisory positions under the direction of the superintendent. The report of the committee reveals a curious instance of the persistence of New England individualism in the conduct of school affairs. While the superintendent is nominally the head of the schools, and has to assume the responsibility for the working of the system, he has little real power to formulate and carry out any well-defined policy. He is only one of five practically co-ordinate agents of the school committee, the other four being the secretary, the business agent, the board of superintendents, and the school-house custodian. This division of authority frequently gives rise to such friction as to seriously hamper the work of the schools and to constitute a source of waste and inefficiency. The effect of the committee's recommendation would be to centralize authority in the hands of the superintendent, to secure for him a controlling voice in everything that pertains to school administration, and then to hold him to account for results.

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[1] Russell Sage Foundation, New York city.

[2] Report of a study of certain phases of the public school system of Boston, Mass. Made under the auspices of the Boston finance commission by James H. Van Sickle, chairman, and a number of specialists constituting the survey committee. Boston: Printing Department, 1916. Pp.219.

Report on the Boston school department, with especial emphasis on the need for a reorganization of its central administrative system, by the finance commission of the city of Boston. Boston: Printing Department, 1916. Pp. 66.

Other recommendations of the committee are the reorganization of school districts on the basis of average daily attendance, the establishment of junior high schools, the regrouping of special departments, the extension of vocational education and guidance, employment of more teachers and decrease in the size of classes, and the extension of the superintendent's authority to the selection of school sites and the erection of school buildings. The report is especially severe in its criticism of Boston's independent school-house department, and makes serious charges of laxity, friction, waste, and obstructionism in the conduct of the department.

The members of the board of superintendents, joined by Superintendent Dyer, felt impelled to publish a "Reply" to the report of the survey committee. The finance commission, in its official report to the mayor, ratified practically all the findings of the survey committee, except the subordination of the school-house department to the superintendent, and took occasion to rap the board of superintendents quite sharply for the intemperate language of their "Reply," and for their presumption, since they were particularly under investigation, in taking any official action in the matter. The finance commission emphatically recommends that the board of superintendents be abolished, and that the individual members be designated assistants to the superintendent. The whole tenor of the two reports is, as a member of the survey committee expressed it, "to give Boston a real superintendent of schools", and marks the tendency toward increasing centralization of authority in school administration.

J. Carleton Bell.[1]

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Report of the Licensing Board of the City of Boston, 1916.[2]—This report is of special interest on account of the changes in the personnel of the board during the summer of last year and the controversy that arose in connection with these changes. At the time charges were made that the changes had been brought about by persons interested in the liquor traffic, with the object of influencing the policies of the board. Comparison with the board's report for 1915 does not, however, show any considerable difference in style or in the subjects discussed. The report states that no changes in the board's general policies have been made as a result of the changes in personnel, but that some licensees were led to believe that the board's requests could be disregarded, thus making it necessary to confirm the notices previously issued.

The board goes on record as believing that if the requirements of present laws which forbid sales to intoxicated persons and to minors and which prohibit immoral solicitation in hotels and cafés, and the board's regulations forbidding treating and giving credit for liquor to be drunk on the premises were followed strictly, the offensive features of the liquor business would largely be eliminated.

On certain particular subjects, all of which appear to have been mentioned in previous reports, some special emphasis is laid. The question of treating customers in saloons is considered of special importance and it is suggested that as bartenders sometimes treat customers, contrary to the orders of their employers, it might be well to license all bartenders in order to combat this practice. This suggestion has been vigorously opposed by the bartenders' union before the general court and seems not to have been received with much favor by members of the legislature. It would seem, however, that the board's authority to refuse renewal of license gives it the means of dealing with this matter, because it can force employers to adopt an adequate method of dealing with employes who disobey their orders.

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[1] Brooklyn Training School for Teachers.

[2] In view of the controversy arising out of the recent actions of the licensing board of Boston, we submitted Mr. Plaisted's manuscript to a well-informed publicist of that city, who made the following observation with regard to it: "The enclosed comments seem to me to be fair for just what they claim to be. They do not claim to be a full discussion of the merits of the case in the removal of R. W. Woods and the other commissioner, nor do they claim to be a judgment on the effectiveness of the present board. More would need to be said on these two points if they were under discussion. Mr. Prest, one of the new members of the board, is a lawyer, who for many years was a resident of the South End House and is undoubtedly in sympathy with most of Wood's ideas."

One change in policy is mentioned in the report. It has heretofore been the practice to require holders of fourth class licenses who wish to do a bottling business to hold also a fifth class license. A fourth class license authorizes the holder to sell liquors of any kind not to be drunk on the premises while the fifth class license authorizes the holder to sell malt liquors, cider, and light wines not to be drunk on the premises. As the board finds nothing in the statutes prohibiting the holder of a fourth class license from bottling liquor it has abandoned the requirement that such licensees shall also hold a fifth class license, but proposes to increase the fee for fourth class licenses in order not to cause loss to the city treasury.

One of the most discussed questions relating to licenses in Boston has been whether it is advisable to locate licenses in out-lying residential districts. The board does not come to any conclusion on this matter as a general proposition, but suggests that for the time being it may be found most satisfactory to decide each particular case on its own special facts.

In endeavoring to cope with the evil of solicitation in cafés, the board had continued the policy of requiring that men unaccompanied by women be segregated in rooms used chiefly for the sale of liquor. On this problem the board finds it difficult to produce practical results, but believes the main thing is honest and vigilant control on the part of those in charge of cafés whose friendly co-operation is necessary to permanent reform.

The board also mentions that steps have been taken to avoid licensing the so-called "clubs" run by a few insiders who pay the expenses and divide the profits, most of which are received from the sale of liquor. Licenses to run billiard and pool rooms in connection with saloons are felt to be objectionable, because such rooms form an added attraction to men who hang about wasting their time and drinking more than they would without this inducement to stay in the saloon. On account of this condition "licenses for new billiard and pool rooms have been granted with care and reluctance."

Because of complaints about intelligence offices an investigation was made last spring, which indicated that the offices engaged mainly in finding employment for domestic servants were too numerous. The number of licenses issued for this type of office has consequently been reduced. No evidence was found that immorality was prevalent in hiring domestic servants through intelligence offices.

Representation by attorneys of the parties appearing before the board is discussed in this as well as in previous reports. The board again suggests that representation by attorneys in cases coming before it is not necessary and that any statements made by attorneys to the effect that they have special influence with the board are false. It is noteworthy, however, that the board proposes hereafter to admit the public to any of its hearings which may be of public interest whereas all hearings before the board have previously been private.

The report does not discuss in detail the controversy which arose in connection with the changes in its membership. It goes on record, however, to the effect that many of the statements made in the public press and elsewhere regarding conditions on the board were entirely erroneous, that the members of the board have worked harmoniously, and that they have been much hampered by the attacks in the press and in public statements by individuals. These attacks the report characterizes as unwarranted.

John W. Plaisted.

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New York Annual Police Report for 1915.—During the last twenty years New York has had many police commissioners. Nearly all of them have been of the highest personal integrity and of much more than average administrative ability. Yet none of them succeeded in giving the city a thoroughly efficient police administration. There were lawyers, army officers, municipal executives and others who gained well deserved praise in the positions held by them before and after becoming police commissioners. The police commissionership of New York was regarded by many as an impossible post and by nearly everyone as a graveyard of reputations. Each commissioner introduced administrative improvements of his own and attributed the inefficiency of the department's work to the shortcomings of the members of the uniformed force.

Mayor Mitchel in 1914 selected for his police commissioner a civilian police expert, Arthur H. Woods, a man who had devoted many years to a critical study of the problems of police administration in this country and abroad. The selection of this type of commissioner was an innovation in New York and the annual report of the police department for 1915 shows the wisdom of the mayor's choice and the exceptional ability of the commissioner.

Specialization of police functions and a scientific study of the methods of operation of criminals rather than spectacular raids by special squads have resulted in the suppression of gangsters and gunmen, in the prosecution of a most vigorous and effective campaign against drug addicts and in the arrest and conviction of many of the most troublesome automobile thieves, fortune tellers, white slavers and confidence men. A systematic effort to reduce the number of street accidents has included a careful statistical study of street accidents, a campaign for the education of the public, the introduction of novel safety measures, such as play streets, car-stop safety zones, police lectures in schools and in garages, and improved methods for traffic policemen and the stern suppression of reckless drivers.

Among other improvements which should be mentioned are the relief by the police of more than three thousand destitute unemployed persons, which was an entirely novel police activity, the establishment of mounted patrol and patrol booths in suburban districts and the extension of the flashlight system in the urban sections of the city, the establishment of a psychopathic laboratory for the study and detection of criminals whose mentality is sub-normal, and the introduction of an entirely new system of records and reports which greatly reduces the clerical work of the men while furnishing to the supervising officers more complete and accurate data for purposes of administrative control.

The most important achievement, however, has been the improvement in the morale of the uniformed force. Commissioner Woods has made it plain to the men, in deeds rather than in words, that he has their personal interests at all times sincerely at heart. The response of the men who in the past had suffered much from undeserved condemnation has been marvelous. The police school for recruits has been reorganized as a highly developed training school for all ranks with a most efficient director and competent instructors; systematic health instruction for the members of the uniformed force has reduced the annual sick list from 5,801 days to 5,050 days; gymnasiums have been established in many precinct station houses; instruction has been furnished in boxing, wrestling, and calisthenics; baseball teams and leagues have been organized; field days and athletic contests have been held and a system of efficiency records has been devised to gauge the comparative worth of the men in the routine performance of duty, for the purpose of rewarding the most efficient at the end of each month and giving to each man when he applies for promotion a rating in accordance with his actual efficiency.

By his appointment of Commissioner Woods, Mayor Mitchel has demonstrated that the New York police commissionership is not an impossible position, but is one which requires specialized knowledge and training in addition to native ability. By his two years of thoroughly successful administration of the department Commissioner Woods has proven to the citizens of New York and to the people of the country, what students of police administration have always known, that the police force of New York is composed of the finest body of men to be found in any municipal police force in the world and that its shortcomings in the past have been due largely to lack of the most efficient direction. For the first time in the history of the city, the people are proud of the efficiency of their police force and this result must be ascribed to the improved administrative methods of Commissioner Woods.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

⁂

Height of Buildings in Boston.[1]—This commission was appointed for the purpose of revising the boundaries of the height districts established by the commissions of 1904 and 1905. These commissions had divided the city into two height districts, District A with a limit of 125 feet, and District B with a limit of 80 feet except on streets over 64 feet in width where the limit was one and one-quarter times the width of the street but not more than 100 feet. A further restriction limited the height of buildings to two and a half times the street width.

The present commission was only authorized to revise the boundaries of these two districts. It had no authority to change the detailed regulations within the district. The noteworthy feature of the report is the large extension of District A which is increased to almost twice its former size. The commission also recommends that the maximum limit throughout the city be lowered from two and one-half times the street width to twice the street width.

H. S. SWAN.

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The Elements of State Budget Making.[2]—This essay attempts "to make clear, in brief and concise form, just what is involved in the adoption of a 'budget system.'" In this, as in other publications of the bureau of municipal research, it is practically assumed that "budget system" and "executive budget" are synonymous terms. There is a tendency, in fact, to make the executive budget stand for every desirable improvement in state administration, including "carefully devised accounting methods, adequate expert service, efficient record keeping and work reporting—in short, all the processes of good management."

Leaving aside any differences of opinion that may exist as to the particular type of budget it may be most expedient for American states to adopt, it must be conceded that many of the criticisms and suggestions offered in this study are fundamentally important for any system. For instance, no matter who makes the estimates and prepares the budget proposal, great improvement would result if the legislature were to consider the budget by committee-of-the-whole procedure, instead of by standing committees.

Referring to the need for a permanent staff of experts to aid the governor if he is to become responsible for the budget, the interesting suggestion is made that the office of secretary of state should become a staff agency responsible to the governor. "So, too," it is remarked, "there is no reason why the comptroller's office may not become the independent staff agency of the legislature."

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New Jersey Commission for the Survey of Municipal Financing.—This commission was originally appointed by the legislature of 1915 to investigate the legal provisions and the actual practice of New Jersey cities in the matter of issuing bonds and notes for financing both of a temporary and permanent nature and the way in which sinking fund needs have been met. As a result of a score or more of recommendations some important legislation was enacted in 1916 and the commission reappointed to investigate "the methods employed and the laws which should govern the financing of municipal, school district and county affairs."

A considerable part of this second report is occupied with "renewed recommendations" of which the following are the most important: (1) A new law requiring the compilation and publication of the financial statistics of New Jersey cities; (2) a uniform budget plan for all municipalities of the state, the use of a segregated form to be optional with each city; (3) laws requiring a distinction between money borrowed in anticipation of taxes and borrowings against delinquent taxes, with regulations to enforce a sounder policy in each case; and (4) a law authorizing cities to issue emergency notes. Following the commission's recommendations of last year, the legislature required all future loans to be in the form of serial bonds. It now recommends for existing sinking funds uniform administrative regulations and audit and supervision by state authorities, as well as a rehabilitation of inadequate funds by means of a special annual tax.

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[1] Boston. Commission on height of buildings in the city of Boston. Report. 1916. 21 pp., map. (Docs. 1916, no. 114.)

[2] Bureau of municipal research, New York. The elements of state budget making. 63 p. *Municipal Research* no. 80, Dec., 1916.

The only new recommendation made in this report suggests a law requiring the filing with some duly constituted state official of certified copies of proceedings in connection with all future bond issues. "Such an officer would serve the same purpose for our municipal bonds that the county register serves for titles to real estate."

* * *

Intoxication.—The title of Traffic Court Bulletin no. 1 compiled by Frederick B. House, the presiding magistrate of the recently established traffic court in New York city, is "Intoxication (How Proved)." In this pamphlet of ten pages Magistrate House has expounded the ten leading cases in New York on the methods by which intoxication may be proved. Expert testimony is not necessary to establish intoxication. A witness may testify as to the defendant's appearance, conduct and language and then express his opinion, based on these facts, as to whether or not the party was intoxicated; or the witness may directly state the fact of intoxication without going into details. The pamphlet will be found of distinct practical value and helpfulness by lawyers and magistrates.

L. F. F.

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NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. VI, No. 3 MAY, 1917 TOTAL No. 23

THE BUILDING ZONE PLAN OF NEW YORK CITY[1]

BY ROBERT H. WHITTEN[2]
New York City

THE building zone plan put into effect in New York city on July 25, 1916, is one of the most complete and comprehensive plans for the control of city building ever adopted by any American city. It marks an important epoch in American city planning and city building. It is applied to more than five and one-half millions of people and it directly affects property assessed at more than eight billions of dollars.

All admit the desirability of some degree of order in building development. All have witnessed the irreparable injury caused by haphazard building. That a public garage, stable or factory should be permitted to invade and destroy one after another the best residential blocks of the city seems wasteful and foolish. Yet so implicit is our adherence to the theory that a man must be allowed to do what he please with his own property that we have considered ourselves powerless. Up to a few years ago this was the prevalent attitude in New York city. This supposed legal difficulty was fortified by the practical difficulty of securing an agreement in a democratic community on the details of a plan to control and direct city building. Yet notwithstanding these supposed difficulties, legal and practical, New York city has adopted a building zone plan with a substantial unanimity of opinion. What a few years ago would have been ridiculed as fantastic, arbitrary and confiscatory, is now welcomed by the property owners themselves as reasonable and absolutely necessary in the interest of public health, safety and general welfare and for the conservation of property values. The property owners of New York city have in recent years had some peculiarly distressing experiences with haphazard construction. This fact taken in connection with the quiet, patient work of the commission on building districts and restrictions has brought about with very little opposition the adoption of a comprehensive plan for the control of future building development throughout the five boroughs of New York city.

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[1] Paper read before the National Municipal League, Springfield, Mass., November 24, 1916.

[2] Secretary, committee on the city plan, board of estimate and apportionment, New York city.

HEIGHTS OF BUILDINGS COMMISSION, 1913

The plan adopted is the result of some three years of careful investigation, research and conference. The preliminary investigation was carried on by the heights of buildings commission appointed in February, 1913. The commission's report of 295 pages contains a thoroughgoing and authoritative discussion of the problem of regulating the height, area and use of buildings. The commission found that any complete system of building control necessitated the application of different regulations to different parts of the city and accordingly recommended that the city be divided into districts and that the restrictions for each district be worked out with reference to the peculiar needs and requirements of that particular district.

COMMISSION ON BUILDING DISTRICTS AND RESTRICTIONS, 1914

The heights of buildings commission submitted a draft charter amendment permitting the board of estimate and apportionment to divide the city into districts for the purpose of regulating the height of buildings, the area of courts and open spaces, the location of trades and industries and the location of buildings designed for specified uses. This draft amendment was passed by the legislature and became a law April 20, 1914. This charter amendment provides that the board of estimate, before exercising the powers conferred, shall appoint a commission "to recommend the boundaries of districts and appropriate regulations to be enforced therein." Pursuant thereto the board on June 26, 1914, appointed a commission on building districts and restrictions. This commission consisted of sixteen members with Edward M. Bassett as chairman and Lawson Purdy, vice-chairman. Taking up the work where the former heights of buildings commission left it and using its data, investigations and report, the districting commission spent two years in making an exhaustive study of the entire subject. The committee on the city plan of the board of estimate placed at the disposal of the districting commission its expert staff.

THE ZONING SURVEY, 1914-1915

The districting commission directed its staff to secure all data essential to a knowledge of existing conditions and tendencies, and to an estimate of future growth and development. This data, supplemented by personal inspection on the ground, was used to assist the expert knowledge and experienced judgment of the members of the commission in laying down the actual district boundaries and the regulations to be enforced therein.

It was essential that the data collected should be both detailed and comprehensive. There must be detailed information in relation to the buildings and physical characteristics and immediate environment of every individual block and also comprehensive or bird's-eye views of the entire borough or city. The comprehensive view is indispensable to the determination of the number and characteristics of the various kinds of districts to be established and also for the determination in a general way of the logical boundaries for such districts. The detailed examination street by street and block by block is necessary to determine the exact boundaries and also to determine whether there is need for the exemption of certain small areas within the boundaries of a larger district.

Topographic features. Especially in the undeveloped areas, the existing lay of the land, the rivers, hills, valleys, marshes, highways, railroads and other physical features give the best indication of the probable future use of the land. The topographic and hydrographic charts of the national government were used, as were also the more detailed topographic and grade maps prepared by the topographic bureaus of the boroughs. From these a map was prepared showing by colors the grade percentage in each street. Twenty-foot contour lines were also drawn covering practically the entire city with the exception of the borough of Richmond.

A steep street grade will often mark the boundary line between different kinds of use or between different types of the same kind of use. It often serves to separate the waterfront industrial or ware-house use from a business or residential use or a business use from a residential use. A study of the grades is helpful in determining the future traffic streets and hence the future business streets. Steep grades in certain sections make it reasonably certain that they will be used for residential purposes—they are unfitted for either business or industry.

A bird's-eye view of any city discloses the fact that industry of the heavier type seeks the waterfront and lower levels. Cheap transportation and sometimes also cheap land are the attractions that bring the heavy industries to the low levels. The railroads follow the low levels in passing through the city and the waterfront as the place at which rail and water transportation meets naturally has the best terminal facilities. Low-lying land bordering deep water constitutes in a city an almost certain dedication to future terminal and industrial use.

Rapid transit system. While the location of the rail and water terminal facilities fixes the location of industry of the heavier type, the passenger transportation system is the chief factor in determining the location of business centers and sub-centers and in determining the building up and the intensity of use of various residential districts. The rapid transit system at present in operation or under construction will necessarily determine the general lines of city growth and development for many years to come. Owing to the automobile and electric suburban railroad service the local centers will continue to increase within a radius of 50 miles or more of New York; but the great bulk of the population of the city will continue to be housed within a five-cent fare and a 40-minute ride of the chief business center.

A time zone transit map was carefully worked out showing the time from every part of the city to the city hall and to 14th street. This time includes the time required to walk from any given location served by a transit line to the nearest station and the running time from that point to the city hall or to 14th street. As a rule only the five-cent fare routes are considered. Areas beyond half a mile or a 10-minute walk from a transit line are not dealt with, as a half-mile belt is considered the limit of any considerable influence of a transit line. The time zone map includes lines planned and under construction as well as those now in operation and is based on estimated running time when the new dual subway system is in full operation. This time zone map was in constant requisition to assist the judgment of the commission in its determination of the appropriate use and the appropriating intensity of use of particular areas.

Distribution of population. The figures of the 1900, 1905 and 1910 censuses were charted on the maps by enumeration districts. These enumeration districts in Manhattan, The Bronx and Brooklyn are generally very small areas including one or more city blocks. The 1910 figures were even more carefully analyzed and distributed within each enumeration district according to the existing housing accommodations. A spot map was then prepared with each spot representing 25 people. This is probably the most intensive study that has been made of the distribution of the population of the city. The spot map was of great assistance in comprehending at a glance the distribution of population throughout the city and in estimating the relative effect of various kinds of transit facilities on the distribution of population.

Supplementing the census data as to distribution of population in their places of abode data was obtained and charted to show the distribution of factory workers in the places in which they work. At the request of the commission the state labor department compiled from its records a block census for all factory employes throughout the city according to place of work. With this data the commission prepared a spot map of factory employes—one spot for each 250 employes. This map was valuable in laying out the unrestricted or industrial districts and in studying the existing and possible future relation between congestion of factories and congestion of population.

The results of the police census of 1915 were plotted by census districts and the center of gravity of the population of each district obtained and from these the center of gravity of the population of each borough. These were combined to obtain the center of gravity of the population of the entire city. This map enables one to see the relation of these several centers of population to existing business and traffic centers.

Existing building development. The entire zone plan as proposed by the commission is based on a frank acceptance of existing conditions. The zone plan not only does not affect the continued use of any existing building but it ordinarily does not attempt to radically change the character of new buildings from the type with which any considerable area is at present built up. It was very important, therefore, that the commission should have before it a detailed record of the existing building development in every part of the city. For this purpose the insurance atlases of the city of New York proved of invaluable assistance. These atlases show in detail the use to which all buildings are put, the character of construction, as well as their height and area, and are amended at frequent intervals by means of pasters, so as to be always very nearly up to date.

Distribution of buildings according to use. In order to study the location of existing residential, business and industrial buildings and areas, borough maps were prepared showing in colors industrial buildings and uses, business buildings, store and dwelling buildings and residential buildings, including under the latter head, schools, churches and institutional buildings. These maps enabled the commission to determine the general boundaries of the residence, business and unrestricted districts in so far as such boundaries could properly be based on the existing building development.

The commission based its work, however, not entirely or chiefly on existing building development but also upon its judgment of future growth and requirements. In order to better judge the future growth and change of the business, residence and industrial areas a careful study was made of such growth and change in the past. Based on information given in the atlases of the various boroughs published at various intervals during the past 50 years, borough maps were prepared showing in colors for the various periods, the location of industrial, business and residence buildings. In order to note the effect of freight and water terminals and of improved transit facilities on the location and growth of building development, the rail and water terminals and the transit lines were carefully noted on the building development maps. These historical maps show from period to period the expansion of the built-up area of the city and the development and change of the industrial, business and residence areas.

Distribution of existing buildings according to height and area covered. In order to aid in the determination of the number and character of the height districts to be established and the general boundaries of the various districts so far as they would be affected by the height of existing buildings, maps were prepared showing in colors the height of each building throughout the city. Similarly for the purpose of assisting the judgment of the commission in laying out area districts, maps were prepared showing graphically the area covered by each building throughout the city.

Land values. Comparative land values are a most important and accurate measure of difference in the kind and character of use appropriate for various areas. Values are especially important in determining that particular intensity of use that is consistent with the most beneficial use of the land. They are therefore particularly useful in the determination of the boundaries of the various height and area districts.

It is fortunate for this purpose that for the past few years sectional maps have been published by the city department of taxes and assessments, giving the assessed value per front foot of all land throughout the city. In this case the unit of value is the value per front foot of an interior lot 100 feet in depth.

From these sectional maps, a map of the entire city was prepared showing in colors the various ranges of value per front foot. This enables one to compare at a glance, *e. g.*, values in Flatbush with values in Bay Ridge and values in The Bronx with those of Brooklyn. It also shows the blighting effect on certain sections of an invasion by inappropriate or nuisance uses.

FINAL REPORT AND ADOPTION BY BOARD OF ESTIMATE

On June 2, 1916, the districting commission presented its final report to the board of estimate. The board of estimate held a series of public hearings on the report and it was also carefully considered by the committee of the whole of the board and by two sub-committees. On July 18, 1916, the committee of the whole submitted its report endorsing the zone plan. On July 25, 1916, the board of estimate adopted the plan and made it effective by a vote of fifteen to one. The single vote in opposition to the plan was apparently not in opposition to the zoning principle but based on the refusal of the board to incorporate a certain more restrictive regulation for a particular district than that contained in the plan adopted.

NECESSITY FOR A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF CITY BUILDING

The fundamental basis of the zone plan as presented by the commission is the need for the building of the city in accord with some well-considered plan. The commission says:

"City planning is a prime need of our city. It is plain common sense to have a plan before starting to build. City building is no exception to the rule. Haphazard city building without a comprehensive plan is ruinous.

"The bigger a city grows the more essential a plan becomes. Traffic problems, the congestion of population, the intensive use of land, the magnitude of the property values involved, make the control of building development more and more essential to the health, comfort and welfare of the city and its inhabitants. New York city has reached a point beyond which continued unplanned growth cannot take place without inviting social and economic disaster. It is too big a city, the social and economic interests involved are too great to permit the continuance of the laissez faire methods of earlier days."

The undoubted fact that the intrusion in a residence block of the garage, factory or other business building means a decline in rental and property values, is not based solely or even largely on sentimental considerations, but almost wholly on considerations of health, safety, comfort and convenience. Quiet and freedom from the distraction incident to trade, industry and attendant street traffic are essential to a wholesome home environment. Especially in the crowded sections the streets must be used as breathing spaces for the mothers and as play spaces for the children. The traffic in a residential block incident to a few business or industrial buildings may make the street a very unsafe place for the children who play therein. This helps in the congested districts to thwart the play instinct. Ernest M. Coulter, clerk of the children's court of Manhattan, testified that he had found by investigation that this thwarting of the play instinct was responsible for at least 40 per cent of the delinquency cases coming before the children's court.

Both the environment of the home and the home itself must be protected and safeguarded in every possible way if we would preserve under the necessarily crowded conditions of city life the physical, mental and moral health and general well-being of the people. The commission had testimony to the effect that there was a very direct relation between the rapid increase in nervous disorders and the congestion, noise and confusion incident to the existing haphazard and uncontrolled building development. The commission says: "The necessity for reducing the stress and strain of city life is becoming more and more apparent. This is essential if the city is to be a place in which our heritage of health and vitality is to be used, conserved and handed down to succeeding generations instead of being abused and exhausted." The commission also holds that well-ordered city development cannot fail to have a marked effect on the physical fitness and vitality of the city's inhabitants. The commission says: "Health is sometimes regarded as merely the absence of disease, but as has been pointed out by George C. Whipple, professor of sanitary engineering, Harvard University, in a memorandum submitted to the commission, that is not a complete conception of health. 'Health is more than the absence of disease. It is something positive, and involves physique and vitality and it is mental as well as physical. The inherent difficulty at the present time is the absence of scientific methods of measuring this positive element in health. Yet the world knows as a matter of human experience that it is real and vital. The expression "health and comfort of the people" is centuries old, and these two ideas are inseparable.' Health as a positive concept denoting physical and mental well-being will be promoted in many ways by the districting plan."

OUTLINE OF USE DISTRICTS ADOPTED

The plan adopted while necessarily detailed and complicated is in principle the most simple and obvious thing imaginable. Residence districts are established and they are protected against invasion by trade and industry of every kind. Business districts are established and they are protected against invasion by the trades and industries that are admittedly a nuisance in a retail business section. Unrestricted districts are established where any kind of industrial business or residential use is permitted. The unrestricted districts are chiefly located along the railway terminals and the navigable waterfront. They comprise the sections now devoted to industrial uses and those in which an industrial use seems appropriate. The business districts except in the main centers are for the most part made up of the frontage on both sides of the traffic thoroughfares. The local retail business naturally follows the traffic thoroughfares and transit lines. By preventing the sporadic store from locating in the side residential streets, values on both natural business arteries and the side residential streets are improved. The concentration of all local stores on the main arteries helps values on such streets and the exclusion of the store from the residential streets improves rentals on such streets.

HEIGHT AND AREA DISTRICTS ADOPTED

For city building it is not alone necessary that there shall be a plan that will segregate buildings according to use, but it is also necessary that there shall be a segregation according to intensity of building development. This is essential in order to secure to each section of the city as much light, air, safety from fire and relief from congestion, with all its attendant evils, as it consistent with the most beneficial use of the land. Intensity of use should be so regulated that, assuming that the entire section should be built up uniformly with buildings of the maximum height and extent allowed, the section as a whole would be appropriately improved.

A speculative builder puts up the first high building in a block. The windows are placed on property lines or on very narrow courts or yards. Securing its light and air from above the surrounding low buildings, it is very attractive to tenants and shows a good return on the investment. When, however, the building is blanketed on either side and on the rear by towering buildings of the same height and the supply of light and air is cut off, rents decline and the value of property is seriously impaired.

There can be no maintenance of healthful conditions of light and air and no stability of values if each individual owner is at liberty to build to any height and over any portion of his lot without regard to his appropriate and reasonable contribution to the light and air of the block.

The zone plan accordingly establishes zones for the purpose of regulating the height of buildings and the area of yards, courts and other open spaces. Five classes of height districts are established limiting the height of the building at the street line to a varying multiple of the street width. The multiple of street width rule limits the height of a building at the street line only. The building may be carried higher by means of mansards or vertical walls provided such extended portion is set back in a prescribed ratio. As an exception to the general height and set back rule, special regulations are provided for dormers and towers. If the area of a building is reduced so that above a certain level it covers only 25 per cent of the area of the lot, a street wall above such level may be carried to any height provided it is distant 75 feet from the center of the street.

The zone plan also establishes five classes of area districts, A, B, C, D and E, with varying regulations as to size of yards and other open spaces. Except in A districts, any building that is back to back with the rear of another property and is more than 55 feet back from the nearest street must have a rear yard. The requirement for a rear yard is reciprocal. No building is required to have a rear yard unless a similar obligation could be imposed for any building hereafter erected immediately behind such yard. In addition to a percentage requirement as to depth of the yard at its lowest level, the yard must increase in depth with the height of the yard, being not less than one inch, two inches, three inches, four inches or five inches in depth for each one foot of its height, according as it is located in the B, C, D or E district.

The A district is essentially a warehouse district and is confined to a narrow belt along the navigable waterfront and along the rail terminals. No yards are required in this district.

The B and C districts include all of the residence sections in which a tenement or apartment house development is anticipated. The restrictions provided for the D districts are especially appropriate for one- and two-family house sections, especially where houses occur in rows. They are also appropriate for multi-family houses provided they are built with more adequate courts and open spaces than has formerly been customary. The minimum dimensions of yards and courts in the D districts are double those required for buildings in the B districts.

The E district regulations are particularly appropriate for detached or semi-detached houses on lots 40 feet or more in width. They are applied under the zone plan to a number of residence sections at present built up with villa houses conforming in general to the regulations prescribed for an E district. The E district regulations are also applied to considerable undeveloped areas in which a high-class villa development seems appropriate.

LEGALITY OF THE ZONE PLAN

Many American cities have had more or less experience with certain phases of the zoning principle. Boston and Washington have established height districts; Los Angeles has created residence and industrial districts; Minneapolis has created sporadic residential districts; numerous other cities have created districts from which stables and other designated uses of a nuisance character are excluded; various other cities have experimented with the imposition of restrictions based on the petition or consent of the property owners in a particular block.

The New York zone plan differs materially in scope and method from any of the above attempts to regulate building development. The New York plan is complete and comprehensive. It covers the height of buildings, the area of courts and yards, and the location of trades and industries. It is applied throughout the five boroughs of the city. It is the result of a conscious, intelligent effort to direct the building of the city in accord with a well-considered plan.

Moreover the New York zone plan differs notably from these other partial applications of the zoning principle in the very great care given to its preparation. It is the result of some three years of careful research, investigation and conference. It was worked out by a commission admirably suited by training and experience for the difficult task in hand. This commission had the assistance of an expert staff that devoted itself unreservedly to the work.

The entire work has, moreover, been based on a strict adherence to the purposes for which the police power may be exercised, *i. e.*, the public health, safety, order and general welfare. The testimony taken by the commission is filled with statements by experts showing the great importance of the various features of the zone plan to the public health, safety and general welfare. While, however, these considerations have been basic, there has gone hand in hand a careful weighing and estimate of all the economic factors that must have a bearing on the reasonableness of any specific regulation. Moderation and proportionateness of means to ends which are the essence of reasonableness have been secured by a most careful consideration of existing conditions of building development and of existing economic tendencies.

The courts have passed on a number of these partial applications of the zoning principle in other cities. Most of these decisions have been favorable. A few sporadic and very partial and incomplete applications of the zoning principle have been declared unconstitutional. These adverse decisions by reason of the partial application of the regulations in question and the different methods used in their preparation can be of little value in considering the constitutionality of the New York zone plan. While, for example, it may be difficult to see anything but a discriminating and confiscatory interference in a regulation prohibiting trade and industry in a single block or in a single small section of a city, the public purpose behind such a regulation may be clear and unmistakable if it is applied, not to a single block, but to all the residence sections of the city and is a part of a comprehensive, well-considered plan of city building. While a specific regulation taken by itself may not seem to have a very direct relation to the purposes for which the police power may be invoked, yet when taken as a part of a comprehensive plan for the control of building development throughout the entire city, its relation to such purposes may be unmistakable. Grant that a comprehensive zone plan is essential to the public health, safety and general welfare, and it follows that every specific regulation that is an essential part of such comprehensive system is justified under the police power.

The reasonableness of any particular classification contained in the New York zone plan must, therefore, be based not on whether such classification can, standing alone as an isolated regulation, be justified as a reasonable exercise of the police power, but must be based (1) on whether a general zone plan is essential to the public health, safety and general welfare, and (2) on whether the classification in question is essential to this general plan.

The report of the heights of buildings commission of December 23, 1913, the report of the commission on building districts and restrictions of June 2, 1916, and the report of the committee of the whole of the board of estimate and apportionment of July 18, 1916, furnish detailed, authoritative and convincing proof of the thoroughness with which the zone plan for New York city has been worked out and of the necessity of its adoption in the interest of the public health, safety and general welfare. These documents also demonstrate conclusively that the enlightened civic and moral sense of the community demanded that the former haphazard method of building development should cease and that a comprehensive plan for the control of city building should be adopted. The United States supreme court in *Noble State Bank* v. *Haskell*, 219 U. S. 104, 111, said that: "In a general way . . . the police power extends to all the great public needs. . . . It may be put forth in aid of what is sanctioned by usage, or held by the prevailing morality or strong and preponderant opinion to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare." There has seldom been an important public regulation affecting vitally such vast interests that has had such universal public support as has the New York building zone plan. When the plan came before the board of estimate and apportionment for adoption the committee of the whole of that board reported that:

> The general support that has been given the proposed plan by every interest affected is proof both that it serves an urgent need and that it has

been worked out with care, discrimination and moderation. The real estate, lending and building interests are united in their support of the plan; as are also the commercial and civic associations. Not a single organization of any kind has opposed the general plan. Two or three individuals have registered their unalterable opposition to the principles involved. If the plan had been presented only a few years ago the protestants would doubtless have been legion. A great change has come about in the way that people look at this question. Zoning, instead of being regarded as confiscatory, unconstitutional, arbitrary and impractical, is now generally regarded as reasonable, obvious and absolitely necessary for the preservation of the city and of the property interests affected.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ZONE PLAN

The board of estimate has full power to amend and supplement the plan adopted. Many minor changes will be necessary to correct imperfections in the plan. There are doubtless errors and omissions that will be brought out only by actual operation. Other amendments will be required to meet changing conditions of city growth. It is to be expected that the plan must be supplemented and changed when certain fundamental factors affecting the physical structure of the city have been worked out. The charter provides that the board of estimate and apportionment may after public notice and hearing amend or supplement the plan from time to time. If, however, the owners of 20 per cent of the frontage affected by a proposed change protest against such change, it can only be made by a unanimous vote of the board.

CITY PLANNING AND POLITICAL AREAS

BY GEORGE E. HOOKER

Chicago

THE question of how best to divide a country into political areas for purposes of government is always a difficult as it is a fundamentally important one. It is bound to be an especially vexed matter to resolve in a country which—as is true generally of the modern world—is undergoing rapid social changes, owing to new applications of science and resultant shifts of population.

We are in the midst of such changes now, and a revolution is actually taking place accordingly in our political areas—a revolution not unnaturally presenting many cases of maladjustment and plainly needing guidance. Our country is divided into states, the state into counties and the county into towns, each political unit in the descending series dealing with more and more localized interests. This series, however, fitting rural conditions and based on approximate equality of area of counties with counties and towns with towns, is being broken into on every hand by the industrializing and urbanizing movement. The growing population has been distributing itself more and more in aggregations at particular points. A new network of pulsating centers, presenting new physical problems and requiring new political authorities to deal with them, has been superimposed upon the country's original system of political areas and is remapping the most active and important—although in extent comparatively limited—parts of the country. The process, however, is not standardized, and it shows many misfits—many cases where the political areas do not match in size, and therefore do not meet, the problems of physical organization requiring to be dealt with. These expanding communities, representing in no small part the enterprise of the nation, need efficient communication, outward and local, extended systems of water supply and waste disposal, ample spaces, properly placed with reference to each other, for their domestic, business, recreative and cultural life, and a wise distribution and development of all the physical factors which should make up their internal organization. What are the best sizes of political areas for dealing successfully with the nice and insistent city planning problems thus presented?

GAIN AND LOSS THROUGH LOCALISM

Chicago's instructive experience in this direction suggests that, in respect to our large cities at least, political areas should for some city planning purposes be more local and for others more metropolitan than they now are. A generation and a half ago, Chicago was in need of parks, inside and outside the city limits. Neither county, town, nor city, corresponded in bounds even approximately with the area for which a park system was needed. Instead, however, of enlarging the city to such bounds and giving it power to acquire parks, the legislature created three new park authorities, each covering about a third part of the city together with adjacent territory outside the city limits, and authorized each of these boards, acting independently, to acquire parks. As the city has expanded, additional park districts have, under state law, been formed, and there are now sixteen inside the city, each an independent park-acquiring and taxing authority.

That this multiplication of local park authorities has had certain beneficial results due to its localism, can scarcely be denied, in the light of the world-famous developments in recreation facilities which Chicago's park districts have produced. Possibly the explanation of these developments lies partly in the fact that by the unequal distribution of park taxes which resulted from the district plan, the board which profited became especially venturesome and so set an example in playgrounds which other boards eagerly followed. It must also be said that the local boards, despite the bad methods of creating some of them, have compared favorably in personnel with other governing bodies in the community and have represented important forces of district pride and ambition.

On the other hand, from the financial standpoint and from the standpoint of comprehensive development, Chicago's system of independent park boards has proved seriously deficient. The raising of the revenues by districts has not distributed resources equitably either according to contributions or according to need, and financially the system of localism has been wasteful as well as unfair. The Chicago bureau of public efficiency has reported that half a million dollars could be saved annually in the cost of administration if park consolidation were adopted. Nor have the recreation needs of the community as a whole ever been perceived by any one of the various boards or by all of them together. It was in fact the city council, representing the entire city, which, by its special park commission, formed in 1899, initiated the movement for adequate provision of recreation facilities on some inclusive plan—which movement was later taken up by the local park boards with such brilliant results in playground development. Some localities are still neglected, and no closely studied comprehensive scheme has even yet been accomplished or formulated for the entire community.

Another unfortunate but logical result of the local system—in which the north and south branches of the Chicago river have been boundaries between the principal park districts—is that this river, although it is the chief and only important natural feature of the interior of the city, has never been improved for a foot of its length for the adornment of the city, or for pleasure purposes. It has instead been a sort of buffer state or no-man's land between the separate park boards, no one of which had jurisdiction over it as a whole, or even over both sides of it at any point. To improve one side would have been to take chances as to the other side, and its improvement has thus been practically impossible. Quite opposite results have occurred in respect to the interior water courses of Boston, all of which have been within the jurisdiction of one authority, the Metropolitan park commission.

CO-OPERATION NEEDED

The plan, however, of enlarging local political areas to keep pace with the geographical expansion of city planning problems, cannot be carried to indefinite lengths. After such enlargement has been carried as far as it reasonably should be, such problems, crossing boundaries between political areas, will still remain, and they will require to be dealt with by the state or the nation.

For example, the county of Cook, which includes Chicago and about four times as much territory outside its limits, has at last been clothed with authority to acquire a metropolitan park system and is proceeding to do so. The county corresponds roughly to the region interested in this project, and the creation of another political area to deal with it is thus avoided. No sooner does the county begin its task, however, than, despite its own great size, it discovers that at least in one direction and perhaps in two, this task logically extends as a unit across the line into another county, whose co-operation is thus highly desirable. It is trying now to secure this co-operation on a fair basis through friendly negotiation. Possibly it can be so secured. If not, the completeness of this essentially city planning project will, of course, suffer accordingly. The state is the natural political area to insure that co-operation between two of its subsidiary areas.

But city planning problems may also become inter-state. Across the state line from Chicago, on the southeast shore of Lake Michigan, lie the Indiana sand dunes, several square miles of which are greatly desired as a public reservation which shall preserve for the Chicago region, for the nearby industrial cities of Indiana and for the country at large, the plant and wild animal life and the unique natural beauty for which these dunes are famed. Accordingly, under a resolution of the United States Senate, the department of the interior held a public hearing in Chicago a few weeks ago on the desirability of acquiring this tract as a national park through federal action. Whether it is so acquired or not, the case illustrates a class of city planning interests involving joint needs extending into two states—for the protection of which needs, if the national government is not to function in some manner, either by acquiring the areas directly or by promoting co-operation between the two states to that end, no political areas exist which are adapted to function.

To avoid undue multiplication of political areas we must try to arrange them to meet not merely one important city planning need of the community—parks, water, drainage, sewerage, means of transport, industrial areas, homes, etc.—but so as to insure that all these physical factors of the community are *co-ordinated* in an organic fashion. In other words these different factors must be developed under unified control. Those responsible for them must report to a common head. They cannot, even if developed for the same area, be carried out by authorities independent of each other.

This fact may likewise be illustrated by the experience of Chicago—as it could be by that of many other communities. The sanitary district of Chicago, comprising the city and as much more territory outside, was created nearly thirty years ago as an independent legislative, administrative and taxing authority, to provide for drainage and sewage disposal for the community. Despite its large operations and expenditures, however, it has had no organic or indeed co-operative relations with any other local authority. One result of this isolation is that while the community's park agencies have been advocating or making large expenditures to increase the attractiveness and availability of the surrounding country for recreation, the sanitary district has carried out its work in such a manner —and needlessly so—as almost to ruin the appearance of some of the most beautiful environs of the city. Had the park bodies and the sanitary district board been brought into direct administrative contact with each other as parts of the same government, such nullification by one department of the specific objects of another could not conceivably have taken place.

Again, the public schools of the city are under an independent board, which, though co-extensive in jurisdiction with the city, is not a part of the city government. It is not administratively associated thus with any of the park bodies, not even with the city's special park commission. This separation is undoubtedly responsible for the conspicuous failure of our public education system and our public recreation system to work, both in the planning and in the use of properties, with that *co-operation* which is so obviously appropriate and so urgently demanded.

So, too, the isolation of the government of both the parks and schools from the other branches of the city government has deprived these departments of what might otherwise have been a wholesome contact with the cultural and humanizing ideas attaching to the subject of parks and the subject of schools, ideas whose incidence upon those departments is desirable.

Political areas should then be adjusted in extent to the extent of the problems with which they are to deal, but instead of creating a separate political area to deal with a particular problem, the aim should, at least ordinarily, be to adjust the area in size to the resultant of the demands, in respect to size, of the group of problems, local to that general area, which should be dealt with co-operatively, and hence under one authority. These problems can be best dealt with some by small and some by large units of area.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD

(1) There is then a need to-day, from the standpoint of city planning, for a standard political area corresponding to the city neighborhood—or if one answers that there are no such things as city neighborhoods, then for the city neighborhood that ought to exist. A large city should be divided into local or neighborhood governments, presumably elective, which should, under the city government, have charge of certain physical interests of the district. The desirability of having real city neighborhoods matching certain city planning needs—and, through meeting these, realizing also certain spiritual ends—neighborhoods defined and vitalized by the possession accordingly of certain governing powers, is enforced in many ways.

It is emphasized by the monotonous lack of local structural design and thus of efficient organic character in our outspread cities, looked at as wholes. It is emphasized by the struggling efforts of groups of persons in various localities, through local improvement clubs, to affect their local physical conditions by their joint efforts, and by the fact that, as things are, a great part of the people feel helpless or indifferent concerning these matters. It is emphasized by projects which have been made by architects and sociologists to design fit groupings for local institutions, business, cultural and social, with a view to the better performance of their proper functions and a better symbolizing of the idea of neighborhood solidarity. It is emphasized by the zealous and in many places locally rooted social center movement, which has spread so widely during the last few years. It is emphasized by the desire of the finest elements of many isolated nationality groups for broad and inclusive co-operation in their districts toward social welfare, and by the spreading notion that the common folk should be mustered into the life of the community as they have not been heretofore. It is emphasized by the recognized need for moderating the excessive and wasteful mobility of city populations, by giving more meaning to locality and making neighborhoods more worthy of permanent residence. It is emphasized by the fact that certain local interests, touching both the physical functions and the social aims of modern government, can be better understood and administered locally than by the long range machinery of a city government centering at city hall and covering perhaps scores or hundreds of square miles. It is emphasized by the historical fact that the finest architectural embodiments of human institutions and ideals have for the most part been wrought out by communities of limited size, as ancient Athens and the cathedral cities of Europe amply testify.

As to precisely what functions would lend themselves to efficient local management—possibly the design, construction, maintenance and adornment of local streets, the removal of household waste, the provision of some recreation factors, especially for the smallest children, the receipt of taxes, the registration of vital statistics, the development of an architectural scheme for a real neighborhood center—whether these are some of the functions which might be considered as appropriate for local management, is a question upon which I do not wish now to enter. Nor need we now discuss whether this primary governing area should comprise one square mile or ten, 10,000 people or 100,000. Cases would be decided according to circumstances. Just as local intelligence, pride and initiative, however, are invaluable in smaller cities for the purposes of government, just as the value of these forces is indicated by that fear of losing them which leads many outside communities to resist annexation to larger communities—so, I believe, these forces will, when given fair opportunity, demonstrate their value and efficiency toward limited city neighborhood government on a well-considered plan. I believe that the proper scope and objects of city planning will be neither adequately conceived nor adequately achieved except through the application to the large city of some federal scheme which will bring to bear the potentialities of neighborhood political areas as such for their own higher physical organization.

THE CITY

(2) The next larger political area should of course be the city itself. This unit should first deal with cases, bound to arise, of disagreement between two adjacent neighborhood governments, concerning problems affecting both, and hence requiring co-operation between them. The city itself, through some appropriate and expeditious method, should resolve such differences. But the city's main duty will be to manage all those public physical aspects and functions of the community—those city planning problems—which concern it as a whole and therefore require unity of treatment over the entire site of the community life. The adaptation of the city to meet the main group of city planning problems is recognized and needs no argument.

THE STATE

(3) If the city be a growing one, however, and especially if there are other nearby cities, there arises a difficulty well stated in a private letter by Mr. Mayo Fesler, who, using his own city as an example, says, "In Cleveland we are prohibited from working out any comprehensive city plan because all about the city are a number of satellite cities which

have as full powers as Cleveland itself. They are not big enough to be interested in a comprehensive city plan. This condition is true of practically every large city in the country."

There are three ways of meeting this difficulty. One is by creating a special metropolitan district to deal with each important problem of the metropolitan area. This method has been most conspicuously used for the Boston area, where there are now the Boston metropolitan park commission, the metropolitan sewage commission and the metropolitan water commission, and where a metropolitan city planning commission is being sought. Even ignoring questions of cost, however, this method fails to insure co-operative management as between the different problems dealt with, and the creation of a greater Boston, which could manage these problems in a unified manner, is, I think, generally admitted by students to be desirable. Perhaps, too, the most hopeful contribution toward clearing the way for this desirable enlargement would be the devising of some practicable plan of limited local government for the various communities which would make up the greater city.

Another method of coping with the difficulty in question is to give cities power to control the layout of land beyond the city limits. In several states power of this sort has been conferred for a distance of from one and one-half to five miles beyond the city limits, and one student of these problems has advocated that this distance be twenty-five miles. The method violates the fundamental principle of representation, however, with respect to such outside territory.

Still another expedient would be a state department which, for meeting the wide-spreading physical problems of a metropolitan district, could require proper co-operation, under its own supervision, between the various cities or towns affected by those problems. Under the British town planning act—the most important piece of city planning legislation in our language—the Local Government Board, a national department, can require such co-operative treatment of city planning problems. It can commission one local authority to deal completely with a city planning scheme extending into the territory of two authorities, or it can require the two authorities to create a joint authority to handle the scheme, the board itself exercising supervision over the way in which either plan is carried out.

The enlarging of the city to match the real metropolitan community is the natural method of dealing advantageously with metropolitan city planning problems. But the need would still exist for some efficient means of dealing with cases of disagreement between adjacent political areas in the same state concerning city planning questions involving them all. For these cases a state department, in some respects similar to the English Local Government Board, is required. Such a department of cities should also promote city planning interests generally in the state.

THE NATION

(4) Cases still remain where the proper development of one community requires in a very definite and immediate way some related development across the line in another state, which development may or may not be beneficial to that state, or some of its communities. Since rivers often serve as state boundaries and also as sites for cities, such cases are not infrequent, and some of them are of great importance from the standpoint of city planning. At present there is no efficient administrative machinery for dealing with them. The recent inquiry in Chicago concerning the Indiana sand dunes was a recognition that the need for such machinery exists. Some adapted federal authority should be provided to meet this need in the best manner possible under existing constitutional conditions.

THE FOUR AREAS SHOULD ACT

To sum up then: The United States is now nearly half urban and is becoming steadily more largely urban. The interests of city planning demand, for the urbanized portions of our country, the operation of a fourfold scheme of political areas, comprising:

(1) The city neighborhood, clothed with power to deal with certain local problems, and enlisting local intelligence and interest.

(2) The city, which should secure administrative co-operation where needed between adjacent neighborhood governments within its boundaries, handle directly and co-ordinately the great city planning problems affecting the community as a whole, and be expanded from time to time so as to be always approximately co-extensive in area with the community itself.

(3) A state department of cities, which should concern itself with the interests of all cities of the state, and particularly have certain powers, after the plan of the English Local Government Board, to require co-operation if necessary between adjacent towns, cities or counties respecting city planning problems affecting them in common.

(4) A National Department of Urban Life which should deal with cases where the city planning interests of one community reach over into another state so as to require co-operation between the two states or between communities in them, and should promote the physical improvement of American cities generally.

A word may be added concerning the proposal that the nation should be the fourth political area to concern itself with the demands of city planning and should accordingly create a department of urban life or some similar agency.

The time has come when the problem of city planning, interpreted according to its true scope, should be recognized as essentially a national problem, by reason of the fact that it concerns our most fundamental and vital national interests. In the first place it concerns the conditions under which industry and commerce are carried on, and if we are to be a successful industrial and commercial nation, the proper industrial and commercial economies to be realized through the application of intelligent and far-reaching city planning principles must be thrown into the balance in our efforts for conserving our people and in the rivalries of nations.

Not only the economic power of the country, but the ability of the country to maintain itself in case it should ever be put to the ultimate test of war, depend in no small degree upon those home surroundings which, if above standard, mean initiative and resourcefulness among the people, and if below standard mean depressed personal powers and low grade achievements. The bringing of these surroundings up to standard for the rank and file of our city population should be made a national aim, to be forwarded through city planning science.

Ultimately the strength and constructive power which a nation can exert is very largely a psychological matter and rests back upon the real interest of the people themselves in their country and their firesides. If this personal devotion is to be realized and is to be made available not alone for social solidarity but for broad national ends, our cities must be made worthy of such devotion from the people who occupy them. Their perfecting should therefore be a national policy.

At the present time city planning legislation awaits action separately by forty-eight different states, most of which have thus far ignored the subject, and no one of which either realizes its importance or is qualified in scope of vision or in resources to deal adequately with it. The nation is the only unit which can so deal with the subject, and its resources and prestige should be enlisted, if not, under our system, in actual administrative control of city planning work, at least in those investigations and frontier experimental studies which are to-day so urgently demanded for the proper development of city planning science, for bringing its importance before our cities generally and for making it available for their use. Think of what the results would be of a million dollars, for example, intelligently devoted at the present time to this subject by the federal government. France is to-day maturing a program for the reconstruction, on a national scale, after the war, of both her devastated and her untouched cities. England is similarly aroused. Can we not, without being driven to it by a war, undertake, as a national task, the internal regeneration of our cities? I emphasize, for city planning purposes, the importance not alone of the three political units, neighborhood, city and state, but likewise of a fourth—the nation.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN CITY PLANNING DURING THE PAST YEAR

BY GEORGE B. FORD

New York City[1]

THE past year was one of tremendous significance to the cause of city planning. Of the fifty-odd cities of over one hundred thousand population in the United States, twenty-two have made a distinct and notable contribution, in the past year, to the rapidly increasing volume of city planning history and achievement. Of the cities of from 25,000 to 100,000 population, which number about two hundred, twenty-nine may be counted on the roll of those that have made important and constructive advances in city planning, during the same period. A large number of cities and towns of lesser size have to their credit accomplishments which, in the mass, are not of the least importance. In Canada, despite the preoccupation of the people of the cities with the war, Thomas Adams, town planning adviser of the commission of conservation, reports a widespread interest and activity there, both in the formulation and passage of laws and in organization for constructive work. In Europe, and particularly in France and England, which countries I have had the good fortune to visit in the course of the past three months, city planning is not only alive,—it is making enormous strides as evidenced in the work which I saw under way in Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, Limoges, Rheims, and in London, not to mention numerous lesser places. In India, even, where one would be led to expect but little, British enthusiasm for city planning has roused the great and congested cities, such as Madras, Bombay and Calcutta to a realization of their city planning needs, and we are regularly in receipt of reports of progress being made there—progress which, indeed, would put many of our proud American cities to shame. The city planning movement has never enjoyed a more hopeful, indeed more constructive year than that just past.

It is peculiarly significant—and pregnant with a lesson of the utmost importance—that in the United States nearly 45 per cent of the cities of over 100,000 have taken great forward steps in town planning the past year—as against 15 per cent, less than one sixth, of the cities of lesser size (25,000 to 100,000 population) which show progress. Although it may be said that the larger cities contain a proportionately larger number of persons capable of appreciating and participating in a city planning movement, I believe the conclusion may be safely drawn that the large cities are finding the handicap of haphazard and uncontrolled city development intolerable, and are being forced to undertake scientific planning, at great expense in many cases, out of sheer self-preservation and to retrieve the losses, economic and social, which the piled-up neglect of past years has brought about. For the lesser cities, the lesson of the larger cities is assuming increasing significance. The cities of from 25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants have begun to realize—at least one sixth of them have done so in the past year—that the way to avoid the costly reconstruction, the losses to industry and trade—the social ills and hygienic hardships which follow in the wake of uncontrolled city growth—is to take a firm stand now, as against the day of expansion of trade, of extension of boundaries, of increase of population.

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[1] Address delivered at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, at Springfield, Mass., November 23, 1916. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 182.

If we scan the record of accomplishment in city planning for the past year, one item in the hundreds that would bear report and analysis here if time permitted, stands out most strikingly. It is New York city's contribution—the districting or zoning ordinance passed by the board of estimate and apportionment in July last. Not since the inauguration of the movement for conscious city planning, back in 1893, has a page of city planning history been written which embodies so many vital and interesting features as the New York districting movement and the resulting ordinance. So much has been written about this and the way in which it was built up, that I must forego more than the briefest reference to this subject. The ordinance itself is a compromise in many respects—it is not drastic enough to serve as a model for other cities—but it embodies all of the principles of the most advanced and comprehensive zoning program. The success attending the New York measure may be attributed to the thorough and unremitting campaign of education which was carried on, for the lack of which city planning has failed so often in America.

As a result of the success of the New York movement, we find that districting work is being organized, or is being actively promoted, or actually carried on, in the following municipalities:

Akron
Berkeley
Chicago
Baltimore
Cleveland
Des Moines
East Orange
Elgin
Little Rock
Los Angeles
Milwaukee
Minneapolis
Newark
Omaha
Ottawa
Philadelphia
Sacramento
St. Louis
Springfield, Mass.
Washington, D. C.

This is certainly a remarkable showing considering the short space of time in which the movement has been gaining impetus—and one of the greatest significance.

However, during the past year, districting as a part of city planning has occupied public attention largely to the exclusion of the other aspects of the city planning problem, for much that is truly noteworthy has been done in other fields in the course of the past twelve months. Comprehensive city plans, varying enormously, however, in intrinsic merit and practical adaptability to actual conditions, are under way or have been prepared for the following cities:

Akron
Allentown
Bayonne
Birmingham
Brantford, Ontario
East Boston, Mass.
East Orange
Detroit
Elgin
Johnstown
Lawrence
Milwaukee
Minneapolis
Newark
Oakland and Berkeley
Omaha
Ottawa, Ontario
Pasadena
Pueblo
Sacramento
St. Louis
South Philadelphia

These plans cover all or a large number of the special phases of the city plan, including the street system, land subdivisions, transportation, waterfront improvement, parks, recreation, etc. The plans for Ottawa, for Oakland and Berkeley, and for Newark, are remarkable examples of the most advanced practice in investigation and planning, and that for Ottawa is presented in one of the most beautifully printed and illustrated reports yet published in America.

This brief review of the city planning accomplishment of the past year would, however, not be complete without a reference to the special studies on city planning problems made for various cities throughout America by city planners and landscape architects. Among the most notable are the following:

Boston, markets
Cambridge, study of building development, etc.
Camden, street replanning
Cleveland, street and bridge improvements
Denver, revision of the civic center plan
Fitchburg, study of main thoroughfares and street system
Holyoke, street planning studies
Madison, recreation survey and plan
Milwaukee, general survey and report
Peoria, streets and parks
Providence, plan for capitol site and thoroughfares
San Francisco, new plan for the exposition site
Springfield, control of billboard advertising, recreation
Vancouver, civic center plan

Site planning, particularly for the provision of home sites on a large scale, has been undertaken by private enterprise in many cities, under the direction of town planners or landscape architects, during the past year. In this connection, also, special studies have been made for the housing of workingmen. In this class, the following are particularly noteworthy, as having been consummated in the past year:

Akron, Firestone park development
Bridgeport, housing studies for the chamber of commerce
Duluth, Morgan park, for the U. S. Steel Corporation
Midland, Pa., townsite for industrial plant
Ojibway, Canada, new town for the U. S. Steel Corporation
Passaic, Allwood garden village for the Brighton mills
Washington, D. C., Ellen Wilson memorial homes development
Waterbury, housing studies for local committee
Kenosha, housing development plan for local organization

These garden village or housing developments are not the least important of the town planning problems which have been under way or completed in the past year, for in this branch of city planning, we find an increasing opportunity to achieve permanent and notable results in the rectification of haphazard development on the perimeter of our rapidly growing cities.

Turning now to city planning legislation, we find an unprecedented activity throughout America among semi-public or official bodies, and in the legislatures of many states. In the past year, the following have been particularly active in the promotion, drafting or passage of laws or ordinances for city planning:

(a) California, permissive law for the appointment of city planning commissions.
  Massachusetts, law providing for the appointment of boards of survey, with control over platting.
  Pennsylvania, permissive law for appointment of a districting commission in cities of the first class.
  Indiana, energetic steps for securing the passage of a city planning law.
(b) Ordinances in Akron, Bayonne, East Orange, Johnstown, Mansfield (Ohio), Mt. Vernon, Santa Monica (Calif.), Toledo, creating city planning commissions under state permissive laws. In Cincinnati, strenuous efforts by public-spirited citizens to secure appointive ordinance.
(c) Ordinances in Berkeley, New York and Sacramento, making districting control effective. Ordinances in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, creating districting commissions. Energetic steps being taken in St. Louis, St. Paul and Washington, D. C., to secure the advantages of districting control.

In Canada, the provinces Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, have secured provincial town planning acts based on the English town planning act of 1909, or are taking energetic steps to secure the passage of acts, and the cities of

Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, St. John, are at work under such acts or are preparing to start on town planning pending the passage of acts.

The above remarkable record of a year's advance in city planning would not be complete without reference to recent developments in propagandist work for city planning during the past year. Perhaps the most interesting matter in this field is the conference of national organizations for co-operative endeavor in city planning which met for the second time at the National Conference on City Planning, Cleveland, last June. At its meeting, a committee was appointed from among the delegates to study the possibilities of securing a national bureau for city planning and municipal investigation. Another development in this field in the past year, is the launching of the federation of Massachusetts planning boards, an accomplishment of which much could be said regarding its possibilities for promoting wider interest and constructive planning throughout the state. In Pennsylvania, Texas, California and other states, we find leagues of city planning commissions, meeting at regular periods to discuss the problems of city planning and to foster legislation and create public interest in the work.

All of us here present are keenly appreciative of the worth, even the vital necessity, of comprehensive planning for our towns and even for our counties and states. We cannot help but be inspired by the splendid showing which the nations of the world, and, in particular, our own country, have made during the last year. To those of us who have been at work in city planning during the past year, and who have come gradually to a realization of its great importance, it is our duty, I will say more, it is our privilege to spread the gospel far and wide throughout the land. A great campaign of education of the general public to the urgency of planning, either through the medium of a national bureau of city planning or through private organizations, is vitally necessary. It falls to our lot to see this through.

CITY PLANNING PROGRESS[1]

CINCINNATI: ALFRED BETTMAN

We took the need of city planning for granted, so we formed a joint civic committee on city planning, and as the cities of Ohio did not have any power to create city planning boards, the first thing to do was to draft and have the legislature pass a statute on the subject; which was done. The statute was so framed as to fit all forms of government which might be in existence in the various cities of Ohio, and, I believe, has been referred to with considerable praise by men who are professionally engaged in city planning. The woman's city club of Cincinnati was active in pushing the bill through the legislature. Although the statute had been written and promoted by Cincinnatians, the city council of Cincinnati refused to create a commission as provided by the statute. Other cities in Ohio, however, gladly availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the statute. The Cincinnati council objected to that portion of the statute which required a two-thirds vote in council for any departure from the city plan after the city plan had been laid out by the planning commission. They seemed to feel that this was an interference with the prerogatives of council. Thereupon the mayor of the city was induced to appoint a non-official commission, the basis of selection of members to be the same as provided for in the statute for an official commission. This non-official commission has no powers nor funds; but it is at work. It invited Mr. Adams, the Canadian expert, to come to Cincinnati and discuss the work of the commission. Mr. Adams made a great impression, and it looked as though the enthusiasm might be productive of funds and results, when one of the commissioners, a lawyer and city official, raised the question of the constitutionality in the United States of the sort of city planning which Mr. Adams had been so successfully describing. This question of constitutionality is often a great dampener, and I fear it was so on this occasion. So I sincerely trust that Mr. Whitten's prophecies will prove true and the constitutionality of the New York zoning ordinances will be upheld. I believe that districting and the other features of a city planning scheme will generally be upheld by the courts, when the legislation is the result of a comprehensive and scientific study. For the courts have really gone no further than to exclude districting or other regulations for purely esthetic purposes or the arbitrary selection of a district or zone. A comprehensive city plan, based on a thorough, expert study and upon the promotion of the health, safety and comfort of the whole community, will surely sooner or later—and probably sooner—be upheld by the supreme court of the United States as a modern form of the regulation of the use of private property for the promotion of general public safety, health, comfort and welfare; especially as it can be demonstrated, if the ordinance is based upon a thorough study of the situation, that the effect of a city planning ordinance will tend to be toward the stabilizing of values, rather than of destroying or diminishing values. So I do not believe this constitutional question need put a damper on the enthusiasm or energy of any city planning commission.

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[1] Being the report of the discussion of the city planning papers read at the Springfield meeting of the National Municipal League and the Massachusetts federation of planning boards.

DALLAS, TEXAS: CHARLES SAVILLE [2]

The city planning meetings held here in Springfield during the past week have been especially interesting and helpful to me, because down in Texas we have many rapidly growing communities which need some form of organized planning for their best development.

That Texas municipalities have not been slow to appreciate this need is shown by the existence, at the present time, of two state-wide organizations; one, the "Texas town and city planning association," the purpose of which is to educate public opinion in the importance of well ordered civic improvements; the other, "The league of Texas municipalities," which has for its aim increased efficiency in municipal administration. Both of these organizations have rapidly growing memberships, and they hold one or more well attended conventions each year.

Several of the large cities of Texas have already employed city planning experts to work out a comprehensive scheme of civic development to meet their local conditions, and in one or two instances considerable constructive work has actually been carried out; but thus far there has been no provision made, in any instance, for a permanent non-partisan city planning board whose duty it should be to see that each succeeding administration accomplishes some definite part of the comprehensive plan of development which shall have been worked out in advance as a guide for the proper growth of the community.

We in Dallas realize that such a board, properly organized and financed, can be made a tremendously important factor in the development of our city, and we are now engaged in the preliminary work of developing public opinion along these lines.

THE BRIDGEPORT SITUATION: DR. JOHN NOLEN, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

I am sorry to say that the story of Bridgeport is still largely on paper. The report of the city planning commission is in press and will be in circulation, I think, within a week. The real campaign for doing things, therefore, has hardly begun, and yet it is interesting to note several things that have already happened, although the report and recommendations have not yet really been made public.

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[2] Director of public health.

One is with regard to the grouping of public buildings in the civic center. Bridgeport is far too centralized; it is being packed into too little space,—a space inadequate for its down town business. We were able to show in our plans the location which would be the logical place to expand to. We got the committee's approval of that site, and already one public board (the library) has voted to move in that direction. It will afford an immense relief to the congestion on the main street. There are other problems, such as whether we can overcome the forces that stand in the way of the construction of an approach and bridge at State street, which I think is the most necessary of all the improvements. The other improvement that I regard as fundamentally important is the matter of industrial housing. As a direct result of the city planning activities, the chamber of commerce taking the initiative, a permanent Bridgeport housing company has been formed, working in combination with the chamber of commerce and with the city plan commission, and with other bodies having much the same point of view. A half a million dollars has already been subscribed. We expect that another half a million will follow, and that at least two million dollars' worth of workmen's houses will be constructed. The business men have decided to go permanently into the business of fixing housing standards and of providing a better supply of homes for wage-earners, and if possible they will reach down to the lowest paid workers in the town.

Walpole, I believe, is not represented here by any member of its planning board. I shall speak of it, because I have been the adviser on the town plan, and I think the progress of the smaller towns and cities is important. The work began about three years ago. The town plan was adopted in March, 1914, by vote of the town, and an educational campaign carried on to promote general interest. Safeguarding regulations were adopted, including the betterment act, the board of survey act, the reserve space act, concurrent jurisdiction, authority for the town planning board to act as park commission, and the tenement house act. A compilation of laws was also made, and the preparation of a topographical survey carried through.

There were some nineteen or twenty physical improvements executed, including the widening of the main streets, the establishment of building lines, the acquisition of park lands, the inauguration of an improved civic center development, the enlargement and improvement of school grounds, the development of playgrounds, and a five-year program of systematic street changes.

One notable town planning improvement came through the gift of 175 acres adjoining the high school, as a town forest. The town appropriated

$9,500 toward development, and 16,000 trees have been planted, 1,000 being set by the school children. The complete plan includes an amphitheatre, swimming pool, playgrounds, etc.

Organization and administration have not been neglected. A competent civil engineer has been engaged, a Walpole 1920 committee formed, the study of town government begun, activity by board of trade increased, and co-operation secured of a real estate association. This program of town planning and town development by Walpole, with a population of only 5,600, is an illustration of what a small town can do.

Springfield, Mass.: Charles H. Parsons

Ladies and gentlemen: I want to take this occasion to thank the members of all the out of town planning boards for their attendance here in Springfield, and for the many kind expressions which I have received since I have been here, which I desire not to accept individually, but on behalf of our board as a whole. We have appreciated your presence, and we thank you all for coming.

We have heard this morning about local city building lines and assessments. I want to, as briefly as I can, describe our experience here in Springfield on the practical side of assessment of betterments. I think that those who drove around the city this morning, as a great many of you doubtless did, must appreciate that Springfield has many problems in re-planning, and the impression made upon our city planning board when we first organized three years ago, after making a careful survey of the probable necessary changes during the next few years, was that we must find some way to finance these changes without breaking the city. Under the old way the Springfield city government had gone along for a great many years adopting changes under the assessment act, but never remembering to collect the assessments. We called the attention of our board of aldermen as sharply as possible to this condition and what it meant; that it was both misleading and expensive. We persisted in calling the attention of this board to the matter, to an extent that finally called forth an official rebuke.

About this time there was a matter which came to the attention of the public in the extension of Hillman street. It was announced by those interested that here was a very necessary public improvement, and it was heralded with much enthusiasm by the interested property owners. The proposition was made asking the city to put through this new extension. This was passed and approved by the board of public works at an estimated cost of a little over $62,000. It passed the board of aldermen without a dissenting vote, and under the rule which had practically been established, assessments would have been forgotten. The spotlight was turned on this enterprise by some of us, and we succeeded in having the scheme held up in the common council and voted down. To make a long story short, the property owners then got together and voluntarily assessed themselves over $35,000 as a contribution towards this enterprise. Notwithstanding this object lesson and the fact that the business men and property owners themselves have learned to appreciate the justice of the assessment of betterments, yet in October, 1915, the assessments on both our new underpasses, which most of you will remember having seen and which have cost the city over half a million dollars, were allowed to lapse without a hand being raised. I think it is a fair question as a citizen of this community to ask "Why?"

There has been a growing demand for the widening of Dwight street from the railroad to State street, a distance of half a mile. This subject has been agitated for some time, and about a year ago a large mass meeting was called at the board of trade, which was attended by over one hundred people—mostly property owners. I was asked to speak at this mass meeting, and I voiced the opinion of the city planning commission that that enterprise would not be undertaken in Springfield until the property owners were ready to contribute a very substantial proportion of the expense, and the reasons given were thought good by the property owners present. Shortly after that a movement was started to get the property owners together and make an offer to the city to contribute towards the cost of this enterprise. At last night's meeting of the city council our board of public works reported recommending that this project be carried through at an estimated cost of over a million dollars. There were received and placed in the hands of the city, with the report, agreements on the part of the property owners along the way aggregating considerably over fifty per cent of all the abutters, in which they agreed if the work was carried out that they would pay the city a sum equal to $160 per front foot on their holdings. Now, if this amount is collected, these agreements are exercised, and the remaining property owners are assessed a similar amount, the total amount of assessments along the right of way is estimated at $646,173, over half of which is already pledged in writing. It has been estimated that the fragments of land left will be worth to the city $113,000. This added to the assessment of $646,000 would bring the net cost on their figures down to $508,000. This $646,000 can be materially added to by assessments along our side streets between Dwight and Main streets, and I think it is safe to say that, if this plan is carried out, city planning in Springfield, and city planning in Massachusetts, is entitled to be credited with at least seven hundred thousand dollars on the right side.

Now, that is what we think is real city planning in Springfield, and we think that city planning of that kind is a good deal better for a municipal government than being a good fellow.

CLEVELAND, OHIO: ALLEN T. BURNS

Mr. Chairman and delegates: There is just one thing about city planning that is getting rubbed in by public experience through the country, and I am saying this for the benefit of our friend from Cincinnati, that the lesson has been borne in upon me more and more that the making of city plans, except by those who are going to carry them out, involves a very large waste of perfectly good private funds. I think the thing that the cities of our country are gradually awakening to is that city plans cannot be self-imposed upon self-governing communities. If we have not the powers in our cities to have city planning boards with large governmental possibilities, then it seems to me the next best thing to do is to get such authority for our public officials or to persuade them to organize themselves, as an extra legal city planning board. That seems to me to go back to some of the fundamentals of self-government; that self-government is gradually going to work itself out. I suggest to public-spirited citizens who are interested in putting money in city planning, that we find some way to put it in through city officials. If the appropriations from the city are not sufficient, then it would be a good thing for us to make contributions to the boards, but let us not think that we can make the plan and expect to have it accepted ready-made by the city.

I think our friend means Cincinnati has not any power to adopt the city planning board. That is because Cincinnati has not been able or seen fit to take advantage of its city government or home rule charter. Cleveland is just in the situation of a city with the power but without the means. Some of us who are very much interested have taken a rather solemn resolve that if private means are to be used rather than public means, they can be used only through the direction of our public planning board.

I am sure that in that direction lies a much bigger promise of having something come after our city plans are made than by the very best plans that might be devised by private organization.

CHAIRMAN GEORGE B. FORD

Mr. Burns has just stirred up a contentious subject, and there are many who do not agree with him on that. Particularly is this true in smaller towns where it is difficult to find the right sort of spirit or personnel in the governing bodies to develop or put into effect city planning. In some of the larger cities plans which have come from outside have proved the ones which have been ultimately adopted. For example, in Chicago, the Chicago commercial club developed their remarkable plans: a private body, and yet these are the plans which are being put into effect in Chicago. A lot of us feel that it is so difficult to get legislation started that it is oftentimes necessary to go through a long campaign of education and publicity before we can get the city authorities to develop city plans, and that the very working out of plans with the discussion on the part of the public which they arouse has been of value and may be made of profit, all so highly desirable in order to get city planning really started.

I am not going to speak any more about this myself, but if there is anyone else who wants to speak on this subject we would be glad to hear from him. Is there anybody who would like to speak on this subject?

BROCKTON, MASS.: WILLARD F. JACKSON

I was not able to report at the previous meeting we had at the hotel, but at Brockton this year we have run up against a very serious condition. We tried to put through what would be a connecting link in our thoroughfare leading from the railroad station into the west of the city, which is the principal or more highly developed residential section. We had very little difficulty in securing the co-operation of our aldermen and councilmen, but when it came to a question of seizure there were two remonstrants who had their lawyer there, and he started out to state that the special act passed by the legislature was unconstitutional, basing his opinion on a law passed in 1904, and it was declared unconstitutional I think in 1910 by the supreme court. We were rather well prepared for that, and we knocked his arguments to smithereens, and then subsequently the last order was passed and the mayor approved it. Then it came to a question of disposing of the bonds. Instead of carrying out the usual procedure of making out the bonds and offering them to the bond houses, and the bond houses then, of course, exercising their right to look up the legality of the issue, somebody put a flea in the city treasurer's ear that he ought to get the opinion of some Boston lawyers as to the constitutionality of it. This is the letter which was addressed to the city treasurer: "We have considered your question relating to the issue of bonds by your city under the Act of 1913, chapter 169, as amended by the Special Act of 1916, chapter 357. The statute provides that the city may, for the purpose of extending a certain highway, take certain specified land defined by the statute as being strips of certain specified depths on either side of the proposed highway. It then goes on to provide that the city may sell such part of the land so taken as is not needed for the highway. The question arises whether this statute which authorizes the city to take land outside of what it needs for a highway and to sell it is constitutional. The supreme court of the United States has said: 'It is fundamental in American jurisprudence that private property cannot be taken by the government, national or state, except for purposes which are of a public character, although such taking be accompanied by compensation to the owner. That principle, this court has said, grows out of essential nature of all free governments.' Any state enactment in violation of these principles is inconsistent with the due process of law prescribed by the Fourteenth Amendment. In an opinion which the justices of the supreme court of the state gave to the House of Representatives in 1910, it was said that the taking of land was not justified unless the taking was for a public use, and that a taking of land adjoining a proposed highway so that it might be sold to individuals for commercial purposes would not be for a public use. Accordingly, if the land taken is not to be used for the highway or for some other public purpose, but is bought to be sold, the taking would seem to be for a private and not a public use, and so would be in violation of the constitution of the United States. The fact that the public may profit by the purchase and sale of the land does not make the taking a taking for a public use, and the right of the individual not to have his land taken from him seems to be protected by the federal constitution until the public wishes to put the land itself to a public use. We feel, therefore, that it is at least doubtful whether the statute authorizing your city to take and sell more land than it needs for the highway is constitutional. An amendment of the Massachusetts constitution recently adopted intended to authorize some such taking, but this cannot override a prohibition contained in the federal constitution. If the part of the statute which attempts to authorize the taking of more land than is necessary is void, we think that the rest of the statute must fall with it, and that it would be unsafe to act under that part of the statute which authorized the issue of bonds."

Now the purpose for which the city desires to take more land than is necessary for the street is what underlies the whole idea of excess condemnation. In the location where we wanted this extension, about two thirds of the improvement went through the center of certain tracts of land. That meant that we had what we would call slices of cheese on each side; that is, little remnants which were of themselves of no commercial value. However, in order to protect the future development of the street it would be necessary to have building plots on each side which would be available for purchase. Then, to further complicate the situation in Brockton, these little narrow pieces of land would come between the proposed street and part of a little private way. The fee belonged to the owner of the original tract, and left a very serious condition if we should open the street and take only the land for the street, for the reason that anyone going in there and taking a lot would have to deal with the owners of the fee in a private way, and then to get a sufficient depth would have to deal with the owner of land on the other side of the right of way. However, in spite of our attempt to do this and not to befog the public mind, they got this gratuitous opinion that it was unconstitutional. They tried to claim that it was unconstitutional under the Massachusetts provision, but I think the lawyer who advanced that argument was a little off. As matters now are, they are left dangling in the air. But we are making use of what might be termed the "Four W's"; Woodrow Wilson's Watchful Waiting, and we think that about the beginning of next year when a new administration comes in we may be able to get some action started, and then get some of our citizens to enjoin that action, and then get it into the court and have the constitutionality of it decided once for all.

MALDEN, MASS.: HENRY CARMICHAEL

I did not expect to say a word and am not prepared, and am, therefore, obliged to say something as I go along. Malden, as you know, is a very old and conservative community: older as a city than the city of Boston, for the reason that when Blackstone was herding his cattle there it was a somewhat popular community. Now, the old conservatism enters into every project that is made for public improvement. It has never been a dream town. It has never been depressed in business matters. It has slowly pursued its way, receiving large contributions from the great nearby city of those who merely used Malden as a sleeping place, and a very attractive sleeping place it is, and it is right at the edge of Middlesex county and of great natural beauty.

We have a very enterprising board of trade, of which I have the good fortune to be a member, and as a director and vice-president I was requested to come here and listen, not expecting to say anything. But I might say I have the sympathy to a great degree of the men who represent the Malden planning board.

We have accomplished what to us amounts to a good deal through the last year and preceding years. We have located industries, the buildings of which represent half a million dollars. We have connected up our squares by cutting off the angles of intersecting streets. We have improved our highways. I remember years ago the question came up where a street could be found for seriously testing the springs of an automobile, and I expressed the opinion that we had a street that would smash most any automobile spring. The roads were so rutty and the holes were so deep that we could be pretty sure of breaking any spring. Now the road is as smooth as this floor.

There is a systematic plan of improvements. We are about to open a new road which will cut through the slums, and it is a part of a systematic planning for the city. We hope and believe there will be a score of new industries located in Malden within a short time.

I have been interested in learning if there was not a good way to provide residences for humble workers. I have yet to hear of a solution of this problem. How can there be a successful city plan without providing the men with homes; homes where they can rear their children under wholesome conditions at an expense of say eight dollars a month? The problem is easy enough in a suburban city if one will pay twenty or twenty-one dollars, but when one gets down to eight dollars a month the problem is very serious. I would like to hear if there are delegates here from New Jersey or Pennsylvania who can tell us about how they can house the poor laborers in brick or concrete houses at an expense of eight or ten dollars per month; houses of six rooms and practically non-combustible. Of course, the individual house can be burned out, but when they are in blocks the destruction of one will not involve the others. About the great cities of Pennsylvania you see great areas covered with brick and concrete houses. Here in Malden we have to provide houses of wood, and all the conditions permitting general conflagrations like those of Chelsea and Salem and other places are present.

SALEM, MASS.: HARLAN P. KELSEY

In Salem, the city planning board drafted the first housing ordinance or code to be adopted by a Massachusetts city so far as I know. Recently we have successfully defended some of its provisions questioned by city authorities and others. It took several stiff fights but they are not going to mutilate it any more, and we are now on the upward trend for a better code.

We are redeeming Salem's waterfront and providing real thoroughfares. Work costing hundreds of thousands of dollars is going on to-day. Many of our plans, made before the fire, are now being carried out by the rebuilding commission, the county commissioners and the street department. The planning board is now working on more comprehensive plans, and is being consulted more and more by the city government and by the rebuilding commission; and all matters that properly should come before us are given a hearing. Salem has a live planning board.

We believe publicity is absolutely essential and so are carrying on a campaign of illustrated lectures in the grammar schools of the city; in the high and normal schools, and in nearly every church club in the city. Thus the young people are being educated so that in five or ten years when they grow up we are going to have a cinch on city planning in Salem. That is one of the most important rôles our city planning board should undertake—a campaign of education. We are working with the chamber of commerce and civics, a body which is backing up many of our projects. If you go through Salem next year you will not be stopped by a policeman and have to wait for twenty or thirty or more automobiles to get out of the way for the most important section of our magnificent "shore" boulevard through the city will be done. Our plans may be seen in nearly every room in Salem city hall and thus we are educating, unconsciously perhaps, not only the city government, but all citizens who go into the city hall.

THE METHODS OF FINANCING CITY PLANNING PROJECTS[1]

BY NELSON P. LEWIS[2]
New York

IN CONSIDERING methods of financing city planning projects it is important that a clear idea be had as to what city planning projects mean. In discussing this subject the term will be broadly construed and will not be confined to the more spectacular plans, such as the creation of civic centers, the location of important public buildings, the development of a system of parks and parkways and the working out of a consistent scheme of restrictions as to the use of public and private property. City planning projects will be deemed to include the entire development and carrying out of the structural plan of a city; the location of transportation lines connecting the city with other parts of the country; provision for adequate terminal facilities for and connections between such lines; the determination of the main traffic arteries, so located as to permit the development of an economical scheme of main drainage and to afford direct, though not necessarily straight, lines of communication between different parts of the city and with the contiguous territory; the establishment of secondary lines of communication tributary to the main lines and reaching every portion of the city; the planning of residential areas in such a manner that natural features will not be destroyed, that needless expense for construction will be avoided, and that plots will be available, not only for ambitious homes with ample space, but for the more modest cottages, where the owner need not be obliged to purchase more than the necessary land or pay for the improvement of streets of a greater width than may be required to serve local needs. It will include provision for parks and playgrounds so located that they will be readily accessible, but will be so selected as to provide needed facilities for recreation with a minimum of expenditure of the public funds; the location of the chief and subordinate public buildings with due regard both for convenience and sightliness; an adequate system of transportation in the streets of the city which will insure rapid and comfortable movement between different sections of the city and will tend to distribute population and avoid congestion.

Before such comprehensive planning is undertaken there should be a well-defined policy as to the manner in which the execution of the plan is to be financed. Ambitious projects are frequently discussed, elaborate plans are made, the drawings showing them are put on exhibition and admired, and those responsible for them are complimented until some taxpayer asks the pertinent question as to what it is going to cost and how the funds are to be provided. The enthusiasm which has been developed quickly subsides. The plans are laid aside and are soon forgotten, and in due course of time another group of citizens, realizing that the town is not as attractive and convenient as it should be, inaugurates another campaign for improvement, experts are called in, other studies are made, and finally the same question is asked with the same result. Should the taxpayers be willing to provide the necessary funds to carry out one or more of the projects included in a plan made in this way, it is often found that the city lacks the power to undertake such improvements, and legislation is required. The character of this legislation is likely to be the subject of much debate and, if its provisions are finally agreed upon and its enactment is secured, it is commonly found to be so specific in its provisions that it is not adapted to the carrying out of any other project than the one in mind at the time, if, indeed, it is not specifically limited to such project.

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[1] A paper presented at the meeting of the National Municipal League, Springfield, November 25, 1916.

[2] Chief engineer, New York bureau of public improvements.

Comprehensive and simple statutory provisions under which the city or town may develop its plan are as essential as the plan itself and, while such statutes should so be drawn as to prevent reckless expenditure during a period of enthusiasm, they should allow as large a measure of home rule and local independence as may be consistent with protection of the municipality against its own folly or unwise enthusiasm. This is usually accomplished by prohibitions against the incurring of indebtedness in excess of a fixed percentage of the assessed value of taxable real estate, against a rate of taxation exceeding a certain percentage of such assessed values and against special assessments which shall be more than a certain proportion of the assessed or actual value of the property which may be assessed.

Improvements of the kind under consideration may be classified as those which are strictly local in their benefit,—and by the word "local" is meant those which are designed to serve the needs of the abutting property or that in the immediate neighborhood,—those which involve both local benefit and a certain degree of general benefit to the entire community and those which are almost wholly of general benefit, although they may result in an enhancement of values in the immediate vicinity, while it must be admitted that in some instances they may tend to depreciate local values.

In small towns the creation of a public square about which the business of the community will center will be an improvement of general public benefit and it may reasonably be contended that the town itself should meet the expense. The most valuable property will be that fronting upon or in the immediate vicinity of this public square, so that, if its creation or improvement results in special benefit to the surrounding property, that property will bear a correspondingly larger part of the burden. As the town grows and as other main streets or other centers of activity are needed there will still be some general benefit, but a large degree of local benefit. The effect upon the property in their neighborhood will be proportionately greater and more exclusive than in the case of the first center or the one main street, but the entire community will still feel the benefit of the improvement and the town can still afford to contribute a substantial portion of the expense. As the city grows every improvement which may be undertaken will involve more local and less general benefit and the time will soon come when the city as a whole is slightly, if at all, benefited by the creation and improvement of a new street or even a new public place or small park. It will be necessary to determine in each of these cases how much of the cost which is involved shall be assessed upon the property directly benefited and what proportion, if any, shall be borne by the entire city. This will require the exercise of great discretion and impartial judgment and the apportionment of the expense should be determined in a consistent manner in each instance through some board or body having a continuing existence, the members having overlapping terms, in order that there may be continuity of policy and no radical changes from year to year. If it be granted that a portion of the cost of all improvements where local benefit is involved should be assessed upon the property which will enjoy this benefit, the question which next arises is how shall the city or town meet the proportion of the cost which may be assumed by it as representing a general or community benefit. The easiest way to provide these funds is by borrowing, and the longer the term for which a loan can be made the less will be the apparent burden upon the general taxpayer. "If the next generation is to enjoy the benefit of this improvement," it is frequently argued, "why not let the next generation pay for it? We, in our wisdom, have provided it for them and have thereby contributed our share." The longer the term of the loan the less will be the rate of interest and the annual provision for the amortization of the debt when it falls due. Let us see what this means. Fifty-year bonds will doubtless carry not more than 4 or 4½ per cent interest. Their amortization on a 3 per cent basis will, according to generally accepted annuity tables, involve a yearly contribution of 0.89 per cent. This means that the community will ultimately pay for every $1,000 of borrowed money the sum of $2,695, or $53.90 a year, in the case of 4½ per cent bonds; or a total of $2,445, or at the rate of $48.90 a year in the case of 4 per cent bonds. If the term of the loan be reduced to 15 years, 4½ per cent bonds, with provision for a sinking fund for their amortization, will involve the payment for each $1,000 of $1,482, or $98.80 a year, while in case the loan is for the still briefer period of 10 years the public will pay for each $1,000, $1,322, or at the rate of $132.20

a year. When an individual has not the cash and needs something he is often justified in borrowing the money to pay for it, but prudence would require that he see his way clear to pay off the debt within the life of the article he is to purchase. Inasmuch as the kind of improvements we are now discussing have an almost indefinite life, it may be argued that the payment of the debt can be indefinitely deferred. When, however, we consider the great number of enterprises which the modern city must undertake. the annual burden required to meet the city's obligations on long-term bonds and to maintain the city's credit will be cumulative and will in time become a very serious burden upon the taxpayers. New York city has been financing many great projects by the issue of 50-year bonds,—in some instances improvements such as pavement renewals, the life of which may be but 10 or 15 years, have been paid for in this way,—until the debt service, or the sums needed to meet interest and sinking funds, amounted to nearly 40 per cent of the annual tax budget. The city was finally obliged to adopt a pay-as-you-go policy. As by far the largest part of its bonded debt is in the form of long-term bonds issued within the last 15 years, the amount required for the debt service will decrease very slowly while the rate of taxation must increase as a result of the new policy. The people of New York have already become the posterity which it was thought should pay for the improvements they were to enjoy. Unfortunately many of those for which they are now paying have long ago disappeared, and in the case of street pavements several successive pavements on the same street have been worn out and replaced before they were paid for. A city's credit should be used sparingly and long-term bonds are justified only when the margin of borrowing capacity is ample, or to pay for improvements which may confidently be expected to become self-sustaining.

It has already been pointed out that, as a city increases in size, the creation and improvement of new streets, provision for adequate drainage, the establishment of parks and parkways and even the location and suitable grouping of public buildings will result in more local and less general benefit. Such local benefit may be considered exclusive with respect to streets of ordinary width and the sewers which will serve the abutting property. If a street be given a greater width than is required for strictly local use, the benefit will be extended, but can still be localized, while the cases are rare in which the benefit to the city-at-large will exceed that to the locality. The same is true with respect to small parks and even with respect to the location of public buildings, which are quite certain to encourage better development and enhance values in their immediate vicinity.

The fundamental principle which the writer desires to emphasize is that, wherever an improvement of any kind will result in local benefit, that fact should be recognized by the imposition of a fair proportion of the cost upon the property so affected, and that the owners of such property should not be enriched at the expense of the entire community and through no act of theirs, unless it be the exercise of such influence as they may possess to induce the city authorities to locate a park or undertake some other improvement in their neighborhood at the public expense. If such a policy be adopted and adhered to consistently, it will enable many towns to undertake and finance what are commonly known as city planning projects which would have to be abandoned or indefinitely postponed, or which would be out of the question if their entire cost were to be met by the city-at-large either through an issue of bonds or by general taxation. Emphasis also should be placed upon the need of a definite policy in this respect before the planning of such improvements is undertaken, as such plans, their scope and scale, will inevitably be affected by the assurance that they can be financed. While this is a reversal of the usual order of procedure, it must be conceded that in public as well as in private business the end, or at least the way in which the end can be reached, should be in sight from the beginning.

THE COMMUNITY TRUST

BY HUGH JACKSON REBER
Chicago

THE community trust movement is significant because it indicates the awakening of thinking citizens to a realization of a great civic need existing to-day, the need for a machinery whereby endowment funds may be safeguarded and applied forever to the changing requirements of the public good. The two great aims of the community trust are these: first, to offer a certain and permanent means whereby the income of endowment funds may be directed to meet the most urgent needs of each generation, and, second, to increase the popularity of this form of charitable bequest so that the endowments may become an ever-growing factor for community improvement.

Especially significant is the belief that under existing conditions there is available for endowments only a small percentage of the money that might be expected if more attractive conditions were provided for prospective donors. The records of the past endowments are filled with examples showing that planning for a perpetual benefit is one of the most difficult tasks conceivable. Each generation has its own needs of varying importance, and each has its own method of meeting them. The methods and aims of one generation are almost certain to be more or less inapplicable to the requirements of succeeding generations, and more significant yet is the fact that each generation must distribute its own burden and plan for itself in order to secure co-ordination in community enterprises. There is no better example of the lack of and need for united planning than our past endowments, in witness whereof may be cited Philadelphia's alleged over-supply of hospitals. So it happens that the establishing of an endowment is generally attended with great difficulties, if not uncertainties, and that this form of giving is not in favor.

THE CLEVELAND TRUST

The origin of the new idea was in 1913 when Frederick H. Goff, president of the Cleveland trust company, proposed a plan whereby his trust company might agree to accept gifts to constitute a community foundation or trust, the income of which might be expended for the advancement of the social interests of the community in a manner to be determined each year by a representative committee. The proposal was at once received with hearty commendation by great numbers of public-spirited citizens, and on January 2, 1914, a formal resolution was passed by the company's board of directors, putting the plan in actual operation.

The first two years of the fund's existence have resulted in gifts and pledges amounting to more than $30,000,000. Now in infancy this new institution promises to return more than a million dollars each year for community betterment. What this vast source of income will mean to a city of 600,000 inhabitants can scarcely be conceived. Even now the responsibilities of the committee in charge of disbursing the income are felt to be so great that a comprehensive survey of local conditions and needs is being undertaken. If confidence in the fund continues, it must eventually grow to many times its present size.

During the year 1914 no other community trusts were established, but in 1915 the success of the original plan became generally known and in six large cities of the country trust companies undertook to follow Cleveland's example. These cities are St. Louis, Spokane, Chicago, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, and Boston. In January, 1916, a somewhat altered form of foundation was established in Indianapolis. Community trusts are being considered in a number of other cities to-day.

As might be expected, the form of organization of the "Cleveland foundation" served as a model for most of the others; especially in St. Louis, Spokane, Chicago and Milwaukee. The Los Angeles and Indianapolis trusts include radically new features.

In the Cleveland plan the power to expend the income of the fund is vested in a committee of five, a member being appointed each year, to serve without compensation for five years. One member is appointed by the city's chief executive, one by the senior judge of the federal district court, one by the senior judge of the probate court, and two by the board of directors of the trust company. The committee's expenses are paid out of the fund, though its permanent secretary is selected by the trust company. The committee has no power over the management of the trust; it is responsible merely for disposing of the yearly net income reported to it by the trust company trustee.

It is provided that the principal may be expended to a limited extent only when the committee and the directors of the trust company agree. A two-thirds vote of the directors is necessary. Donations to the fund may or may not indicate a particular use to be made of the gift in question, but in any event the wishes of the donor may be set aside. In this matter also the directors must approve the action of the committee. A majority vote of the directors is required. The powers of the trust company as trustee of the foundation are very great. Unless limited by the terms of the donation, it may invest and reinvest as it sees fit and in any form of security, loan or real estate. In return for its services, it receives such compensation as it may for itself determine to be due. It is empowered also to list for taxation the amount of the foundation in spite of laws exempting such funds.

In case any essential part of the plan for expending the moneys of the foundation is set aside by action of the courts, the directors of the trust company are vested with the authority given the committee, or if the defect can be remedied, the directors shall reconstruct the organization so that it may as nearly as possible carry out the original intention. Provision is made for an annual audit and public statement of income and expenditures.

Almost all of the details and even the methods of expression of the Cleveland agreement are found in succeeding plans. Los Angeles was the first to introduce any strikingly original features. In this city the body having charge of the expenditures is a committee of five with a self-perpetuating membership. Two members must be members of the board of directors of the trust company. All five are originally selected by the trust company. The trust company retains the power also to alter at any time the form of organization in any manner that circumstances may seem to it to warrant so long as such changes do not interfere with the charitable purposes in view. As regards the powers of the company in its capacity of trustee, and in other less important features, the Los Angeles plan is similar to the others.

BOSTON'S PERMANENT CHARITY FUND

The next community trust to be established was in Boston; it is known as the "permanent charity fund." Here a committee of seven is provided instead of those of five members. It is essentially the Cleveland plan. The attorney-general of the state appoints one of the extra members and the trust company the other. The five year term is continued. No method of listing the fund for taxation is mentioned nor is there provision made for expending any part of the principal of the fund. The committee without the assent of the trust company may set aside special directions of donors as to how sums are to be spent, but such action requires affirmative vote of five members.

INDIANAPOLIS PLAN

The Indianapolis plan adopted January 5, 1916, is briefly set forth in a resolution passed by three trust companies. Each one agrees to accept donations for "the Indianapolis foundation." The donor may limit absolutely the uses for which his gift is to be used. The committee to which is given the power of making disbursements is composed of six members, two appointed by the chief executive of the city, two by the senior judge of the federal district court, and two by the senior judge of the court having jurisdiction over the settlement of estates. There is no provision for spending the principal other than that possible in the terms of gift. The funds cannot be listed for taxation if exempted by law. The powers of the trust companies are not enumerated and, therefore, are the usual legal powers granted to similar foundations, subject to the terms of the various gifts.

In coming to any conclusion as to the merits of the several community trusts which have been established thus far and as to the probable ultimate results, it must be borne in mind that only those forms of organization which forever retain the confidence and interest of the people can entirely succeed. Upon the confidence and interest of the public depends their support and, therefore, their ability to do good. The enormous resources which may be expected to accumulate if the funds succeed in establishing themselves as the final solution of the problem of endowments can be guessed from the success which has so far attended the "Cleveland foundation."

In this age of tremendous and ever increasing demands for civic work, the problem of financing the thousand and one community undertakings is a problem of far greater significance than it has ever been before. It calls for the best genius and most determined effort that can be summoned for the public welfare. Waste and indifference can no longer be tolerated. Every available source of revenue must be wisely drawn upon, and expenditures must be so planned that the existing needs may be cared for in proportion to the urgency of each. Not only have community activities increased in number and volume, but they have become more and more necessary to society. This is especially true in cities.

If the problem of endowments can be successfully solved, it will tend to relieve each generation of the strain placed upon it, and it will make possible additional public service. The endowment represents social saving, the production and setting aside of capital for the benefit of all. Its accumulation, spread perhaps over a great period of years, is a burden to no one.

OBJECTIONS TO CLEVELAND PLAN

It is a regrettable fact that in planning the community trust in Cleveland more care was taken to safeguard the interests of the trust company than those of the people. This was due not so much to the lack of perception of the founder and his colleagues, as to the newness of the idea and the natural caution with which the matter was approached.

The fundamental objection to the Cleveland plan is that it fails to provide for complete community control and, therefore, fails to establish the trust fully as a community foundation. Most noticeable is the appointment of two of the five members of the committee by the company. This arrangement is specially objectionable because there is only one trust company concerned, instead of being a joint proposition of all trust companies. In a number of other particulars the directors of the company under the Cleveland plan indicate an unwillingness to leave the control of expenditures to community appointees, and in the handling of the principal of the fund, the interest of the public is in no way represented.

It is upon its claim for recognition as a community institution that the "Cleveland foundation" relies for special support and public interest of a sort that must be its best insurance of success. But under the present plan there are decided limitations upon the public nature of the trust and there is no guarantee that other foundations equally or more public in control might not arise to compete with the original fund for public attention. As a private or semi-public fund there is much that is admirable in the Cleveland organization, but as a public trust in its present form it is most uncertain to succeed so long as it is not firmly established as the single community institution with unified public control.

In Indianapolis the control over the fund so far as spending the income is concerned is wholly in the hands of men indirectly representative of the people, and the claim to community recognition can hardly be denied. But the basis of representation in Indianapolis and that employed for three members of the committee under the Cleveland plan is by no means perfect. In the Indianapolis scheme the method of appointing the committee seems to offer the greatest opportunity for criticism.

The theory that judges are particularly well fitted to select members of such a committee is based upon a too limited consideration of existing conditions. It is unwise in the first place to give important duties of a non-judicial nature to a judge. There are obvious reasons for this time-honored notion: first, a judge's fitness should be decided purely upon his record on the bench; second, the dignity of the court should not be jeopardized by unnecessary connections with affairs in which factional disputes may arise; and there are doubtless other good reasons. On the other hand, the cautiously selected nominees of the judges are not necessarily well qualified for active leadership. Experience has sufficiently established this fact at least with regard to appointments where professional excellence is not the criterion.

The mayor is much better qualified as an appointing officer. Through him is obtained consideration for the various elements in the community which might desire representation, and thus to a limited extent the advantages of diversity in point of view are obtained in the composition of the committee.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

It is certainly to be desired that the community trust may make its appeal for support to all classes alike. Failure to do so means a loss both in ability to accumulate funds and in ability to employ most effectively the yearly income. That the value of widespread community encouragement and co-operation was well recognized by the founders of the trusts is indicated to a greater or less degree by the forms of organization adopted and by the declarations made regarding the functions of the new institutions. It is doubtful, however, whether the form of control in any city does adequately carry out the intentions of the founders in this regard.

To carry out these intentions, the advantages of a diverse representation for the controlling body must be secured, or, if the present attempt to have purely general representation is continued, wider and more comprehensive points of view of the appointing officers are desirable. This is true primarily because purely general representation is impossible.

Other questions of organization might be raised upon the more or less satisfactory solution of all of which the success of the community trusts depends. For example, it seems doubtful whether the general representation aimed at should not be given up in favor of frankly special representation of the fields of social work. This and the present principle might possibly be combined to advantage. Again, serious doubt may be felt as to the adequacy of a board of control of five where the responsibility is so great and the field so wide. These and other similar matters deserve most careful consideration.

Of the questions which have been raised, the most vital are those concerning conditions which directly affect the status of the funds, either by tending to establish them on no higher plane than other similar quasi-public funds in the city or by tending to elevate each to the unique position of being its community's one public endowment institution. The community trust should occupy a more definite place in the machinery employed in civic work and should have a stronger and more certain support and co-operation from the other forces in the community than could any private organization. It should, in fact, mean a great stride toward united planning and co-operative action in social welfare enterprises, and so by virtue of its widely recognized worth may be expected to develop the latent possibilities of endowments viewed as a form of donation.

Present defects notwithstanding, the outlook for the community trusts is bright. Their existence promises their continuation and perfection in a form that will make possible their fullest community usefulness. This is true because only by satisfying the demands of each generation can any such fund keep the confidence of those who are in a position to contribute and to aid or to hinder its growth. Defective organizations will be set aside or, more probably, changed, and it is reasonable to assume that the best features will be retained and developed.

PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-NOISE MOVEMENT[1]

BY ELMER S. BATTERSON[2]
Chicago

IT MAY appear contradictory to speak of progress in the anti-noise movement when a general consensus of opinion would be that our cities are constantly growing more noisy. Could a Rip Van Winkle, who wandered to the hills twenty years ago, return to-day to one of our American cities, he would certainly find much more noise disturbance than when he left, but it must be remembered that noise has usually been regarded as a necessary accompaniment of general progress and the increase in noise has come principally with the introduction of improvements which were unknown twenty years ago.

Up to the present time, the number of active workers in the crusade against useless noise has been very small and much of the work in this line has been unostentatiously done by individuals after being driven almost to distraction by some particular disturbance. This was true in New York city where the almost continuous shrieking of boat whistles prompted a public-spirited woman to organize a united protest which later resulted in some important advances in the crusade against noise. As a phase of community betterment, civic workers have had too small an appreciation of the noise evil and they have not regarded the subject with the seriousness which it deserves. Within the past two years have appeared several books dealing with the advance of civic improvement in American cities and in these not even one page has been devoted to the noise problem. A recently published bibliography relating to works on municipal government does not list noise as one of the subjects of municipal concern. In the public libraries of several of the larger American cities, a search has failed to find any index classifying noise in its relationship to public comfort.

In a number of respects, a comparison with the smoke problem is interesting. A few years ago, smoke and noise were regarded in a very similar way. Both appeared to be necessary accompaniments of "big industry" and improved transportation, but science has shown that smoke may be practically eliminated from our cities without retarding industrial progress and civic workers have been quick to follow up the suggestions with demands for legislation to reduce the smoke nuisance. Both smoke and noise, some time ago, seemed to offer problems too indefinite for solution by the setting of standards for measuring the extent of the evil, but now smoke is easily measured both as to density and volume, and statistical charts are prepared showing the destructive possibilities of smoke under various conditions. With each advance in the anti-smoke crusade, the noise problem has received but scant attention. It has been recognized that noise is an evidence of industrial inefficiency, but still noise has appeared to be necessary in making advancement in other directions. As to measurement of noise disturbance and the establishment of standards to show what degrees of noise are and are not endurable, the anti-noise movement can show no advance. Sound of a simple nature, such as a musical tone, can be measured, compared and graphically represented, but noise, being a confusion of sounds, not only has no instrument of measurement, but it is even without a satisfactory definition. The sweetest musical tone, if repeated too often or inharmoniously combined with some other tone, may be as objectionable as the most rasping of sounds.

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[1] For further discussion of the question of noise, see the following articles: Quiet Zones near Hospitals, vol. ii, p. 519; Baltimore's Anti-Noise Crusade, William T. Watson, vol. iii, p. 585; Public Health vs. The Noise Nuisance, Imogen B. Oakley, vol. iv, p. 231.

[2] Member of the committee on the noise nuisance of the American Civic Association.

In the common law, noise has never been regarded as a public nuisance. A man suffering from a serious noise disturbance made by another has always had legal recourse in upholding his right of personal comfort and the undisturbed use of his property, but it is only in recent years that one was considered capable of offending a whole community by his noise disturbance. Noise is now regarded as a subject of legislation in dealing with public nuisances and each year finds additions to the forms of noise which are classed among public offences.

Fifty years ago, there were probably no anti-noise ordinances except under the general classification of disturbing the peace; now nearly every American city attempts some regulation of noise considered as a public nuisance. Results are secured in a number of ways. New York city gives to its health department wide discretion in determining what shall be considered a noise disturbance. Chicago has an anti-noise sub-committee as part of the city council health committee. Baltimore has taken the radical step of delegating a special policeman to give his entire time to the proper enforcement of the anti-noise ordinances. Most of the other cities have ordinances specifically forbidding certain kinds of noise and enforcement is intrusted to the regular police.

The medical profession has always regarded noise as a cause of neurasthenia and as a contributing factor in other ailments, but only recently have the learned societies recognized noise as an important part of the problems related to public health. There is evidence of advance along this line in the prominence given to the subject in the last American meeting of the International Congress on Hygiene and Demography. At this gathering, specialists of international reputation read papers showing that noise is a public menace and urging that men of science give more study and investigation to the part which noise plays in reducing human efficiency in all large cities. In cases of sickness, the doctors advise that the patient be kept as quiet as possible or insist on absolute quiet and, if this cannot be secured at home or at a hospital, the patient is possibly taken away to more peaceful surroundings. Physicians are now coming to realize that the problem of rest and quiet for the sick is really a public one and that the proper regulation of noise can assist greatly in keeping people well in addition to helping the sick to recover. It has been largely through the efforts of physicians that "zones of quiet" have been established in the vicinity of hospitals in many cities. Within these zones, which usually include territory of 200 feet radius measured from the hospital grounds, all loud noises are absolutely forbidden.

Had the noise question been given consideration twenty years ago, steam whistles of railroads and factories would have been classed as the greatest disturbers. The changes which have occurred have resulted, in almost every case, in the reduction of this form of annoyance so that now in some cities all blowing of steam whistles is prohibited within the city limits. The introduction of modern means of signalling and switching in the railway yards and the gradual elimination of the grade crossing are operating to make the noise of the railroads of less importance than some of their other disturbances. In most cities, the whistle of the locomotive is forbidden except in case of emergency. In some instances the ringing of a bell has been substituted, but this form of annoyance is growing less. At the present time, most noise complaints against the steam railroads refer to the noisy switching of cars during the night hours. Much of this disturbance is the result of mere carelessness on the part of the employes and relief is usually secured when complaints are lodged with the proper authorities.

For the din of steam whistles of factories, which a few years ago was so common, there appears now to be no real excuse. Most of the American cities have ordinances along this line. This elimination is being accomplished as much through appeals to common sense as through legal restrictions. With all kinds of time-pieces available for convenient reference, it appears ridiculous to continue a practice which, for the doubtful convenience of comparatively few people, disturbs everybody in a whole district or a city. As all logical argument appears to be on the side of those who are striving for quieter cities, it will doubtless not be long before every American city will be entirely free from this form of disturbance which is not only annoying to all, but which also occurs at hours when many people require sleep. As a signal for the closing of factories, a simple gong system is supplanting the whistle in most establishments and is found to be fully as satisfactory.

Of all city problems, none presents more puzzling phases than intra-urban transportation. We want the facilities which modern means of transportation furnish but we want none of the accompanying inconveniences. For example, we desire surface cars of greater capacity and elevated trains operating nearer to our homes, but we detest the noise which they produce. The tinkling bell of the horse street car was not altogether pleasant but was very gentle compared with the grinding and rattling noises which came with the cable car. Then came the trolley with gradually heavier cars and the more insistent gongs. Fortunately for the public, as the cars have become ponderous, the tracks have been made smoother, made possible through electric welding of rails and more secure foundations for the roadbeds. In the larger cities where there are many street railway crossings, the rattle of cars, in passing over cross lines, creates serious disturbance, but it is encouraging to note a number of suggestions by engineers which may soon reduce the noise from this source.

Scientific men are also proposing means of relief from the disturbance caused by the jarring of the heavy cars. One suggestion has to do with a new form of car wheel whereby the jarring of the mechanism will, it is thought, be largely absorbed within the wheel rather than, as now, transmitted to the track and pavement. A seemingly less reasonable suggestion applies to a composition coating for the metal rail to serve as a cushion between car and rail. Doubtless much of the disturbance caused by surface cars could be greatly reduced by more attention being given to lubrication both of the machine parts and of the rails at the sharp curves. Recent experiments along this line by street railway companies have brought good results. In elevated roads are to be found most of the noise problems of the surface lines, together with special problems relating to an elevated metallic structure. Often, the noise created by the elevated trains causes little disturbance to the passengers, but, transmitted to the structure, the noise is thrown into the air with a roar which is extremely annoying to all compelled to live near the tracks. Many experiments for the solution of this difficulty are being made and engineers are suggesting possible remedies. The plans proposed contemplate changes in ways of laying the rails, new arrangement of cross-ties, and a form of structure so designed that the sound will be carried longitudinally along the track instead of being thrown outward. Doubtless science will be of much assistance in reducing the noise incidental to all city rail lines, within the next few years.

When the automobile first appeared upon city streets it was a very noisy machine. As each improvement has been added, engineers have taken care that the noise of the machinery should not be increased, for people demanded a quiet car. Upon most automobiles of late model it may be said that we now have a practically noiseless motor when properly operated. Were the automobile run on an unobstructed road, we could safely say that it brought with it no serious noise problems, but, because of the silent operation of the machinery and the necessity of being operated over a public highway, some kind of warning signal has been considered necessary and now to announce the coming of a noiseless mechanism we sound the most raucous of noisy alarm signals. The noise problem of the auto-horn is a very serious one. Each motorist feels that he is entitled, as much as anyone else, to a clear path so he sounds the sharp blasts of his horn to announce his coming and to warn all persons to get out of the way. When he wishes to attain high speed, whether within legal limits or not, he finds the auto-horn gives him the privilege. While the law may specify that the motorist must slow up at crossings, yet he finds that he can easily disregard such regulations if his horn is in good order. Nearly all cities forbid all kinds of unnecessary noise, but few people think of the illegal part of auto-horn blowing. We invite a friend to take an automobile ride with us and use a dozen blasts of the horn to announce our arrival without considering that the entire neighborhood is being disturbed.

Many cities forbid the use of the muffler cut-out and a few cities go so far as to specify that the cut-out device must not be within reach of the driver when the car is in motion, but everywhere we hear the disturbing noise of the engine's exhaust. Although science has shown that the supposed power advantages of the cut-out are largely imaginary, yet there are enough motor drivers who, for the sake of attracting attention to themselves or to their cars, sound blasts like those of a locomotive in otherwise quiet neighborhoods. Legal restrictions have kept fair pace with progress in automobile building, and it is more a matter of law enforcement than of more legislation.

Most automobile drivers are noise offenders in some way. In many cases it is mere thoughtlessness; in some, a reckless disregard for law and order; and in others a misunderstanding of the law relating to the rights of others. When bicycles first appeared on the market, cyclists were required to equip their wheels with bells, but the misuse of these signals soon became so general that many cities then passed ordinances prohibiting their use. A step which may soon be expected in the problem of the auto-horn is some kind of limitation on its disturbing possibilities and doubtless some forms of signals now in use will be absolutely prohibited. Fortunately for public nerves, one of the most exasperating forms of automobile signals, the siren horn, has been reserved by most cities for the exclusive use of the municipality on fire trucks and for other emergency purposes.

It is a regrettable fact that while many agencies are contributing to the reduction of city noises, one of the most grievous offenders of the public peace is the municipality itself. In contracting for paving, the council committee apparently considers every other feature relating to the kind of pavement under discussion except that of noise. When a noiseless pavement is decided upon, it is probably on account of its suitability from a traffic standpoint only. If it were otherwise, we would expect to see the elimination of all granite block paving in the vicinity of all large buildings where many people are employed. It is reasonable to think that in the near future, when the anti-noise crusade has had more attention, there will be embodied, in specifications for paving, some provision placing a limit upon the noise-producing possibilities of the materials used. The increasing use of asphalt for boulevards and creosoted wood blocks for traffic streets is a hopeful sign in the campaign for more quiet streets.

In granting permits to erect large buildings, the municipality allows almost any kind of construction machinery to be used as long as the streets are not seriously blockaded. As to the discomfort which the machines may cause to people compelled to be near them, the city does not often concern itself. This applies particularly to the steel riveter used in the construction of "sky-scraper" buildings. With this machine operating on a steel frame, serving as an immense sounding board, the air is rent for a distance of several blocks by the very irritating noise. It has been found possible to muffle the sound of the riveter in much the same way that a gun or automobile engine is muffled, but until municipalities place some noise limitation upon construction operations, such improvements will doubtless not soon come into general use. There is a good field for investigation and action along this line.

The city, in attempting to preserve order in the use of the busy streets, places a traffic policeman at the street corner armed with a little instrument which of itself is a great disturber of the public peace. The shrill whistle of the policeman is purposely blown loudly enough to be plainly heard above the roar of the passing vehicles and, while the traffic is guided thereby, thousands of office employes are at the same time seriously disturbed in their work. It is gratifying to note that a number of cities are experimenting in the use of semaphores and other systems of street signals in which the traffic is guided by use of eyesight rather than by employing an objectionable noise.

Mention has been made of only a few of the many noise disturbances which are receiving attention in our cities. The annoyances in the downtown districts, upon which cities are attempting regulation, include the noisy transportation of metal through the streets, the use of a loud voice or a disturbing instrument in advertising wares and the operation of noisy pleasure devices. The disturbances in the residence districts, upon which restriction is attempted, include the playing of musical instruments on the street, the calling of wares by hucksters and the noise made by dogs and roosters. In a very few cases there has been some regulation of the ringing of church bells.

What hope is there that the American city, twenty years from now, will be less noisy than it is to-day? In answer it must be said that public opinion concerning the seriousness of noise as a public nuisance will be one of the deciding factors. As soon as we come to regard noise as offering a problem measuring in importance with other menaces to public health and public comfort, we may expect many changes leading toward a more peaceful city. As long as we look with horror upon the violator of the anti-spitting ordinance and, at the same time, willfully disturb a whole neighborhood with an unnecessary blast of the auto-horn, our sense of discrimination is yet too crude to offer hope of much improvement in the reduction of city noise. Doubtless some standards relating to city noise must soon be established. We have censors to pass upon many kinds of city activities and it appears reasonable that there should be some noise tests applied to sound-making instruments, to pavements and to means of gaining publicity. At present, there is no national organization dealing exclusively with the noise problem, but the American Civic Association is active in the work with its committee on noise nuisances. In each of the larger cities, some anti-noise agitation is in progress and some results are being obtained. Philadelphia has recently set a good example by inaugurating a "soft pedal week." The anti-noise movement opens up a very large field of usefulness in civic endeavor. The need of action is very apparent and it may be expected that the crusade for quieter cities will be greatly strengthened within the next few years.

RECENT PUBLIC HEALTH REPORTS

BY A. W. HEDRICH[1]
Boston, Mass.

I. RELATIVE VALUES IN PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

PUBLIC health is a new science. The causes of infectious diseases and the mode of spread have been discovered in the very recent past; in some instances they are not understood to-day. Even among the medical profession, the notions regarding disease prevention are often vague, and indeed sometimes quite erroneous. It is therefore not surprising to find that the public demands in the name of public health the performance of many duties that have no more influence in reducing disease than the old tom-tom method of driving out the demons of disease, as practised by the medicine man of old.

In this connection, Dr. Charles V. Chapin, superintendent of health of Providence, R. I., whose labors in the field of public health date back to the early days of the modern era of health administration, has the following to say in his 1915 annual report:[2]

> "When I was elected superintendent of health in 1884 it was considered that most of the energy of the health department should be devoted to the abatement of nuisances and the promotion of general municipal sanitation. This was just what was done in most cities. It was believed that germs bred in dirt and that filth was the chief cause of disease. Bad odors were thought deadly and a whiff of sewer gas fatal. It was the business of the health department to sweep the streets, cart off garbage, clean up cellars, whitewash tenements, bury dead animals and stop bad odors. The inspector of nuisances was in those days the whole of most health departments. This belief in the efficacy of municipal house cleaning to 'stamp out' disease was not even then the teaching of science. There had been before the eighties of the last century few men of science engaged in public health studies and these did not teach the filth theory of disease. This theory and the sanitary practice based on it were due to propaganda by enthusiastic reformers to whose esthetic sense the campaign for cleanliness appealed. It was not based on painstaking study."

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[1] Editorial assistant, *American Journal of Public Health;* sometime deputy health officer, East Chicago, Ind.

[2] The reports referred to in this review are in most instances for 1915, and include those of the following cities: New York, Boston, Jacksonville, Montclair and East Orange (N. J.), Richmond (Va.), Newburgh (N. Y.), York (Me.), Rochester, Providence, Wellesley (Mass.), Cincinnati, Chicago, LaSalle (Ill.), East Chicago (Ind.), Minneapolis, Indianapolis, San Francisco, Palo Alto (Cal.), and Seattle.

The public health activities which Chapin [3] finds most productive of results are control of communicable diseases, infant hygiene nursing, and educational nursing for cases of tuberculosis. After these he places medical school inspection, supervision of milk and, last of all, general sanitation. He recognizes that public comfort and decency require that cities pay attention to back yards, alleys, garbage, and the like, "nevertheless, town and city councils have no right to spend money for these things and then claim that there is nothing left with which to save the lives of babies or ferret out incipient tuberculosis, or supervise the milk supply."

In a valuable contribution to public health literature, Schneider [4] of the Russell Sage foundation carries Chapin's views a point further by calculating relative values for the various public health activities. He first analyzes the causes of preventable deaths from the standpoint of the damage done, preventability, cost of preventive work, and communicability of the disease to others. With the results of this analysis as a basis, he arrives at a set of values which indicate roughly the relative importance of each of the commoner branches of public health work. These "final values" are given herewith:

Control of communicable diseases:	
Tuberculosis	12.1
Venereal diseases	6.6
All others	25.3
Infant hygiene	20.3
Privy and well sanitation	3.5
Milk control	2.7
Fly and mosquito suppression	2.4
Food sanitation	0.1
Inspection of school children[5]	7.0
Vital statistics[5]	5.0
Education[5]	5.0
Dispensary and clinics[5]	5.0
Laboratory[5]	5.0
Total	100.0

It is interesting to note that, in Schneider's opinion, the control of communicable diseases and infant hygiene work might profitably constitute two thirds of the activities of the health department.

It is understood, of course, that the proportionate expenditures must vary from city to city. Southern municipalities must spend more on mosquito, hookworm and pellagra propaganda than northern municipalities; likewise, New Orleans and San Francisco should naturally spend more for plague prevention than inland cities. Making allowances for local requirements, such as the foregoing, it is, nevertheless, evident upon analysis of expenditures along the lines suggested by Schneider, that in many health departments there is an utter lack of proportion in the distribution of funds. In general, food inspection and general sanitation (especially nuisance inspection) are over-inflated at the expense of communicable disease and infant hygiene work.

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[3] Chapin, C. V.: "Effective Lines of Health Work," *The Providence Medical Journal*, January, 1916.

[4] Schneider, Franz, Jr.: "Relative Values in Public Health Work," *American Journal of Public Health*, VI, 9, September, 1916.

[5] This value is arbitrarily assigned.

II. RECENT TENDENCIES IN PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

The dominant note in the new public health is that *things* do not spread disease as much as *persons*. Progressive health officers are therefore turning away from ash cans, back yards, garbage, bad odors and the like, and are devoting more attention to the careless consumptive, the diphtheria and typhoid carrier, and the ignorant mother who feeds her baby anything from beer to garlic sausage. Thus we find Doctor Terry, late of the health department of Jacksonville, Florida, suggesting in his report that six sanitary inspectors be dropped from the pay-roll, and public health nurses substituted.

Another straw in the same current is the abandoning of fumigation after scarlet fever, measles and diphtheria. Providence, New York, Rochester and other cities have experimented and found that the incidence of these diseases was no higher in districts where fumigation was omitted, than in the rest of the city. As a consequence, the money that was formerly spent for smoking up harmless chairs, tables, carpets and walls, ranging from $1 to $3 or more per case, is now spent for better supervision and "concurrent disinfection," that is, disinfection of infectious discharges during the course of the disease.

Of late, a number of health departments have begun to attack the venereal disease problem. Among the first, if not the first of cities to enter this field, was New York. In order to combat the evil influence of quacks, notices are inserted in newspapers, and distributed in toilet rooms of saloons, lodging houses, large industrial establishments and other public places. The notices bear the information that the department of health maintains a list of reputable practitioners, dispensaries and hospitals, and that the department is prepared to make free diagnoses. Rochester, and doubtless other cities, also goes to the extent of making diagnoses, but Buffalo, Newark, and the co-operative clinic of the Oranges in New Jersey go as far as to give free treatment.

The barrier of false modesty is very properly being broken down. While statistics are largely guess-work, it is estimated by high authorities that at least 50 per cent of all adult males are at some time or other infected with gonorrhea, and about 10 per cent with syphilis. A tragedy lies in the fact that many cases are innocently contracted, especially among females and young children. Is it not time, therefore, that we cease considering this problem from the purely moral side, regard it as a public health menace as well, and undertake to protect the nation?

Leaving the foregoing problem, we pass on to the interesting community tuberculosis experiment at Framingham, Mass. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has donated $100,000 for the purpose of conducting a campaign to exterminate tuberculosis in a single city, the experiment to last three years. The work is being carried out under the auspices of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, Dr. Donald B. Armstrong being in charge of field operations. The purpose of the experiment is to demonstrate to what extent communities can eradicate tuberculosis by means of a thoroughgoing campaign, to determine the best means to be employed, and finally to awaken the country at large to its responsibility regarding this disease.

III. THE TRAINED HEALTH OFFICER

Upon looking over the reports of cities under 250,000, one is impressed with the number of non-medical men of special training, who are giving excellent service as health officers. Before me are the excellent reports of Montclair, and the Oranges in New Jersey, Palo Alto, Cal., and Dallas, Texas, whose health officers belong to this class. In each case, the administration is unusually efficient.

The chief reason for the present inefficiency of municipal health departments has been the lack of trained, full-time health officers. Usually a practising physician is appointed who lacks much of the necessary knowledge, and can not afford to give sufficient time to the office. In this connection, Preeble of the United States Public Health Service[6] says: "He [the health officer] need not necessarily be a physician, but he should have either thorough experience or previous training, and a good working knowledge of sanitary principles and practice."

There is no good reason why surgery, obstetrics and similar studies should be essential to efficient health administration, but on the other hand, such subjects as epidemiology, housing, water supply, and vital statistics are very necessary.

That public health is a distinct profession is shown by the fact that no less than ten medical schools now give degrees for advanced study in this subject.[7]

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[6] Preeble, Paul: "Public Health Administration," *Public Health Reports*, March 2, 1917.

[7] Universities of California, Colorado, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin; Tulane, Harvard, Detroit Coll. of M. and S., Univ. and Bellevue Med. Coll. (N. Y.), and Harvard Univ. and Mass. Inst. of Tech. School for Health Officers. The following have announced courses to be given in the future: Johns Hopkins, Yale and Ohio State Univ.

IV. HEALTH ADMINISTRATION UNITS

In health, as in other administration, efficiency depends somewhat upon the size of the organization. Too small a body is likely to be inefficient and wasteful through lack of specialized workers and because of the performance of low-priced work by high-priced help. Likewise, difficulties beset the large, unwieldy organization.

Co-operative health work between smaller cities, and the splitting up of the large city health departments are efforts to remedy these difficulties.

"The local health office in the smaller communities is the most essential and the least efficient part of the present-day public health machine," says Earle B. Phelps, of the hygiene laboratory, U. S. Public Health Service. It is only in the wealthiest of the small towns that we find health administration that is even reasonably satisfactory. In some states, an effort has been made to meet this difficulty by placing the county health officer in charge of the smaller cities, and another scheme that is worthy of attention is that of combining the functions of adjacent towns under a single health officer.

In 1913, at the suggestion of Prof. W. T. Sedgwick, an experiment was made to determine the cost and general practicability of such work, as well as the relative importance of the major lines of health work. Prof. E. B. Phelps,[8] who acted as executive officer, made a contract with Wellesley, Mass., and each of five neighboring towns, whereby he was to administer contagious disease control, milk inspection, fly and mosquito work, plumbing inspection and laboratory service. An organization comprising a health officer, a bacteriologist and secretary, a sanitary and plumbing inspector, a field assistant and two clerks served a population of 32,650 during one year at a cost of $7,603.50. The per capita cost, exclusive of plumbing inspection, was 19 cents per annum.

Professor Phelps concludes that a population of about 60,000 would develop each of the various subdivisions of the work to the point of maximum efficiency, and could include the services of two district nurses and veterinary advisory services at a per capita cost of one-half the average cost of health work in the large cities of the United States. That the experiment was a success is shown by the fact that the work is now upon a permanent basis.

Similar co-operation exists between the five Orange municipalities in New Jersey, with relation to milk supply, tuberculosis nursing, and a venereal disease clinic.

The work of the hygienic institute of LaSalle, Peru, and Oglesby, Ill., is unique in that the expenses ($16,350 in 1915–16) are contributed by a generous citizen, Mr. F. W. Matthiessen. The report does not state the total population served, but the per capita cost is about 50 cents.

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[8] E. B. Phelps: "Co-operative Health Administration," *United States Public Health Reports*, Sept. 25, 1914.

In spite of the many advantages of co-operative health administration, but few communities have adopted the idea. Rivalry and jealousy seem to be the chief obstacles. With the object of encouraging the union of smaller health offices in Massachusetts, Prof. W. T. Sedgwick, of the state board of health, in February, 1916, introduced a bill into the Massachusetts legislature to grant to co-operating towns totaling 10,000 population, a state subsidy equivalent to one-third the salary of the health officer. Unfortunately, the bill was not passed.

When we come to large cities we find a tendency to split the health department up into a number of smaller offices. New York city on January 1, 1915, opened an experimental health district in the East Side, the district covering 21 square blocks with a population of about 30,000, practically all Russian and Austrian Hebrews. The following activities were combined under the direction of a local health officer: child hygiene, communicable disease, medical school inspection, milk stations, and conferences with food handlers, janitors, boys' health leagues, and other organizations. The volume of work was increased by co-operation with the district police station, whereby the police officers acted as sanitary inspectors for their respective beats.

A striking increase in efficiency is reported as due to the combination of functions performed by the individual workers, thereby shortening trips and avoiding duplication. The nurses, for instance, familiarized themselves with the needs of the entire family, and it is reported that the remarkable number of visits of seven per hour per nurse was averaged.

The plan seems especially well adapted to districts which have problems peculiar to the locality. The health officer and his staff acquire an intimate knowledge of the health district comparable with that of the settlement worker which could not possibly be gained by an executive at the city hall, or by workers assigned to large districts.

V. THE SUCCESS OF HEALTH REPORTS

A great many health reports are not very useful. They are so technical and dry as to be of little interest to the general reader, and so inaccurate and incomplete in essentials as to be of little value to the student of public health matters.

A health report, it would seem, ought to accomplish the following things:

First, it should justify the existence of the health department and the expense incident thereto, by giving an account of its work, the cost, the results, and other information necessary to a judgment of efficiency.

Second, it should outline the public health problems of the community, and the plans and needs of the department to meet these conditions.

Incidentally, it may add a limited amount of technical information, such as may be of value to vital statisticians and other health and social workers. However, if a report is to be a mere repository for statistics, it is likely to fail of its purpose as an annual report.

Now, it is not to be expected that a municipal health report be quite as entertaining as a trip to the movies; but, on the other hand, it is reasonable to ask that a report state its message so that the reader for whom it is intended may understand, and further, that it be attractive enough to invite inspection.

Many a report loses its chance to be examined at the outset by coming clad in a dull, sickly-looking cover. Again, it is frequently too voluminous. I have a bulky report of the departments of a Massachusetts city in mind in which nearly two pages are devoted to the dates of town meeting since 1881, and many additional pages are wasted in giving the names and vital statistics regarding each individual dying during the year. An Indiana city issues a report of which neither the cover nor the title page gives the name of the city.

One of the most important parts of a report is an intelligible financial statement; for probably no other single page will give such important clues to the efficiency of the department. And yet, it is quite the exception to find a clear, logical statement of expenditures. Each activity should be treated as a unit in such a statement, in order to show whether it is absorbing a share of the appropriation proportionate to its importance.[9] In other words, instead of salaries, rent, printing, etc., the main heads should be administration, infant hygiene, tuberculosis, nuisance abatement, etc.

Especial care should be used to distinguish between expenditures that have a direct bearing on public health, and those in which the relation is remote or negligible. For example, privy abatement has a direct relation to disease prevention, since privies pollute wells and enable flies to carry the germs of intestinal disease to our food. Plumbing inspection, on the other hand, has only a remote relation to health, being conducive mainly to comfort and decency. Hence, it should not be charged to health promotion.

Because of the varying methods of stating expenditures, it is possible to compare these only in a small proportion of health reports.[10] It can not be too strongly urged that health officers follow the recommendations of the American Public Health Association in this matter.

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[9] G. L. Powers: "Uniform Accounts in Health Administration," Census Bureau, 1912. Report of Commission on Uniform Health Reports, *American Journal of Public Health*, V. 3, 6, June, 1913.

[10] Following are the per capita expenditures during 1915 for health purposes in certain cities: Boston, \$.65; New York, \$.59; Palo Alto, Cal., \$.58; Jacksonville, Fla., \$.52; Montclair, N. J., \$.51; LaSalle, Ill., about \$.50; Rochester, \$.39; Wellesley, Mass., \$.38; Richmond, Va., \$.33; Providence, \$.30; Cincinnati, \$.25; Indianapolis, \$.23; East Orange, N. J., \$.23; East Chicago, Ind., \$.11.

As to attractiveness, readability and general appeal, one of the best reports recently issued is that of Richmond, Va. The attention of even the layman is instantly seized by a series of colored charts showing the mortality of the city from the different diseases at present and during the past, and the remarkable effect of certain measures such as the introduction of diphtheria antitoxin, and the abatement of privies. The reading matter, also, is well planned and written. Reports such as this are bound to bring returns in the form of public appreciation and support.

The survey reports of the Russell Sage foundation (F. Schneider, Jr., sanitarian) are likewise exceedingly effective. Their educational value can scarcely be overestimated.

"The Example of York" is the title of an interesting report by W. E. Brown, telling the story of health work in a Maine sea-resort of 3,000, which now appropriates nearly a dollar per capita for health promotion.

In conclusion, a word should be added regarding vital statistics. A little knowledge is always a dangerous thing, and in vital statistics it leads to ridiculous blunders. The part-time health officer of a New York city of 25,000 reports the total death rate of his city as 17.8 *per cent*, and the birth rate as 20.2 *per cent*. Such rates might be applicable to a community of guinea pigs, but scarcely to human beings.

Further discussion of this subject is not possible at this point. Suffice to say that unless vital statistics come from one skilled in the subject, both the statistics and the conclusions should be accepted with great caution.

ANALYSIS OF MEASURES RELATING TO MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND LEGISLATION SUBMITTED TO POPULAR VOTE AT THE NOVEMBER ELECTION

First Installment

BY FREDERICK REX[1]

Chicago

A LARGE number of propositions relating to municipal administration and legislation were referred to the voters of the various cities, towns and villages in the United States for approval or rejection at the general election held in November of last year. These measures included proposed amendments to state constitutions and city charters, local ordinances and questions of public policy. The submission of such measures to the people was not peculiar or confined to any city, state or other territorial unit. They varied from single propositions submitted to the voters in certain cities in the North Atlantic states to thirty-three state and municipal propositions placed on the November ballot in San Francisco, twenty-six of these being purely local measures. In subject-matter they ranged from an act making New Year's day a legal holiday to intricate questions of public improvements and financial policy. The ability of the voter to exercise discrimination is shown by the result in San Francisco, where the electorate approved three and rejected four proposed amendments to the state constitution, adopted one and defeated two of three proposed ordinances, voted down ten and ratified thirteen proposed amendments to the city charter.

In Los Angeles the voters approved ten and rejected six of the referred measures. In other words, the voters of San Francisco approved 51.5 per cent and rejected 48.5 per cent, and the voters of Los Angeles ratified 62.5 per cent and defeated 37.5 per cent of the propositions placed on the ballot for their suffrage.

Generally in the various cities the questions referred were explained to the voters by local newspapers, civic organizations and interests affected. In the larger cities bulletins were published and distributed among the voters containing the gist of each proposition and the reasons or arguments for and against each. In the main, the measures referred were phrased in clear and simple language, thus enabling every voter to cast his or her ballot intelligently. An analysis of the propositions submitted to the electorate in the cities from which information has been received is herewith made, according to the subject-matter of such measures.

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[1] Municipal reference librarian.

ANNEXATION OF TERRITORY

On the ground that East Cleveland is already a part of Cleveland commercially, industriously, socially and in all other ways except in government, the voters of the larger city were urged to vote on the annexation of the suburban city. It was urged as unfair that the suburban city should ask the metropolis to furnish suburban residents with parks and public recreation, a wholesome water supply, sewage disposal facilities and all the other advantages possessed by a large city and not share in the expense and responsibilities incident thereto. The measure was carried by a large majority.

BRIDGES

Lawrence, Mass., voted on an act authorizing the expenditure of a sum not exceeding $11,000 as part payment for work performed in connection with the rebuilding of Wellington bridge. Milwaukee approved the issuance of $250,000 in bonds for the erection and construction of a bridge across the Milwaukee river. The defeat of the bond issue was urged by the city club on the grounds that traffic conditions did not justify the erection of another bridge in close proximity to other bridges and that the cost of maintaining the present bridges in Milwaukee is far in excess of the amount expended by other cities of the same size for a similar purpose. The measure, however, was vigorously supported by business interests affected and by the Socialist party. The voters of Louisiana approved an amendment of the state constitution giving the city of New Orleans the right to construct and operate across the Mississippi river at or near New Orleans bridges and tunnels for railroad and highway use, together with all railroad and highway connections, terminals and other necessary facilities. The city is also given power to issue bonds for the purpose of undertaking the foregoing public improvements.

CHARTERS AND CHARTER AMENDMENTS

The voters of Fitchburg and Quincy, Mass., adopted new city charters providing for government by a mayor and a council elected by districts and at large. In Kansas City, Mo., a board of thirteen freeholders was elected to draft a new city charter. An act passed by the legislature of the same state revising the city charter of Springfield was submitted to the voters for acceptance.

The voters of Berkeley rejected an amendment to the city charter providing for the city-manager plan of government, the city manager to be appointed by the council, irrespective of his place of residence.

The voters of the city of Chicago defeated an act passed by the state legislature providing for the consolidation in the city government of Chicago of the Lincoln park, South park, and West park systems as well as thirteen smaller park districts and the public library and house of correction. The Lincoln park and the West park systems are each at the present time governed by a board of seven members appointed by the governor, the South park system is governed by a board of five trustees appointed by the judges of the circuit court, and the thirteen smaller park districts are each governed by commissioners elected by the people of the park district. The public library is at present governed by a board of nine directors appointed by the mayor, three each year for a term of three years. The house of correction is governed by a board of three inspectors, one being appointed each year for a term of three years. The act rejected by the people at the November election provided for the consolidation of the sixteen independent park governments under one board of nine commissioners to be appointed by the mayor, three each from the west, south and north divisions of the city for a term of six years, the terms of office of three commissioners expiring every two years. The act abolished the board of trustees of the public library and the board of inspectors of the house of correction, the foregoing institutions being placed directly under the city council. The defeat of this meritorious measure at the polls, however, does not prevent the resubmission of the act at a future election, for it is provided that the act may be placed before the voters repeatedly until its final passage is secured.

CIVIL SERVICE

In Kalamazoo, an attempt was made to repeal the civil service law. The voters, however, decisively defeated the project at the polls. The electorate of the city of San Francisco defeated an amendment to the charter extending the civil service system to all departments and offices, confirming without examination all employes under civil service who had been in the employ of the city and county for more than one year, and making probationary civil service employes of those who have served more than six months and less than one year. The civic league of improvement clubs and associations of the city advised the voters to vote no on the foregoing amendment as the latter gave to political appointees the protection of civil service without due examination. The voters of St. Paul also had before them for approval or rejection a proposal for the repeal of the provisions of the city charter requiring employes and officers in the classified service to be appointed and promoted on the basis of fitness, determined through a competitive examination, and permitting appointing officers to make appointments and removals at pleasure.

MUNICIPAL COURTS

An amendment to the charter of San Francisco was proposed upon petition by more than 29,000 citizens providing for a general reconstruction of the police courts of the city. The amendment provided for one court with four judges to be appointed by the mayor instead of four separate departments. It was further provided that the court remain open from 8 a.m. to 2 a.m. with at least one judge on the bench. The purpose of the last provision was to give an arrested person an opportunity for a prompt hearing without being locked up over night or compelled to find bail and return to court for hearing the following day. It was urged that the practice in effect of four courts sitting at the same hours and adjourning at noon inflicted hardships on persons arrested later in the day. The court hours proposed in the amendment were fixed with reference to the hours during which the police report off duty, in order that they could be heard promptly instead of being brought to testify at inconvenient hours. It was designed to eradicate the bail bond brokerage evil by compelling continuous sessions of the court from eight o'clock in the morning until two o'clock the following morning, thus enabling accused persons to secure a prompt trial instead of making them dependent upon bail bond brokers by reason of the prevailing short sessions of the police courts. The amendment also provided for a presiding judge whose duty it should be to distribute the business of the court and fix rules of procedure. The same system of centralized and responsible administration of the courts was provided for as that which has made the municipal court of Chicago a notable success. The term of each judge was fixed at six years and any police judge upon becoming a candidate for an elective office automatically vacated his seat on the bench, thus preventing any judge from using the powers of his court to secure votes. It was further provided that a police judge, although appointed, could be recalled in the same manner as an elective officer and for the summary trial before the superior court and removal on complaint of a citizen or a police judge or court attaché convicted of wilful failure to perform his duty. In order that an arrested person might not be kept in jail nor compelled to furnish bail for petty offenses it was provided that a person arrested must be brought promptly before the court and, unless he should ask for a postponement, his case speedily disposed of. The foregoing amendment was drafted by the legislative committee of the civic league of improvement clubs and associations acting jointly with a similar committee from the commonwealth club of San Francisco.

Another amendment of the same sections of the city charter as the foregoing proposition was placed on the ballot by the board of supervisors at the request of the police judges. It provided for the election of judges by the people and the holding of night sessions of the court at the option and during the pleasure of the mayor. Both proposed amendments were rejected, however, at the election by practically similar majorities, the amendment drawn by the civic league and commonwealth club being defeated by 41,960 votes, and that of the board of supervisors by a total of 43,465 votes. The voters, however, approved an amendment to the charter whereby the salary of each police judge was increased from $300 to $400 per month.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The voters of Los Angeles adopted an amendment to the charter providing that any matter which is to be submitted to the voters of the city, except the regular elections for city officers, may be submitted at a county, state or national election. The measure aims to do away with expensive special elections. The city of Newton voted on the adoption of an act passed by the legislature authorizing preferential voting at municipal elections. The voters of San Francisco approved an amendment to the charter providing for the election of municipal officers at one election instead of two. The measure consolidates the primary and general election into one, through the preferential voting system. Instead of holding a primary election in September and a general election in November, it provides for one municipal election in November. It also provides for counting the ballots at the election office in the city hall instead of in 700 scattered precincts. It is made the duty of the election officers to seal the ballot boxes as soon as the polls close and to bring them to the department of elections where they will be counted by trained deputies in public view. It is urged in support of the amendment that it will save the expense of the primary election, amounting to about $55,000 and also save $13,000 more in the expense of counting the ballots, or a total of $68,000. It will save the candidates the cost of one campaign where, up to the present, they must make two and only call on the voter to attend one election, thus securing the substantial advantages of majority rule, saving $68,000 of public money and rendering it possible for men of small means to run for public office and, likewise, shorten the campaign. The voters of Massachusetts approved an act to prevent the voters of one political party from voting in the primaries of another political party.

FINANCIAL PROPOSITIONS

Lawrence, Mass., voted on an amendment requiring that trust funds held by municipalities be placed at interest in saving banks, trust companies incorporated under the laws of the state or in national banks, or invested in securities which are legal investments for savings banks, and on an amendment providing for the payment of 6 per cent interest on unpaid taxes, computed from the date when taxes are payable. The voters of Los Angeles approved a proposed amendment of the charter giving the council the right in its discretion to pay any salaries semimonthly or weekly. The amendment seeks to remedy the conditions prevailing under the old method of monthly payment by which employes in need of financial assistance assigned their salaries to loan sharks at an exorbitant rate of interest. A further amendment of the charter of the same city was sought whereby the board of harbor commissioners, with the approval of the mayor and two thirds of the council, was authorized to let emergency contracts without bids. Although this practice is permitted to the board of public works under similar conditions and very rarely exercised and was deemed a proper provision for possible emergencies, the voters at the polls defeated the amendment. A third amendment, modeled after similar provisions of the New York and Philadelphia laws, permitted the council by a two-thirds vote, to authorize the issuance of short-term notes of the city to raise money to carry the city between the beginning of the fiscal year on July 1, and the paying of the taxes in November. At present a reserve fund of $1,250,000 is carried by the city for this purpose and the advocates of the amendment claimed that the expense of carrying this reserve fund could be eliminated under the proposed amendment. The municipal league of Los Angeles, however, in opposing the amendment, urged that the reserve fund fulfills a further function than simply that of making it possible to pay cash for the city's bills, because it is in effect a real reserve in time of emergency. The existence of similar provisions in New York and Philadelphia, it was pointed out, had resulted in such abuses as borrowing on such bills in order to pay current debts. Likewise, in times of financial stringency, the city might be able to borrow at any reasonable rate and therefore would be put to a much greater expense than the cost of carrying a reserve fund. The last named fund, with improved methods of depositing the city's money in the banks, whereby a satisfactory interest rate would be secured, would not thus prove a heavy expense or burden. The voters of Los Angeles, believing the amendment unwise as presented and opposed to the basic principles of conservative finance and safety, defeated the amendment by a large vote. The voters of San Francisco approved an amendment to the city charter providing for the written consent of the auditor and chairman of the finance committee of the board of supervisors, in addition to that of the mayor, in selecting depositories of public money. It was urged in support of the amendment that these two officers should have a full knowledge of the city's financial condition and accordingly be better able to direct its policies. In Seattle the voters by a vote of 36,155 to 18,976 defeated a proposed amendment of the constitution of the state of Washington restricting the right of suffrage in bond issue elections to taxpayers. The voters of Toledo approved a bond issue designed to meet a deficiency in the operating or current revenue of the city. Similarly, the voters of Columbus in Ohio approved three propositions increasing the tax rates of the city 2.4 mills and of the board of education .5 mills in order to meet the operating demands for the year 1917 and a bond issue of $3,500,000 for river improvements. The voters of the state of Washington defeated a referendum measure requiring the submission of a budget by the governing officials of all counties, cities, towns, school and park districts each year and specifying in detail the manner of preparing such budget. The measure, among other items, prohibited the expenditure out of any fund of more money than that provided for in the budget and using the unexpended balance in one fund for the benefit of another.

FIRE DEPARTMENTS

The voters of Haverhill by a majority vote adopted an act passed by the legislature authorizing the city to retire and pension at half pay any permanent member of the fire department certified by the city physician to be permanently disabled, mentally or physically, from further performing duty by reason of injuries sustained or illness incurred through no fault of his own while in performance of his duty, or those in service not less than 25 years or 60 years of age, in the last two instances the member of the fire department able to qualify thereunder being given the privilege to retire at his own request. Somerville submitted to its voters a proposition providing for permanency of tenure of the chief of its fire department during good behavior subject to removal by the mayor and board of aldermen for cause and specific reasons.

The voters of East Orange rejected the act providing for the two-platoon system in the fire department. The voters of San Francisco, however, approved an amendment to the city charter providing for the two-platoon system whereby firemen are not required to be on duty more than fourteen consecutive hours. It was urged in support of the amendment that the system would provide an adequate number of men on duty at all hours without additional cost to the taxpayers as well as increase departmental efficiency with a resultant reduction in fire losses and decrease in insurance rates.

The city of Berkeley by a close vote defeated a proposed amendment to the city charter authorizing the city to pension on half pay employes who are in the city service for twenty-five years. Newton voted on an amendment to its charter authorizing the city to pension any firemen who, by reason of permanent disability incurred during the performance of duty, are no longer able to perform active service. San Francisco approved two amendments to its city charter giving the boards of police and fire commissioners additional control of the police and firemen's relief funds. The amendments give exclusive jurisdiction to both boards over pensions to which members of families of policemen and firemen killed or dying as the result of injuries sustained while in the performance of their duties may be entitled. Applicants for pensions are granted hearings before the police or fire commission and may be represented by counsel and introduce available testimony. The judgment of the board of police or fire commissioners in passing upon applications is final unless there has been a clear abuse of discretion, in which event the applicants have the right to appeal to the courts for relief. The voters defeated a proposed amendment to the charter of the same city authorizing the board of supervisors to levy a tax to meet the demands made upon the police and firemen's pension funds when a deficit exists or the present sources of revenue may be found insufficient for the maintenance of these funds.

HEALTH PROPOSITIONS

The voters of Oregon by a vote of 100,119 to 99,745 defeated a measure proposed by initiative petition prohibiting compulsory vaccination, inoculation and other similar treatment for the prevention or cure of contagious or infectious diseases. It was urged by the proponents of the measure that the latter would not prohibit vaccination of any kind, but merely prohibit compulsory vaccination of all kinds.

The citizens of Detroit approved a charter amendment empowering the city council to levy taxes or issue bonds for acquiring lands and buildings to be used as hospitals and the maintenance of the latter. Bloomington in Illinois approved a proposition providing for the establishment of a tuberculosis sanitarium by the county.

To be concluded in the July issue

THE BUDGET AMENDMENT OF THE MARYLAND CONSTITUTION

BY HARVEY S. CHASE, C.P.A.
Boston, Mass.

THE issue of a pamphlet purporting to be a serious critical analysis of a constitutional amendment recently enacted by the people of Maryland, offers an opportunity to consider this amendment in relation to such alleged analyses and, as one of the authors of the amendment, I am glad to comply with the request of the editors of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and contribute my views thereon.

In the first place, the title of the pamphlet in question is sensational, viz.: "Serious Defects of Maryland's Budget Law."[1] Following this publicity-attracting title, the sections of the amendment are criticized

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[1] The institute for public service (Dr. William H. Allen, director) recently issued a pamphlet entitled "Serious Defects in Maryland's Budget Law," a measure that has attracted wide attention. The Maryland budget law was similar to the proposal that was brought before the New York constitutional convention of 1915. It was promulgated in Maryland, however, as a Democratic measure and passed by the legislature of that state with almost no opposition. Since its adoption it has been commended by many who are interested in budget reform and is now under consideration for adoption in several states. As an illustration of the consideration that is being given to this law, we may be permitted to quote from the inaugural address of the governor of West Virginia in the course of which he said:

> I advocated the establishment of a budget system similar to that adopted by Maryland by a constitutional amendment which was framed and recommended by the Goodnow efficiency commission. This Maryland plan was unanimously endorsed at the governors' conference in Washington in December last, as well as by the retiring governor of this state in his annual message to the legislature. It has been endorsed by the bureau of municipal research and by economic experts everywhere. I prepared and caused to be introduced in each house of the legislature a similar amendment, embodied in a joint resolution, providing for its submission to the people at the election in 1918.

Illinois has recently adopted an executive budget law as a statute matter. In 1916 the Edge bill was passed in New Jersey, and in Nebraska the Norton bill providing for an executive budget was passed.

The subject has come to be one of such importance as to make it desirable to give the matter something more than passing attention in the pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, and accordingly we asked Dr. Cleveland, who had been prominent in the formulation and adoption of the Maryland law, to prepare a series of questions to the author of the pamphlet enlarging certain aspects of it. Dr. Allen has consented to answer these questions. We had hoped to have his reply in time for publication in this issue, but the exigencies of the situation in his office prevented this. We are promised, however, his replies for our July issue. These will be published in connection with the inquiries of Dr. Cleveland, and thus the issue fairly presented to our readers. In the meantime Mr. Chase, to whom the pamphlet was first sent for review, has prepared this preliminary notice. In fact it was the receipt of Mr. Chase's manuscript that crystallized the ediwithout appreciation for their good points, but with drastic emphasis on their alleged faults of omission and commission.

Nowhere in the pamphlet do we find an acknowledgment of the prolonged and careful study given to the contents and the wording of this amendment by the commission appointed by the governor of Maryland and composed of the ablest men in the state, selected solely for demonstrated wisdom and capacity, irrespective of partisan considerations. These gentlemen—without money compensation—labored for months over this amendment, assisted by persons who had had long experience in governmental matters relating to finance and of whom the writer acknowledges he was one.

Nowhere in the pamphlet is there expression of an understanding of the difficulties actually surmounted by the commission, not only in originating the amendment but in bringing about its enactment by both branches of the legislature of Maryland, and finally in obtaining the strong endorsement of it by the people of Maryland at the last election in November.

It would be natural to expect from the head of an organization which purports to act in the service of the public—whether or not it receives money compensation—some expression of appreciation of the many admirable features of the Maryland amendment and a corresponding appreciation of the self-sacrificing work done by those responsible for its initiation and completion.

The lack of such appreciation causes surprise until the last page of the pamphlet is reached. Then it becomes evident why the ultra critical attitude has been adopted and why no credit has been allowed for the good work done.

The last page says: "The questions here raised by the institute for public service are prompted not by theoretical interest in budget making." (*Sic*) "Officers of the institute have had first-hand experience in making city and state budgets." Then, in a footnote: "If the institute for public service, with official or non-official relation to your state's budget making, can help anyone in your state, please command us."

In other words, the pamphlet, with its spectacular title, is merely an advertising scheme to get business for the promoters of the aforesaid "institute." The situation now becomes clear, the reasons for wholesale criticisms are evident, the antagonisms to other and longer established agencies of public service are explained, and we may gently push the

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tor's thought with regard to a further consideration of the questions of principle and practice involved.

Copies of the Maryland budget amendment can be had of the department of legislative reference, city hall, Baltimore, Md. (Dr. Horace E. Flack, director). Copies of the critical pamphlet can be had of the institute for public service (Dr. William H. Allen, director) 51 Chambers street, New York city.—EDITOR.

pamphlet one side and turn to the text of the Maryland amendment itself asking for fair and disinterested critical analysis.

As the writer has already twice acknowledged that he is one of the authors of this document, it may be urged with reason that completely "disinterested" criticism could scarcely be expected from him. Therefore he may as well point out another feature of the "institute's" advertising pamphlet in which after having ensconced itself in a glass house by its final appeal for business, the institute proceeds to contravene the old adage by immediately throwing stones at other houses which it declares are glass. It not only throws stones, but it throws *mud*, by declaring

> "that the Maryland amendment is not merely a Maryland amendment but because of its origin has become a propaganda. Behind it is a lobby that has innumerable spokesmen and organs. Five different forces are pushing this amendment, calling it to the attention of the governors' conference, extolling it to newspapers, legislators, individuals, governors, etc.:
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> "(1) The institute for governmental research financed by the Rockefeller foundation and associates upon a platform that unequivocally disregards, where it does not unequivocally disrespect, public ability and right to understand budgetatory questions. Its chairman was one of the commission that proposed this Maryland amendment and was formerly one of President Taft's economy and efficiency commission, whose proposals for a national budget miscarried chiefly because they concentrated attention upon 'executive' and 'classification' to the disregard of 'people' or 'legislative' and 'understanding.'
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> "(2) The second force is that of a private accounting house whose head was also one of the commission which drafted the law under President Taft's commission. Apart from a personal enthusiasm for his own handiwork this commissioner naturally and legitimately uses the advertising agencies of the long-established accounting service to emphasize the merits of the Maryland amendment which he helped draw.
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> "(3) The third is a nation-wide advocacy of the Maryland amendment born of that gratitude which is a lively sense of favors to come. The mere fact that the Rockefeller foundation and the noted and devoted men who are on the board of the institute for governmental research are backing this proposal means that large numbers of persons wishing money and personal and institutional preferment and recognition instinctively and without question accept the Maryland proposal.
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> "(4) Fourthly, the mere fact that the Maryland proposal is something already formulated, easy to take and apparently answers many of the protests against helter-skelter budget making, combined with
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> "(5) A fifth force, the universal discontent and impatience with our blundering method of voting away state funds, gives this Maryland amendment backing to which intrinsic merit does not entitle it."

The moral of such a pamphlet is apparently this: That if you cannot fool all the people all the time, you can safely plan on at least fooling some of the people some of the time. Seriously, however, if the experience of the members of President Taft's commission on economy and efficiency for three years, with all the resources of the national government at their disposal, backed by years of practical experience in the study of governmental affairs by each member—selected by the President for these reasons—coupled with the exceptional legal capacity and standing of the members of the governor of Maryland's commission, is not sufficient to provide a constitutional amendment for the state of Maryland which can withstand being shot full of holes by any whippersnapper "institute" which comes along hoping to advance itself by defaming others, then there is little use in attempting such reforms.

We all know, however, that such a conclusion is ludicrous, fully as ludicrous as the institute's alleged "serious objections."

Let the institute draw up an amendment, get it passed by a legislature, adopted by the people of a state, and then come to us with it. When it does that it will deserve, and we hope it will receive, appreciative comment and criticism. This is exactly what has been done in Maryland by those whom the institute is inclined to sneer at.

PITTSBURGH AND THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE[1]

BY OLIVER MCCLINTOCK

Pittsburgh

WE, of the chamber of commerce, are very glad to have the members of the civic club as our guests to-day. It is fitting to thus come together, because of the very important subject to be considered, in which we are all deeply concerned, namely: the report of the council's special committee on taxation; and also because of the distinguished president of the National Municipal League, who is to address us on that subject. Both organizations are highly honored by his coming to Pittsburgh, and both are deeply interested in receiving instruction from him.

I request, just here, your indulgence for making a personal explanation, because of President Garland's allusion to my having recently received the honor of an election as vice-president of the National Municipal League. The true explanation is, that that honor was not conferred upon me because I had done anything to deserve it, but rather as a compliment to the Pittsburgh chamber of commerce, whom I had the honor of representing as their delegate to the Springfield convention. It was a token of the League's good-will and their recognition of the high standing and influence of the chamber. It expressed their desire to foster sympathetic and cordial relations between the two organizations and to secure the chamber's co-operation in the League's great task of quickening the citizenship and improving the government of the cities of the United States. Good citizenship, good city government and equitable taxation are the chief and essential things for us to seek, because they are the secure foundation upon which must rest the welfare and permanent prosperity of every city.

The chamber recalls, with grateful remembrance, the joint convention which the National Municipal League and the American Civic Association held in Pittsburgh in 1908, as the guests of the chamber, the civic club, the Pittsburgh board of trade and other civic organizations.

No city is more indebted to the National Municipal League than is Pittsburgh, for the quickening of our civic conscience, and our awakening to a realization of our civic needs, which that convention imparted to our citizens. From it came the stimulus and initiative which inspired the great citizen's movement in 1909, in behalf of a new city charter.

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[1] Address introducing Lawson Purdy at a luncheon of the chamber of commerce of Pittsburgh, February 6, 1917.

The resistless momentum of its numbers and their determined purpose overwhelmed the partisan politicians and compelled the state legislature to set aside the traditional, but thoroughly discredited bi-cameral form of city councils, and to substitute for it our present small council of nine, elected at large and on a non-partisan ballot.

City Controller E. S. Morrow expected to be with us to-day but has been unavoidably prevented. We all love and honor him as the Nestor of our city government. He will confirm my statement, that that convention also imparted the initiative which gave Pittsburgh its improved budget system of appropriations and its improved methods of municipal accounting. Both were strongly urged, at that time, by LeGrand Powers, chief statistician of the U. S. census bureau. Our open-eyed and open-minded Controller Morrow, ever alert and watchful for the city's interests, seized upon these improved methods and introduced them into the management of his department of the city's finances.

You will all doubtless recall the wonderful civic exhibit displayed in the Carnegie galleries, in connection with that convention. Besides the model city budgets, shown by the bureau of municipal research of New York city in the interest of municipal efficiency, there was the exhibit of the committee on the congestion of population in New York city, illustrating the need of scientific city planning for the development of a city and the proper and natural distribution of the population by zones and the protection of residential districts from the injurious intrusion of manufactories.

There was also the exhibit of co-operative housing for workmen in European cities, also of industries and industrial conditions, with photographs of protected machinery in German manufactories. The civic club set forth Pittsburgh's system of playgrounds for children. Pittsburgh's department of public works had an exhibit, showing the operation of the new water-filtration plant, put in partial operation in 1908. The Pittsburgh tuberculosis league and the city bureau of health visualized by exhibits their joint fight against tuberculosis and typhoid fever, both preventable diseases.

Both had scourged Pittsburgh for twenty-five years, and typhoid had at last become epidemic, filling us with consternation because of its widespread ravages. That it was a water-borne disease, preventable by the use of filtered water, was demonstrated, beyond a doubt, by the astounding figures of the vital statistics of the years preceding the change to filtered water in 1908, compared with the years following that change.

In 1906, there were 5,649 cases, with 508 deaths. There were 3,000 deaths in the whole state of Pennsylvania.

In 1907, there were 5,421 cases, with 622 deaths.

In 1908, with filtration in partial operation, there were 1,833 cases or about one-third the number for the preceding year.

Coming down to the present, in 1915 when the records of the bureau of health began to differentiate between resident and non-resident cases, there were 262 cases of residents with 37 deaths. In 1916, there were 218 cases of residents with 31 deaths, showing conclusively that filtered water has practically eliminated typhoid fever from Pittsburgh.

But, the uncomputed bill of economic loss representing the thousands of lives needlessly sacrificed and the untold sufferings of many thousands more of the living, stands as a terrible bill of indictment for incompetence and inefficiency against the city government, they being charged officially during those years with the responsibility for finding the remedy.

But, may we not justly say that the primary responsibility belonged to the apathetic citizenship of the manufacturers and merchants, the bankers and leading citizens, who were so engrossed in their mills and banks and merchandise, that they failed to take that active interest in the public welfare, which ought and which could have inspired and controlled the city officials into taking the required action for delivering the city from the typhoid pestilence?

I fear that I may seem to have exceeded the proprieties of my function as introducer of the speaker by this digression to the National Municipal League convention of 1908, and its civic exhibit and the uplift and benefit they imparted to Pittsburgh, and that I have gone too far afield from Taxation, the announced topic of the day.

But, I have done so for two reasons. The first is, that I want to emphasize the fact that the humanitarian work for the physical and moral welfare of the people, which our local civic club has performed so efficiently and successfully, and the quickening of citizenship and improvement in the municipal government of American cities, in which the National Municipal League has achieved such large success, are both of fundamental importance to the stability and permanence of our commercial prosperity.

Those members of the chamber, who want less civics and more of commercialism in the activities of the chamber, who claim that the exclusive function of the chamber should be to expand the city's commercial interests, to increase the tonnage of the mills, to construct vast manufactories and pile up huge bank deposits, who would banish civics as entirely foreign to these commercial aims and would relegate them to the domain of soft-hearted humanitarians and high-browed theorists; these members must awaken and realize that comfortable and sanitary living, the physical and moral welfare and happiness of the laborer and artisan and their families are of fundamental importance, both in the attainment and also in the permanence of commercial prosperity.

This narrow point of view, which would eliminate civics and philanthropy from the function of the chamber of commerce as unnecessary and foreign, must give place to the broader point of view, which realizes that improved and sanitary housing of workmen, the elimination of preventable diseases, the establishment of parks for the people and playgrounds for the children, the conservation of the young men of the city, spiritually, morally, mentally and physically by the beneficent work of the Y. M. C. A., the regulation of child labor, compensation for the loss of life or limb by workmen, the protection of machinery against accident, an adequate building code for protecting the community from loss by fire, a greater efficiency in municipal government and the elimination of partisan politics from municipal administration; that all of these things make for a reduction in waste and economic loss, and therefore are potent and fundamental factors in the productive capacity and commercial efficiency of Pittsburgh.

The second reason for my digression is, that I wanted to fix your attention upon the obligation we owe to the League, consequent upon its generosity of service to Pittsburgh, to co-operate with it and help hold up its hands in extending its benefits to other American cities. You can do this most effectively by taking an active membership at $5, or a contributing membership at $25. It should be considered that no small part of the benefits received by members consists in their being entitled to receive free, the National Municipal Review. This quarterly is an invaluable repository of able articles and current information upon the progress of municipal government in the United States. The National Municipal League has been the pioneer in arousing public interest in the improvement of municipal government, and its quarterly registers its progress in a well ordered and readable form. Owing to the increased cost of printing and the lack of adequate funds, the League has been compelled to reduce the number of its pages during the past year.

Another good reason for taking a membership, springing out of the present occasion, is that of gratitude. It would be an indirect compliment to Lawson Purdy, president of the League, and a token of your cordial appreciation of his generous service to you, in taking time out of his very busy life, and with much personal inconvenience to himself, to come to Pittsburgh to address you.

I now have the honor of introducing to you the speaker of the day, Hon. Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League and president of the department of taxes and assessments of the borough of Manhattan. Of him the Hon. William Dudley Foulke, in giving place to him as his successor in the presidency of the League, said: "He is perhaps the ablest in America to deal with the most important remaining problem that now lies before us in our municipal program,—the problem of municipal taxation."

NEW ORLEANS' INCREASING POLITICAL HEALTH

BY E. E. MOÏSE[1]

New Orleans

SOME sensational incidents of the last five months have thrown a bright light on government by a commission of five in New Orleans. One hesitates to say "commission government," because, as was pointed out in the article on this subject in the January issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW,[2] the New Orleans charter lacks many features of the usual commission charter, and the commissioners were chosen by the "regular Democratic organization" on a strictly partisan basis. The one effective provision, which concentrates executive and legislative authority in the hands of five administrative officials, instead of dividing it between 23 aldermen, six department heads and a mayor, has once more demonstrated its value. The net result of a double attack upon the city hall by reform forces led by clergymen and women opposed to race-track gambling, and by a disgruntled race-track gambler with a newspaper, whom Mayor Martin Behrman had "double-crossed," is that what the administration organ aptly termed "a policy of unobtrusive non-observance of the law" is no longer so popular as before. In fact, the laws requiring Sunday closing, segregation of the races in saloons, forbidding the sale of liquor to minors and to women, and confining houses of prostitution to certain restricted districts, are enforced to-day as they have not been in years. Most significant of all, the owner of the administration newspaper aforesaid, the National Democratic committeeman, and "boss" of the tenth ward, the city and the state, has for the time at least aligned himself with the forces of reform.

These phenomena grew out of a deal between the mayor and the race-track operator from Jacksonville, who was then running his gamble at Havana. This man, H. D. (Curley) Brown, bought a race track after he received assurances from the mayor (according to his sworn testimony) that he should enjoy the privilege of violating the law against that form of gambling so long as residents of New Orleans had the same privilege. Brown was ready to operate when the mayor, under some undisclosed pressure, reversed himself and began applying all the force he could bring to bear to compel him to sell his track to the local track people, known as the "business men's racing association." The mayor and the commissioner of public safety, Harold Newman, having failed to induce Brown to give up, called in commissioner of public property, E. E. Lafaye, at whose suggestion an ordinance was passed restricting the privilege of violating the anti-race-gamble law to "native sons." Brown, a citizen of Florida, knew the ordinance would not stand in the federal courts but realized that he faced a losing fight and decided to hold out for all the money the B. M. R. A. could pay for his newly acquired property.

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[1] Of the *New Orleans Item* staff.

[2] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 73.

Brown got out of the deal with $50,000 profit and a grudge. He had acquired a newspaper, the *Orleans American*, which has since suspended publication. It had attracted little attention so long as its columns oozed fulsome eulogy of the mayor, but when its editor, Hugh Arnott O'Donnell, began to tell the people obvious truths about the city hall, and to hint at possibilities not so obvious nor so true, "things happened."

It was on January 6 that he laid the basis for a libel suit filed by the commission council January 9, by inquiring editorially "whether the politicians or the city treasury would finance the purchase of a second race-track (the one then operated under lease) by the business men's racing association?" It was known that they had promised to donate to the city for park purposes the one purchased from Brown under pressure from the municipal authorities, and the editorial was interpreted as a charge that the commissioners intended to buy a gambling enterprise with public money.

Simultaneously, the *American* started a series of news stories and editorials on flagrant law violations; and a movement among clergymen and men and women who had for years been fighting for social reforms was crystallized into the citizen's league, formed to conduct an active attack on the race-track gamble. Miss Jean Gordon, their secretary, has long been conspicuous as a tireless and effective worker for woman suffrage, child labor legislation, and its enforcement, and against race-track gambling and other social evils. Even the two newspapers which were supporting the administration called for "moderate law enforcement"; and the *Item* carefully reprinted all the editorials on the subject, and every news story from the *American* whose facts could be immediately substantiated.

Public opinion was sufficiently aroused to induce the commissioner of public safety to enforce the Sunday-closing law against the saloons and to make an attempt to move professional vice into the district set aside for it. Sunday closing immediately became generally popular with everybody but the brewers, liquor dealers, vendors of other facilities for dissipation and the mayor, who has since suffered with a grouch that has some symptoms of melancholia. The law makes the mayor responsible for the police; but, as the commissioner of public safety had claimed credit for some easy reforms in the force, the mayor publicly fixed the responsibility on him,—and he responded, with a grimace of pain. Most of the disorderly houses outside the district have been closed and it is probable that all but the most quietly operated will remain closed. Rumors that the commissioner of public safety intends to resign are prevalent. He denies them. They are credited by a few who believe him to be a "quitter." It appears probable that he will not resign and that he will do whatever he can to see that the laws are better enforced.

The editor of the *American* was convicted and sentenced by a judge who expressed doubt of his guilt; and he now has an appeal pending in the supreme court. Brown's testimony at the trial was a revelation to the public and greatly stimulated opposition to the illegal race-gamble. Information based on affidavits against the business men's racing association have been filed by a district attorney who is politically intimate with the national committeeman, and who had previously been blind and deaf to similar evidence. The protagonists of the gamble attack the mayor for stirring up a row with Brown that they think will lead to its abolition; and the opponents feel kindly toward the district attorney.

The incidents that led to better enforcement of the Sunday-closing law and to the attempt to restrict disorderly houses to the "vice district" would have led to nothing notable under the aldermanic form of government. Similar flare-ups in those years had no appreciable results. The mayor and the commissioners now find it impossible to escape public scrutiny of their actions and inactions. Such escape for their predecessors was easy. The movement against the existence of the restricted district has been strengthened and the passage of an injunction and abatement law has been brought nearer. The broadest result is evidenced by a more general questioning of that tenet of the city hall, once arrogantly maintained, that New Orleans prospers through the patronage of tourists attracted by horse racing, unrestricted indoor gambling, law-breaking saloons and other facilities for dissipation. Not even the mayor has had the temerity to re-announce his formerly blatant allegiance to the "wide open town" since the disgusted gambler's suddenly "reformed" newspaper reached for his scalp.

A striking symptom of increasing political health (which has sufficiently increased to place New Orleans on the list of municipal convalescents) is the fact that a railroad, seeking a franchise for a new passenger terminal, is appealing to public opinion by stating its case in the newspapers. The railroad has announced that it will not pay one cent except for value received and that it will do without its ordinance rather than submit to the demands of the protestants against its project, who are led by a politician asking the road to buy his property, which it does not need, at three times its value. No such campaign has ever before been conducted in New Orleans by a public service corporation, which in the days of the aldermanic council, would have done its negotiating "in the dark" and "on the quiet." This one is throwing the searchlight on the "reasons" for disapproving the proposed ordinance put forward by former

Commissioner of Public Utilities W. B. Thompson and others by the incumbent, E. J. Glenny.

Another symptom of improving health is the offer of the street railways monopoly to submit to the judgment of a semi-official committee on its service and abide by its suggestions. The offer avowedly made for the purpose of forestalling an amendment to the ordinance requiring an excessive bond, which had put the jitneys out of business last year, has been accepted at its face value. The investigation of the service is now in progress, under the supervision of Commissioners Lafaye and Glenny. If it does not result in a marked improvement in street railway conditions, and in an adjustment which will allow at least a partial supplementary jitney service, the people of New Orleans will know whom to hold responsible for this.

No close observers believe the public is entirely awake to the possibilities of control over its officials brought about by concentrating power and responsibility in a commission of five. But the public has had a "taste of blood" and the immediate prospect is that the results will be important.

PUBLIC MARKETS IN THE UNITED STATES

The second report of the Committee on the Relation of the City to Its Food Supply is published under the above title and will be mailed on request to members. Additional copies can be had at the rate of fifty cents each.

Address:

National Municipal League,
North American Building,
Philadelphia

THE CLEVELAND EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

THE Cleveland educational survey is a significant piece of work calling for attention from various angles. Accordingly the editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW asked an educational expert in the person of Howard W. Nudd, secretary of the public education association of New York, and Albert deRoode, a public-spirited member of the New York bar, to examine the several volumes from their respective viewpoints. The result is produced herewith in parallel columns showing the reaction of the same piece of work upon independent observers. Following is a list of the reports making up the survey:

Child Accounting in the Public Schools, Leonard P. Ayres; Educational Extension, Clarence A. Perry; Education through Recreation, George E. Johnson; Financing the Public Schools, Earle Clark; Health Work in the Public Schools, Leonard P. Ayres; Household Arts and School Lunches, Alice C. Boughton; Measuring the Work of the Public Schools, Charles H. Judd; Overcrowded Schools and the Platoon Plan, S. O. Hartwell; School Buildings and Equipment, Leonard P. Ayres; Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children, David Mitchell; School Organization and Administration, Leonard P. Ayres; The Public Library and the Public Schools; The School and the Immigrant; The Teaching Staff, Walter A. Jessup; What the Schools Teach and Might Teach, Franklin Bobbitt; The Cleveland School Survey (Summary volume), Leonard P. Ayres; Boys and Girls in Commercial Work, Bertha M. Stevens; Department Store Occupations, Iris Prouty O'Leary; Dressmaking and Millinery, Edna C. Bryner; Railroad and Street Transportation, R. G. Fleming; The Building Trades, F. L. Shaw; The Garment Trades, Edna C. Bryner; The Metal Trades, R. R. Lutz; The Printing Trades, F. L. Shaw; Wage Earning and Education (Summary volume), R. R. Lutz.

These have been bound in boards and cloth in pocket size. They can be obtained at $7 the set from the survey committee of the Cleveland foundation, 612 St. Clair avenue N. E., Cleveland, Ohio.

It is difficult to summarize in a few words the significance of the Cleveland survey as a contribution to public education. It is without doubt the most comprehensive and suggestive school survey yet made. Its value lies not only in its specific recommendations for improving the Cleveland schools, but also in the standard of method it has established, which will have lasting influence upon future school inquiries.

The auspices under which the Cleveland educational survey were conducted warrant thorough and extended consideration of the published results. Additional importance is given to the work because, as stated in one of the monographs ("Educational Extension" by C. A. Perry, page 17):

What is found to be true in this Ohio city will also be found to be applicable in

Every study in the field of education which adds to the sum of accurate and specific information on points generally understood and accepted is in itself a valuable contribution, but when it points out new ways of measurement and evaluation and new ways of making the technique of education intelligible to the public, its value is immensely enhanced. The directors of the Cleveland survey aimed systematically to stimulate the public and the schoolmen to constructive action through carefully planned conferences, between the surveyors and those particularly concerned, at which the findings of the several studies were thoroughly discussed before publication. This not only enabled the staff to correct errors of fact, but served to prevent charges of bad faith and to win dispassionate and intelligent consideration of the monographs when published.

Those who do not wish to read all of the twenty-five monographs comprising the survey, which present in detail the special aspects of the educational system, will find in the two summary volumes a splendid digest of the aims, method, findings and recommendations.

In the first summary volume, entitled "Wage Earning and Education," R. R. Lutz of the Sage foundation has strikingly analyzed the opportunities for wage earning in Cleveland and has formulated from a study of the distribution of adult workers in the various occupations what he designates an actuarial basis for vocational education. His contention is that the haphazard method of providing vocational opportunities which has characterized the educational programs of so many communities in the past is not only economically wasteful but educationally unsound. The type and extent of vocational education afforded by a public school system, he maintains, should have a direct relation to the opportunities in the community for using it. He emphasizes also in a gratifying way the unsoundness of specific vocational training for young children and the need of enriching the curriculum of the elementary grades with practical work opportunities along general and fundamental lines which will enable children to discover their aptitudes and practically every other municipality of the United States.

We have thus a survey of a typical public educational system and the facts, conclusions and recommendations bear gravely upon the public instruction in this country.

There are two fields to be considered in this review:

1. The facts.
2. The conclusions and recommendations based upon these facts.

As to the first field, that of fact, the presentation by the survey itself is the best review. Undoubtedly the facts published are reasonably accurate although one gains the impression through the constant commingling of fact and theory that they are collated to prove *a priori* educational theories. Still this seems to be the chief use of facts in this day and generation.

One series of facts, however, is of grave significance scarcely appreciated by the surveyors.

In "Child Accounting in the Public Schools" by L. P. Ayres, it appears, pages 66 to 67:

> According to a study conducted by the survey, 29 per cent of the children in the elementary schools of Cleveland are above the normal ages for their grades. This is a smaller proportion of over-age children than is found in most other cities.
>
> According to a study conducted by the survey, 32 per cent of the children in the elementary schools have made slow progress. This is a better record than is made by the average city.
>
> The children who constitute one of the gravest of educational problems are those who are both over-age for their grades and are making slow progress. In Cleveland 22 per cent of the children belong to this class. There are more than 15,000 of them.

Certainly if the Cleveland system is typical of the general public school system in municipalities and if the statistics for Cleveland are better than in the average municipality it is apparent that our present public school system is notably inefficient. If nearly one quarter of our elementary pupils are over-age and backward our school system is failing in its purpose.

It is in the field of conclusion and recommendation, however, that the survey demands the instant attention of every thoughtful citizen and parent. If the secure the fundamental knowledge and skill essential to making a wise choice when the time for intensive specialized training arrives. The concrete application of these theses to the Cleveland situation makes this volume exceptionally helpful and suggestive to educators and laymen, in large cities especially, who are grappling with the difficult problem of vocational education.

The usefulness of this volume is increased by the chapters summarizing the monographs dealing with the specific vocational studies, such as, "Boys and girls in commercial work," "Department store occupations," etc. These chapters not only give the gist of the findings and recommendations of the original studies but place them in proper perspective to the general subject.

In the second summary volume, "The Cleveland School Survey," by Dr. Leonard P. Ayres, who directed the survey, a concise and comprehensive view of the so-called purely educational studies is presented. This volume is a veritable mine of information and inspiration to educators and laymen alike, and creates effectively a desire to go more deeply into the special topics treated in the individual monographs summarized. There is hardly a question of administration, supervision, and teaching, which is not commented upon forcefully on the basis of carefully evaluated data. Special emphasis is given to the original contributions of the survey in the field of educational measurement.

Of the special studies, schoolmen will be particularly interested in the monograph entitled, "Measuring the Work of the Public Schools," by Professor Charles H. Judd, of the University of Chicago. This volume is a real contribution to the scientific study of education. It presents in a telling fashion the achievements of the children in the Cleveland schools as judged by the best known standards of scientific measurement of school progress. It has been discussed more widely in educational circles and has had a larger sale than any of the other monographs. Its value lies not only in the additional light it throws upon conclusions already established by recognized standard tests, but also in the principles and theories propounded are to influence our public educational system and if those holding these theories are to have a hand in shaping the education of our youth, it is well that we should be acquainted therewith.

The reviewer challenges the survey on the following points:

1. The attitude toward education is crassly materialistic.

2. The political theory as to public education is undemocratic.

3. The underlying principles respecting educational methods and practices are pedagogically unsound.

4. The survey is a catchpot of absurd fads and educational foibles.

As to the materialistic basis of the survey a glance at the titles of the different monographs is illuminating. "Child Accounting in the Public Schools" is one title,—as if children were to be lumped together as so many cogs in a machine or so many pigs in a stock yard and their social and mechanical values computed. Throughout, there is the constant application of what may be called the "mass theory" of human life, in which individuals are deemed important only as they constitute groups and classes contributing to the material welfare of the whole. This materialistic attitude is emphasized by the constant use of the present day jargon of business utility and the shibboleths of "efficiency." An indication of the materialistic attitude may be gathered from the following excerpts:

"Summary Volume," page 120:

> The social point of view herein expressed is sometimes characterized as being *utilitarian*. It may be; but not in any narrow or undesirable sense.

"What the Schools Teach and Might Teach," page 77:

> Most of our civic and social problems are at bottom *industrial* problems.

"Education Extension," page 26:

> In a democratic society the *motive of self preservation* demands public measures for insuring that all its young and its handicapped individuals should be fitted to discharge with at least a minimum of competency the duties of citizenship.

When we come to the political theories of the survey we meet a fundamentally new contributions it makes to educational measurement, particularly in the field of reading and arithmetic. The conclusions regarding these tests are made so judiciously that they will be of signal service in establishing public confidence in the value of scientific tests and measurements in education.

This volume is a striking example, also, of what can be accomplished through the skilful use of the graphic method in presenting statistical data and by paying heed to the appetizing effect upon the reader of attractive typography and the simplification of statistical tables. No survey can be truly successful which fails to "put over with a punch" its findings and recommendations. Professor Judd's study is unique in this respect. Furthermore, by setting forth in an elaborate appendix the scales and tests which were used and the directions which were given for applying them, it has been made a veritable text-book for students of education.

The monograph on "Overcrowded Schools and the Platoon Plan" by Superintendent Hartwell, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, has also created wide comment, which has been due, doubtless, to the nation-wide discussion of the work-study-play schools of Superintendent Wirt of Gary, Indiana. To those who are interested primarily in the enriched school life which the flexible program of the Gary plan provides, this volume is disappointing. The platoon type of organization recommended utilizes little more than the traditional activities of the school and increases only slightly the capacity. It misses almost entirely the spirit of the work-study-play school as developed by Mr. Wirt. While it will doubtless be of assistance, therefore, to those who are seeking to solve the problem of school congestion without changing materially traditional school practice, it will have little influence with those who are seeking to enrich the school life with social values made possible by using extensively the auditorium and playground, and by vitalizing the old academic training through supplementing it, from the kindergarten to the college, with practical activities in the workrooms and science laboratories and in the community wrong conception of democracy. The entire survey proceeds upon the theory that the value of education is the development of useful citizens of a state which is something separate from and superior to the individuals composing it. Children as potential citizens exist merely for the benefit of this state, the welfare of which is measured by its material progress. The idea of a government of the people, by the people and for the people, has no place in the survey. For example, "Educational Extension"

> If the masses are to participate in the task of ruling themselves, they must be trained for the job. . . . Left entirely to themselves it is not certain that the mass of people would secure that knowledge of how the government is run and how the people outside of their own spheres live which is necessary to intelligent civic action.—Page 26.
>
> The function of the school is to assume, and thereby improve, the carrying on of those activities, not adequately managed by any other social agency, which prepare human beings for useful membership in a democratic society.—Page 34.

The political theory of the survey seems to be "government of the people, by the schools, for the teachers and educational experts."

In the field of purely educational method and theory there is a fundamental and corrupting principle of the survey which is pedagogically unsound. In "What the Schools Teach and Might Teach" by one Franklin Bobbitt, page 101, this principle is set forth as follows:

> The fundamental social point of view of this discussion of the courses of study of the Cleveland schools is that effective teaching is preparation for adult life through participation in the activities of life.

The only correct basis of education is training *for*, not *in*, the activities of adult life. This theory of a child being a miniature adult capable of being educated by diluted experience and training in the activities and mental processes of adults is at the root of much of our educational evil. The beginning of all educational wisdom is the recognition that a child is essentially different from an adult, not merely in degree but in characteristic functions. This "Lilliputian" theory of education results in the production of life of the school and neighborhood.

Superintendents, members of boards of education, and those interested primarily in the problems of school organization and administration will find the monograph by Dr. Ayres on that subject of great value. The analysis of the Cleveland situation and the solution suggested give the key to the solution of administrative problems in practically every city school system of the country. The compact scheme of organization proposed, with centralized professional responsibility and leadership—which has recently been secured, as a result of the survey, through the election of Superintendent Spaulding—is absolutely sound. In fact, it is fundamental to all other measures of administrative reform in the public schools.

The contribution of the survey to the method of reaching and interesting the public in school affairs, although already commented upon, cannot be too highly praised. Before publication, each section of the report was put into tentative final form, revised by the author and director, and submitted to careful study and discussion at a conference of local school people and the members of the survey committee. In this way, all questions of fact were submitted for discussion to the persons primarily concerned, and changes made wherever error was clearly found. The survey committee reserved, of course, the right to make on its own behalf whatever recommendations it deemed desirable. After each report had thus been checked up and printed, it was presented to the public, before release to the press, at one of a series of weekly public luncheons, at which the essential points were outlined for discussion by either the author or the director. In this way, the schoolmen were fully informed before the publication of the findings, and the particular monograph was released to the public under favorable auspices.

Those who are familiar with the New York school inquiry,[1] made a few years ago, will appreciate the value of this method of publication. The New York inquiry, like the Cleveland survey, was published in a series of monographs, each nothing but "smart Alecks," or perhaps, to accord with the language of the survey, one should say "immature sciolists."

A few illustrations of the absurdity to which this point of view is carried may be cited:

"What the Schools Teach and Might Teach," page 30:

> The purpose of real reading is to enter into the thought and emotional experience of the writer; not to study the methods by which the author expressed himself.

Fancy a child in its second year of high school entering into the emotional experiences of Franklin's autobiography and "The Vision of Sir Launfal," which constitute part of the prescribed reading in the Cleveland high schools.

> The history should be so taught that it will have a demonstrably practical purpose. . . . The history should be developed on the basis of topics . . . we have in mind such topics as: (Here follows a list of 57 varieties among which may be cited "Sociological aspects of war," "Capital and labor," "Taxation," "Government control of corporations," "Conservation of natural resources," "Women in industry," and "Co-operative buying and selling.")—Page 56.

Portions of any of these topics would amply serve for Ph.D. theses. It is comforting, however, to know that this expert recognizes the need of some training in history as it is generally understood, for he says, page 59:

> Naturally students must have some familiarity with the general time relations of history and the general chronological movements of affairs before they understand the more or less specialized treatment of individual topics.

As might naturally be expected from the unsoundness of the underlying point of view the survey has served as a catchpot for fads and foibles. The whole survey seems to have been seized upon by those conducting it as an opportunity for exploiting pet whims without any desire for constructive improvement or real analysis of the educational situation. When an author of what purports to be a serious monograph on educational extension writes the following:

> As Percival Chubb has remarked, "If man can no longer save his soul through his work—and only a few of us can under

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. ii, pp. 88 and 92, vol. iii, p. 327

dealing with a specific phase of the school system; but the monographs of the New York inquiry were not attractively printed, nor were they written, in many instances, in a style that would attract and hold the attention of the general public and the majority of the teaching body. Furthermore, they were not tactfully released. The schoolmen whose work was criticized were given practically no opportunity to see or to comment upon the findings until after the reports were published, and the first impressions—usually the most lasting—which the public received, were secured from inadequate and misleading newspaper digests. As a result, the New York inquiry was received with great hostility, and the public and the schoolmen wasted their energies in fruitless wrangling over misunderstood motives and misrepresented facts, instead of in constructive discussion of ways to improve the schools.

The primary purpose of a school survey is to educate the public regarding the needs of the schools. Unless it does so effectively and wins general support, it is not only useless, involving useless expenditure, but it may be actually harmful and act as a retarding influence. In contrast with the New York school inquiry as a type of survey which failed to make the most of its opportunities, therefore, the Cleveland survey is a shining example. Taking advantage of the weak points of the New York inquiry, which was a pioneer in the field, it has shown the way toward achieving maximum results for the money expended and for the stupendous and painstaking work a comprehensive school survey entails.

Howard W. Nudd.[1]

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[1] Director, public education association of the city of New York.

modern conditions—there is all the greater reason why he should be enabled to save his soul through his play—

one is prepared for pretty nearly anything in the way of a fad. But perhaps the prize absurdity is a monograph on "Education through Recreation." A few excerpts will suffice:

> The school-room is ill adapted to serve as a laboratory of citizenship or for the practice of democracy. School-room management is established on an almost purely autocratic basis. The teacher is much more like a ruler on a throne than like a president or a parent. Unless other satisfactory provision is made, then, from the standpoint of preparation for citizenship, the recess can no more safely be omitted from the school program than can the study of American history.—Page 15.
>
> Therefore, the organization of intergroup school games in a democratic country is a fundamental duty and unavoidable responsibility of the educational system.—Page 36.
>
> Play, by which is meant the organic predisposition towards characteristic human activity, preceded work in the race as activities preceded subject matter.—Page 86.

The reviewer offers a reward of $5 for the most lucid explanation of the phrase "organic predisposition towards characteristic human activity." It reminds one of Mark Twain's comment that "there is a great deal of human nature in mankind." The contention that "activities preceded subject matter" contains as much error as could possibly be crowded into four words though the phrase serves well to indicate the character of the survey's own activities.

The net result of the survey seems to have been the publication of twenty-five volumes neatly bound and attractive in appearance. The content of the volumes is unimportant except for two things:

First: The fact that the public school system in a typical municipality has failed measurably in that nearly one quarter of the elementary pupils are over age and backward.

Second: That the only conception of a remedy by those who have conducted the survey is to raise to the *n*th power the very theories and methods which have resulted in the breakdown of the public school system.

Albert de Roode.[1]

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[1] Of the New York bar.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

The Consolidation of Governmental Agencies in Illinois.—The recent administrative reorganization in the state of Illinois was based upon an investigation made by an efficiency and economy committee created by the 48th general assembly of Illinois in 1913. This committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Walter I. Manny, selected Prof. John A. Fairlie of the University of Illinois as director, and prepared a very careful and comprehensive report upon all of the state's administrative activities. This report,[1] which covered more than one thousand pages, was submitted to the general assembly in 1915; with the report were submitted drafts of bills which, if adopted, would have reorganized the state administration, and have consolidated the greater part of the public legislation of the state. However, the bills were presented somewhat late in the session, and received little consideration; one or two smaller pieces of legislation were enacted upon the recommendation of the committee, but nothing further was done.

Governor Frank O. Lowden made his campaign for the Republican nomination and for election largely upon the issue of a state administrative reorganization.[2] Upon his election in November, 1916, he at once began tentative drafts of a measure which would bring about this reorganization, and when the legislature met early in January, 1917, a tentative measure was already in form for consideration. Separate committees were constituted in both the house and the senate for the consideration of the proposed administrative consolidation; a bill was agreed upon by the house committee, was passed, and with some amendments enacted by the senate. Upon the report of a conference committee, a bill known as "the civil administrative code" was enacted, and this bill received the governor's approval on March 7. The act comes into effect on July 1.

This code consolidates into nine departments fifty or more functions and departments previously independent of each other. The consolidation is by no means complete, and many of the state functions remain independent of any one of the newly organized departments, but Illinois through this measure has accomplished the most thorough-going administrative reorganization that has yet been achieved in any state. The code has left as it stands the whole tax situation, and Illinois is very badly in need of a small central tax commission, but it seemed necessary that this wait, inasmuch as to attempt an administrative reorganization and a reorganization of the tax system at the same time may well have caused the failure of each.

Under the new code the state government is divided into nine principal departments: Finance, agriculture, labor, mines and minerals, public works and buildings, public welfare, public health, trade and commerce, registration and education. At the head of each is a director who generally has complete supervision over its work. Several boards independent of the directors are continued, such as the public utilities commission, and an industrial commission for the administration of the workmen's compensation act. A number of other boards or commissions are provided, but in general the boards other than the ones specified above are advisory in character, the final authority for action resting in the director. For the five normal schools a different plan was necessary. Each of these has until the present time been under the control of a separate board. The five are now placed under the control of a single board, with the director of education and registration as chairman, and with the superintendent of public instruction (a constitutional officer) as secretary.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 147.

[2] The Hon. Morton D. Hull, state senator from Chicago, who was a candidate for the Republican nomination against Governor Lowden, was largely responsible for forcing this particular issue, which Governor Lowden promptly met and has faithfully fulfilled.—EDITOR.

This consolidation of independent state agencies may properly be regarded as the most important single thing done by the code. However, two other things of importance should be mentioned: (1) As a part of the plan of consolidation, provision is made for substantially all purchases for the state government and its institutions through the new department of public works and buildings. (2) Through the department of finance, budget information is to be collected and a budget is to be submitted to the general assembly by the governor at the beginning of each biennial session. The plans for central purchasing and for a budget could hardly have been carried out without the consolidation of previously independent departments and offices.

This reorganization does not affect either the constitutional or the present statutory functions of the state offices created by the constitution. Other than the governor there are now five: The lieutenant-governor, the attorney-general, the auditor of public accounts, the superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of state and the state treasurer. The lieutenant-governor has no administrative functions, but each of the other constitutional state officers has large functions under the constitution and other functions conferred by statute. For example, the auditor of public accounts has supervision over state banks, and the secretary of state issues licenses for motor vehicles. The state library is and remains under the supervision of the secretary of state.

A number of offices or departments created by statute are also not brought under the new administrative organization. The University of Illinois retains its independent organization; the board of equalization remains the state tax authority; the adjutant-general is not included in the new organization nor is the state civil service commission. Something can still be done by statute to complete the administrative reorganization, and to bring all the executive agencies of the state under the nine new departments. However, so far as the constitutional state officers are concerned, a change can be made only by an amendment or revision of the constitution.

A joint resolution was adopted by the legislature in March providing for the submission to a vote of the people in November, 1918, of the question as to whether a constitutional convention should be assembled. To this convention will fall the determination as to whether the constitutional state officers other than the governor shall be reduced in number or in power, or whether the situation shall be left as it now is. Perhaps the most important thing to be considered by a convention is, however, a general rearrangement of governmental powers, with special reference to the powers of the general assembly. At the present time the latter is so hedged about by constitutional restrictions that the doing of anything in the way of effective legislation is very difficult. Of course it is out of the question as yet to know whether the people will approve of the assembling of a convention, but the movement for a convention has been under way for a number of years, and popular sentiment seems at the present time to be quite strongly in its favor.

Under the new administrative code a number of directors of departments have already been appointed, and in their appointment the governor has sought the best men whom he could prevail upon to serve, without reference to political considerations. The new administrative organization will therefore get under way upon the first of July, 1917, under conditions which promise very well for its success.[1]

W. F. Dodd.

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[1] We had hoped to have an equally comprehensive account of the Kansas legislation to the same effect, promoted by the Hon. Arthur Capper, governor of that state, but the necessary data have not been received in time, and so it will not be treated until the July issue.—Editor.

North Carolina's Optional City Charter and Municipal Finance Laws.—The North Carolina legislature of 1915 provided for the submission to the people of the state of four amendments to the state constitution, which were adopted by the voters at the November, 1916, election. They contained provisions greatly restricting the powers of the legislature in the matter of local, private, and special legislation, and, in particular, making it the duty of the legislature "to provide by general laws for the organization of cities, towns, and incorporated villages, and to restrict their power of taxation, assessment, borrowing money, contracting debts, and loaning their credit, so as to prevent abuses in assessment and in contracting debts by such municipal corporations."

The act submitting the above amendments to the people provided that, if adopted, they should become effective January 10, 1917. When the legislature of 1917 met on January 3, members introduced and pressed many hundreds of local and special bills which they desired to pass before the constitutional amendments came into force. A large proportion of these bills were measures desired in cities, towns, and villages to authorize local projects or regulations. In view of the avalanche of measures which had to be dealt with in six legislative days, both houses appointed a number of special committees to examine and report on the proposed measures with all possible speed. As the result, some five or six hundred local and special measures became law before January 10, a period in the ordinary legislative session when there would be practically no output of laws.

The North Carolina bar association had, before the legislative session, appointed a committee to prepare a draft of a general law for the organization of cities, which should be advocated in the legislature as a compliance with the requirement of the constitutional amendment. A committee from the Carolina league of municipalities co-operated with the bar association in this work. The joint committee of the two bodies finally agreed on an optional city charter bill and a municipal finance bill. The former became law on March 6, and the latter on March 5, 1917.

In the main, the new municipal government law continues in force general and special laws which have been hitherto enacted for the government of cities. It contains a comprehensive statement of the powers conferred upon the governing bodies of the cities of the state. Where it confers greater powers than those already possessed by cities governed under special charters, the new powers are supplementary to those already possessed under the special charters. Machinery is provided whereby any city of the state may at its option, by vote of the people, adopt instead of its present system of government one of the general plans of government described in the law.

Plan A provides for city government by a mayor and a city council elected biennially, the council being of from three to nine members, according to the population of the city, elected at large. Nine members are provided in cities of over 20,000 inhabitants. The council has the legislative powers of the city and elects all heads of departments and members of the city boards. The mayor may, with the approval of the majority of the members of the city council, remove heads of departments. The mayor is given the veto power, but he may be overruled by a two-thirds vote of the city council.

Plan B provides for a mayor, with a city council elected partly by wards and partly at large, the council to be composed of eleven or twelve members, varying with the number of wards in the city. Each ward is to have one member, and the remaining members are to be elected at large. The respective powers of the mayor and council are similar to those granted under Plan A, except that the mayor's veto may be set aside by a simple majority of the council.

Plan C is the commission form of government with three commissioners elected by the people to their respective departments. The mayor is to be commissioner of administration and finance, to preside over the board of commissioners, to represent the city formally, and to exercise a general supervision and oversight over the affairs of the city, reporting delinquencies of officers to the board. The other members of the board are the commissioners of public works and of public safety. This plan includes the initiative, referendum and recall. Two candidates for each commissionership are selected in a primary open to anyone who files proper notice and pays the sum of $5. The final election is restricted to the candidates nominated in the primary.

Plan D provides for a mayor, city council, and city manager. The council is to consist of five members elected biennially at large. The member of the city council who receives the highest vote is to be mayor. The council possesses all the legislative powers of the city, and appoints a city manager to hold office during its pleasure. The city manager is to be appointed with regard to merit only, need not be a resident when appointed, has full powers to appoint and remove city officers and employes, and is responsible for the administration of all departments. He must report his acts to the council.

Plans A and D may also be submitted to the voters of a city with the addition of the initiative, referendum, and recall.

After providing these plans, the new law goes even farther and give the cities of the state a broad authority to frame charter amendments for themselves, or even to adopt new "home rule" charters which meet their peculiar requirements better than the above plans. Such amendments and charters may be adopted when not in conflict with the constitution and general laws of the state, and machinery for the purpose is provided in the law just enacted.

Charlotte, Durham, and other cities of the state are already preparing to take advantage of the new law. An election on the city-manager plan has been ordered in Durham.

The municipal finance act will be of great importance in securing uniform and systematic financial administration in North Carolina cities. It makes detailed requirements with respect to the preparation of an annual budget in every city of the state. It places important restrictions upon the borrowing power of cities, regulates the length and manner of bond issues for various city purposes, and the taxing power of cities, and establishes methods to be used in appropriating money.

William H. Glasson.

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Charter Revisions.—*Kansas* is now in line to contribute its share to the advance of the city-manager movement. A law enacted in February applies to cities of all classes, and though an independent act in form, is virtually a supplement of the several commission government laws. Under its terms the number of commissioners is the same as under the commission government law applying to the city, but the salaries of the commissioners are reduced. The city manager is given the usual powers of appointment, removal and supervision.

A peculiar feature of the law is that which gives the city manager the option of requiring the appointment of a civil service commission as established by the provisions of article XVII of chapter 18 of the general statutes of 1915. This would seem to be founded upon an unusual, though by no means indefensible, conception of the merit principle as an administrative aid to the executive rather than as a check against a possible abuse of the appointing power on his part.

The law may be adopted by popular election held upon petition of 25 per cent of the number of voters voting for mayor at the last preceding municipal election. Already the law has been adopted in Wichita and El Dorado (March 10). The action on the part of the former is particularly significant, inasmuch as the "regular" form of commission government has been in operation there.

The constitutionality of this law has been affirmed by the supreme court in the case of the *State* v. *Bentley*.

In *Indiana* a law permitting cities to adopt either the commission or city-manager form passed the lower house but did not get out of committee in the senate. Indiana is still without legislation permitting cities to adopt any form of simplified government.

In *Kansas City*, on March 6, a charter, which provided the city-manager form of government with such modifications as are necessary under the Missouri constitution, was defeated by a vote of 16,181 to 16,119. Four sevenths of the total vote, or 18,457, would have been necessary to carry. The charter was fought by the saloon organization, which controls the congested district where transient laborers congregate, and also by the mayor and his organization, and by a minority of the members of the board of freeholders which drafted the charter. All but five of the wards gave the charter a comfortable majority. The mayor has promised to appoint a new charter board which will be under no obligations. The previous board which brought out the defeated charter was supposedly committed to the mayor's "Kansas City plan," but a majority of them broke away to advocate city-manager government.

Alameda, California, adopted an up-to-date commission manager charter on January 9. This is a residential suburb of San Francisco and Oakland and has a population of about 30,000. The members of the council under this new instrument (five in number) will be elected by a system of preferential voting. A notable feature of the charter is the absence of a detailed list of municipal powers. Section 4 of article 11, which covers the subject, reads as follows:

> Sec. 4. Powers of the Council. Subject to the provisions and restrictions in this charter contained, and the valid delegation by this charter of any of the powers hereinafter included to any person, officer, board or committee, which delegation of power, if any, shall control, the council shall have power in the name of the city to do and perform all acts and things appropriate to a municipal corporation and the general welfare of its inhabitants and which are not specifically forbidden by the constitution of the state or which now or hereafter would be competent for this charter specifically to enumerate; and no enumeration or specific statement herein of any particular powers shall be held to be exclusive or a limitation of the foregoing general grant of power. The council shall have the power to delegate any of the powers conferred on or vested in it.

The city manager has the usual powers, except that the appointment of the board of library trustees and of the board of education lies with the mayor, while an auditor and a treasurer are popularly elected and the city attorney and the city clerk are chosen by the council. The city manager may be removed upon a four-fifths vote of the council. The president of the council is *ex-officio* mayor.

The city-manager law passed this year in *Montana* permits the adoption of the city-manager plan by any city by special election called upon petition of 50 per cent of the registered voters. In cities of less than 25,000 inhabitants, the number of commissioners provided for is three, and in all other cities, five. The powers of the commission and the city manager are the usual ones conferred upon such officers, subject to the operation of the initiative, referendum and recall.

The *Idaho* legislature this year also passed an optional commission-manager law available for cities having a population of 2,500 and over. The number of commissioners in any city having less than 15,000 would be five, in those of from 15,000 to 50,000, seven, and in large cities nine. The city manager would exercise the usual powers under such laws. Movements for the adoption of this act are under way in Coeur d'Alene and Pocatello.

The proposed charter for *Tiffin, Ohio*, was defeated on March 27 by a vote of 1,251 to 1,225.

Bryan, Texas, adopted an orthodox commission-manager charter on March 23 by a vote of 287 to 224.

H. S. Gilbertson.

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Powers of First Class Cities in Washington.—The situation in the state of Washington with respect to the power of first-class cities to deal with their local utilities has not changed materially since the publication of the article on "Municipal vs. state control of public utilities," by Prof. J. Allen Smith, January, 1914.[1] Every session of the legislature has brought forth its crop of bills promoted by the public utility interests and also proposals to place the powers of first-class cities upon a more secure foundation through the adoption of a suitable amendment to the constitution of Washington. Practically all of this proposed legislation in the interests of public utilities has been blocked either through the opposition of the cities before the legislature or through the intervention of the referendum. There has been, however, not the slightest degree of success for the efforts to amend the constitution in the interests of home rule. The legislature represents the rural interests of the state, the urban population being notoriously under-represented in that body, and this in spite of express and mandatory provisions in the constitution of Washington which require a re-apportionment strictly in accordance with population every five years. It may be of interest to mention that the legislature of 1914 passed a certificate of public necessity bill in response to the demands of the lobby maintained by the utility interests. The object which this had in view was to curb the tendency of cities to adopt a municipal ownership program. The legislature also submitted a constitutional amendment which was designed to restrict the right to vote in all cases involving the public credit or public property to tax-paying citizens of the state or the locality. The chief purpose of this was also to discourage municipal ownership by confining the right to vote on such propositions to those who it was thought would be the least friendly towards such a policy. Both of these propositions were overwhelmingly defeated in every county in the state. The certificate of public necessity bill was voted down by 201,742 votes to 46,820. The proposed amendment was also defeated by 180,179 to 88,963.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. iii, p. 34.

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Sacramento Sustains Commission Government.—Sacramento, Cal., has defeated by 740 (4,999 for 5,739 against) votes a new charter substituting for the present city commission a mayor and ward council plan. This represented the first organized attempt to abandon the commission charter adopted in 1911. Soon after it went into effect its friends felt the need for providing some harmonizing agency between the five independent commissioners and their departments. Action looking toward such a modification was not taken, however, until early in 1916 when opponents of commission government organized a new charter club with a platform denouncing the present government and declaring for a return to the mayor and council plan voted out in 1911. A counter organization in the form of a business men's league was thereupon launched, in favor of reducing the commission from five to three members and creating a manager of accountancy with duties resembling those of a city manager. Rival tickets were named for the board of freeholders.

A commissionership election was held on the same day as the freeholder election and overshadowed the latter to the extent that over 40 per cent of those voting for commissioner failed to vote for freeholders. The board named consisted of nine members on the mayor and council ticket, four on the charter ticket and two on both tickets. The result was interpreted by the new charter club members as an order from the people to frame a mayor and council charter and accordingly they refused at the outset to listen to any alternative propositions.

The charter which was framed called for a mayor with broad executive powers, a council of eleven nominated by as many wards from among residents therein, to be elected at large, and a superintendent of operations in charge of technical and engineering work, after the plan prevailing in San Diego. An alternative section provided for election of councilmen by wards instead of at large. The article on franchises provided for the indeterminate franchise and also permitted a blanket franchise to be given any existing holder of several franchises and good for the term of the longest franchise then held.

Opposition to the new charter concentrated on the ward system and the franchise privileges. A movement started since the charter election to alter the present commission charter has been postponed because of the impossibility of securing the approval of the state legislature before the 1919 session.

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County Government in Wisconsin.—A county commission bill introduced in the Wisconsin legislature has been indefinitely postponed, and those who are in touch with the situation think that the hope of getting any legislation of the kind through the present legislature is remote. One difficulty in that state is that most of the members of the legislature have been members of county boards. They are recruited from these rather than from city councils or from other public offices. Therefore in the judgment of close observers it will be a slow process to get the legislature very materially to modify the county board system.

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Proportional Representation.—On December 11, 1916, Calgary, Alberta, acting under authority granted by the recent act of the provincial legislature, adopted proportional representation for the election of its governing bodies. The campaign for the reform had been begun early in the fall by a committee under the leadership of W. D. Spence. The result was the ratification of the by-law by a vote of 2,840 to 1,374. On December 13 the by-law was formally passed by the council and signed by the mayor, as required by the act of the legislature, and it is therefore now in effect for all future city elections. The system adopted is the Hare system.

Though not directly bearing on city affairs, the report of the British conference on electoral reform is of great interest to all students of government. The conference, which was appointed in August, 1916, by the Asquith government, included leading members of all the parties. Its report, made public on January 27, recommended several radical changes in British electoral methods. One of the most important, on which the conference was unanimous, was that the members of the House of Commons from the larger cities and the universities should hereafter be elected by the Hare system. It is expected, of course, that the unanimous recommendations of this conference will soon be enacted into law.

C. G. Hoag, general secretary of the proportional representation league, made a tour of the middle west in the interests of proportional representation in January, February, and March. His addresses were mostly before city clubs, chambers of commerce, and organizations interested in new city charters. Among the city clubs addressed were those of Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. He found the sentiment in favor of proportional representation much stronger than he expected. The reform is now more or less an issue in a number of cities, including Jamestown, N. Y., Cleveland and Hamilton, Ohio, Kalamazoo, Brainerd, Minn., Vermillion, S. D., St. Louis, and Lincoln, Neb.

In many places where the commission-manager plan is an issue, those who oppose the plan on the ground that it is not completely democratic readily accept it if it is to rest on the basis of a council elected by the proportional system. Thus in some places it appears to be actually easier to carry a manager plan charter with proportional representation than without it. An instance of this situation is furnished by Jamestown, N. Y. There the manager plan movement was at first actively opposed by Mayor Carlson, whose influence is indicated by the fact that he has been elected mayor five times. But when Mr. Hoag, in an address under the auspices of the Jamestown charter committee of one hundred, advocated proportional representation in connection with the manager plan, the combination was readily accepted by Mayor Carlson as well as by prominent advocates of the manager feature.

Albert B. Maris[1].

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The Missouri State Public Service Commission has set aside special water rates to manufacturers fixed by the St. Louis board of aldermen. The rates are not actually suspended, time being given to revise them.

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[1] Assistant secretary, American Proportional Representation League.

The complaint was brought by the civic league of St. Louis on the ground that the rates were unjustly discriminatory, for they provided a charge for water for manufacturing purposes three times as low as for the same quantity for other purposes. The special rates were passed unanimously by the board of aldermen and supported by most of the newspapers, on the ground that it was a good thing for the city to encourage manufacturing by lowering water rates, even at the expense of the public.

As a result of the commission's decision the St. Louis board of aldermen and city officials from Kansas City and St. Joseph have determined to ask the legislature to amend the public service commission act, to take from that body entirely any power over the rates or service of municipally owned utilities.

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St. Louis's Free Bridge.—After eleven years of controversy St. Louis opened her municipal "free bridge" to street traffic on January 20. The bridge was started in 1906 as a means of abolishing the trans-Mississippi tolls on passengers and freight. Every other bridge crossing the river at or near St. Louis is controlled by the Terminal Railway Association, composed of all the railroads entering St. Louis. Tolls are still charged.

The railroad deck of the bridge will not be finished for another year. Unforeseen engineering and financial difficulties delayed the completion of the bridge far beyond the period anticipated. It promises, however, to be the central point in an elaborate municipally-owned railway terminal system, which is being gradually developed through the acquisition by the city of tracts leased out to the railroads.

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Milwaukee Division of Motor Vehicles.—The recent move of the city of Milwaukee in creating a central division of motor vehicles and municipal garage, is in line with the basic principle of all scientific management. It recognizes the functional theory in organization and management.

The central division is a part of the bureau of bridges and public buildings and controls some forty of the city's sixty odd cars. Some of these cars are kept in the central garage; others at various outlying stations. Some cars are especially assigned while others are livery cars for the use of various departments.

The theory upon which the plan is based is broader than that of a mere garage since it is planned ultimately to include the supervision of all motor vehicles whether kept in the garage or not.

Some savings will be made through better use of cars, but the largest gains are anticipated through better operation and maintenance and the purchase of less expensive cars for inspection work.

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Increased Salaries for Dayton's Employes.—In drafting the 1917 budget, Dayton allowed an increase of about $25,000 over 1916 in salaries, while additions in number of employes bring the total increase to $60,000. These increases are made in recognition of the increased cost of living; in accordance with the salary standardization of the civil service board; and because of greater responsibility of some officials and their better acquaintance with their work, due to three years' successful experience under the commission-manager form of government.

The rules of the civil service board provide for salary increases after six months if the employe fills the position satisfactorily. The amount of increase is $60 per year, in most cases. The salaries of 132 policemen and 151 firemen were increased from $960 to $1,020 per year.

A number of salary increases were granted in the unclassified service, which includes the heads of departments and divisions and executive officers of boards appointed by and responsible to the city commission. Increases in salary from $2,400 to $3,000 were allowed the superintendent of streets, superintendent of water, and the city purchasing agent. Increases from $2,400 to $2,700 per year were given the clerk of the commission, secretary of the civil service board, and secretary of the city manager; and an increase of $2,700 to $3,000 to the city engineer. Through promotion and reorganization of force, a number of employes will receive salary increases amounting to a few hundred dollars each.

Reports from other cities in Ohio, notably Toledo and Akron, indicate that those cities were forced to reduce both the salaries and the number of employes, while Dayton is able to proceed with its usual activities and still make merited salary increases. This condition is made possible almost entirely by the increased revenues arising from a business-like management of municipal undertakings. The anticipated revenues from the water works utility are $21,000 greater, and from the garbage reduction plant $50,000 greater than last year. The city will receive only $45,000 more from taxes than was received last year, but its anticipated revenues from all other sources are $107,000 greater.

C. E. Rightor.

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Chicago's Department of Public Welfare and Morals Commission.—For several years Chicago has endeavored to maintain a department of public welfare, largely as a football in politics. Following the vice commission of which Dean (now Bishop) Sumner was chairman, a morals commission was authorized, but this, too, seems to have met obstacles which have interfered with its development. As a result the bureau and the commission are now "flat," to use a Chicago expression, because the finance committee of the council has failed to appropriate money for either. Editorials in leading papers concerning these two bodies maintain that they have accomplished nothing of real significance, and that in the case of the morals commission some of the ill-advised acts of the secretary have brought the commission into disrepute. The last thing the latter did was to write on the commission's letterheads an endorsement of a play then running in the city about which there was considerable doubt.

The department of public welfare has produced a study of public comfort stations which is said to be commendable, and a charities directory, as well as a loan shark number of its bulletin. This latter piece of work was actually done by a post-graduate student at the University of Chicago, although adopted by and published by the bureau.

At no time has the bureau had the support of the social workers of the city.

Concerning the morals commission, a correspondent says: "The commission at the request of the finance committee submitted a résumé of its work during the last year. It was a pathetic rehearsal of childish looking for something to do, of taking up one field after another and general problems which were illy defined and never completed. It is a notable fact that literally none of the social, religious or civic agencies of the city has said a word in defense of either department."

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An Anti-Bootleg Ordinance. — Experience in Denver, as well as in other municipal centers throughout the country where state-wide prohibition has been established, has shown that this reform imposes a very serious duty upon a large city. It is the city, with its wide opportunities for concealment of traffic, that appeals most strongly to the bootlegger. The police force, however well disciplined and alert, finds itself battling with almost insuperable obstacles under such circumstances.

Denver was inflicted with the usual calamities attendent upon bootlegging when the state went dry on January 1, 1916. The police court was crowded with law violators, who peddled injurious liquors, highly adulterated with wood alcohol. A conviction in police court meant an immediate appeal to the county court, and the bootlegger went on operating as before. By the time his case was decided in the higher court he had made several times the amount of the fine assessed. The district attorney filed informations in the criminal court, but found it almost impossible to secure a jury which would find the bootlegger guilty. Dockets of all these courts became clogged and the bootleggers merrily proceeded.

It was when this situation had been reached that the municipal authorities decided to treat the matter from a health standpoint. An ordinance was drawn declaring the importation of poisonous and adulterated liquors into Denver to be dangerous to the life and reason of the inhabitants. The ordinance then provided that all liquor brought into the city should be inspected by a bureau of the health department before it could be used by the recipient. In order to work as little hardship upon those shipping liquor into the state for home use, under the provisions of the dry law, the city administration provided that transfer and express companies should furnish a list of all liquor shipments received. The ordinance did not interfere with interstate commerce.

Mayor Robert W. Speer recommended the adoption of the bill and it was speedily put into execution as an emergency measure. Complaints from the shipping companies were met with facts furnished by the county hospital and by reliable physicians, which proved conclusively that bootleg whiskey had caused insanity, blindness and other physical ills.

At first there was some complaint, but it came entirely from those interested in some way in delivering the goods, or selling them. The public instantly recognized the necessity for the law and supported it. The carriers fell in line within a few days and even gave the city inspectors the right to place a man in their offices to examine the shipments. Transfer companies sent notices to outside shippers that they would receive no more contraband liquor and several of the distilleries sent notices to customers advising them that liquor would be sold to them in the future only when subject to inspection by the municipal authorities of Denver. After several months' test it appears that the ordinance is a success. A practical result has been that fees for inspection are paying for the cost of administration, thus making the liquor traffic justly pay its way. The cost of police administration had become approximately $50,000 a year for bootleg suppression alone, when the ordinance was adopted.

W. H. Sharpley, M.D.[1]

II. POLITICS[2]

The Recall in Lawrence, Kansas.—The present Mayor Francisco was chosen when commission government first went into operation. At the primary before the election he was the dark horse. His own friends did not believe he could be one of the candidates. But because of the splitting up of the electorals he was one of the two highest on the primary ballot. His opponent was a comparatively short-time resident, the old political crowd rallied to Francisco's support, and he was elected by a fair majority. He had the backing of many about town who had known him as the proprietor of a local livery business.

He drew the short term and came up for re-election after a year's service. Again the field was free of candidates. The substantial voters supported three or four different candidates any one of which would have satisfied the voters better than Francisco. Together they polled a large proportion of the vote but as luck would have it the mayor was nominated along with a small bore lawyer whose chief financial interest is in a string of very poor residences in the east end rented to negroes. So works the non-partisan primary! A preferential ballot might have saved the day.

The voters were thus compelled to support the mayor against the other candidates and enough did to elect him. Many refrained from voting. During the campaign a strong movement for writing in another name appeared but fearing that this ruse would work to the advantage of the less desirable candidate many discouraged it.

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[1] Manager of health and charity, Denver, Colo.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

The mayor was re-elected. Thereupon a combination with the commissioner of finance was formed and these two have been the government since. The commissioner of public utilities, more capable and probably more devoted to the city's interest, has been outvoted and systematically discredited. That he has a following in the town, however, is shown by the present movement to recall Mayor Francisco.

There is at this writing a petition on the table in the city hall, signed by one fourth of the qualified voters (over one thousand) asking for a recall upon the mayor and offering a retired confectioner as the opposing candidate. This petition cites incompetence and incapacity on the part of the mayor. His record in the police department is quite unsatisfactory. When it was presented the commissioner of utilities offered a motion to receive it and call an election. This was voted down. The mayor, upon advice of the city attorney, offered a motion to table it. This was passed 2 to 1.

The justification for such action is found in the conflicting recall provisions of the Kansas law. In 1913, the state adopted a constitutional amendment which provides that the signers of a recall petition must certify that they voted for the officer sought to be recalled. The earlier law of commission government had no such limitation, and it is under this law that this petition was filed. The city attorney and the mayor's attorney hold that the amendment repeals the law though there has been no court decision upon this point. The administration thus puts the burden of having the election called upon the signers of the petition and refuses to make any further move. Some of the petitioners seem inclined to take the question to the courts.

C. A. Dykstra.

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Seattle's Mayor in Trouble Again.—Mayor Hiram C. Gill of Seattle is in trouble again. This time he has been indicted along with his chief of police and a former sheriff for conspiracy to violate the interstate commerce and federal liquor laws and for an acceptance of bribes in connection with that conspiracy. Concerning this interesting event, *The Independent* (New York) is responsible for the following statement:

> Mayor Gill was recalled from office in 1910, ran again unsuccessfully in 1912, was elected again in 1914 by a majority as the candidate of the reform forces, and re-elected to a third term last March. During the past year Mayor Gill has enforced the prohibition law with severity and effectiveness. By his activity against the liquor traffic since his return to office he has earned the whole-hearted support of the "dry" interests and the equally hearty hostility of the "wets."
>
> It is true he has been indicted by a federal grand jury, on the charge of accepting a bribe from a firm of druggists for protection in the illegal selling of liquor.
>
> But when it is known that the complainants and chief witnesses against the mayor are the druggists in question, whose stores Mr. Gill had raided, the case looks not quite so clear against him. In the course of the raid casks and bottles containing over two thousand gallons of liquor had been smashed and the liquor thrown away. Both druggists on their own plea of guilty have been convicted of the illegal sale of liquor.
>
> There the case stands. In common with all good citizens, we shall assume Mayor Gill to be innocent until he is proven guilty. . . . In fairness to Mayor Gill we should reiterate that he has the steadfast support of the prohibition forces in Seattle and the bitter hostility of those who are attempting to carry on the surreptitious and illegal sale of liquor.

A local authority makes the following statement with regard to him:

> Mayor Gill's recent career has been stormy. In March, 1910, after he had been in city politics twelve years most of that time as councilman, Gill was elected mayor of Seattle. Almost immediately his administration was assailed for alleged toleration of vice, and in the spring of 1911 Gill was removed from office by the recall, with women voting for the first time. Subsequently Charles W. Wappenstein, his chief of police, was sentenced to the state penitentiary for accepting a bribe. Gill ran for mayor in 1912, asking vindication, and was defeated; but in 1914 he was elected mayor by a majority, running as a good government candidate, and being supported by many persons who were prominent in the movement that recalled him. Gill was re-elected mayor in March, 1916. When

the prohibition law was adopted Gill promised that it would be rigidly enforced, and raids upon bars at which liquor was sold in violation of law resulted in demolition of fittings valued at nearly $100,000 and seizure and demolition of vast supplies of liquor. Gill has been a champion of the prohibition law, writing and speaking in its favor and receiving much commendation from prohibition leaders.[1]

⁂

Proposed Charter for San Diego County.[2]—The principal objections urged against the San Diego county charter were: "First and foremost, that it was 'un-American' in that it disfranchised the voter and deprived him of his inherent and much beloved right to select his servants by ballot; that appointing officials and the use of the short ballot, while it might do for a principle in private matters, was inherently wrong when applied to the public business; second, the machine—that the provision for the governor's appointing the supervisors (there are five under the present law) would turn the business of the county over to the governor's personal representative, who would thereby at one stroke become the grand political boss, also that the manager appointed by a board thus composed would be little more than a political arranger, who with the aid of civil service would find his way paved with roses of gold, with few possible thorns of interference; that the board of welfare provisions tended to a dangerous centralization of power that would build up a medical trust, and that the civil service provisions were almost criminally bad and the three commissioners proposed were in the near political speeches dubbed 'the three wise men.'"

These reasons which are set forth by a careful observer of events in California would seem to indicate that even there the old political philosophy is pretty firmly entrenched, and that progress is by no means a thing of easy accomplishment.

The same correspondent expressed his opinion that the real reason for the defeat of the charter was the reduction in the pay of the present supervisors who now receive in salary and fees $3,000 a year. This would have been cut down to a $400 maximum under the proposed charter. To be sure it relieved them at the same time of practically all the duties for which their present pay is presumably given. In the words of this observer, "Had the charter remained as drawn in every particular save one, and that one had been a change to a flat salary of $3,500 a year for supervisors, it would in my belief have been adopted."

⁂

Municipal Progress in Leading Michigan Cities.—The voters of *Grand Rapids* having adopted a charter embodying some of the essential features of the city-manager form of government at the election of April 3, showed great discrimination in their choice of men to carry the plan into effect. "It is a better body of men," in the words of the Grand Rapids *Herald*, "than even the most optimistic proponent of government had dared hope for. All of the new commissioners are able executives. Each has been successful in his chosen field and each has enjoyed that experience which fits him for a place among the board of directors of such an enormous corporation as the city of Grand Rapids." It is interesting to note that the new council has under consideration among others the name of Henry M. Waite as its first city manager.

In *Kalamazoo* the issue was the election of a charter commission, and as a result of the educational campaign carried on by the new charter league, an unusually capable and experienced group of men was elected.

In *Detroit* the voters decided to separate municipal elections from state and national ones, and elected a progressive board of education as has been noted elsewhere.

⁂

Detroit School Board.—Last August at the regular primary election the electors of Detroit voted to substitute a seven-member board of education elected at large for the 21-member school board elected by wards. Women as well as men are eligible both as members and as voters. At the primary election on March 7, 64 candidates were offered on party tickets, seven to be nominated by each party. From the nominations thus made the voters elected a new board on April 2. With the help of the citizens' school board committee, whose organization was in a measure inspired by officers of the Detroit citizens' league, a fine field of capable candidates was secured. As a result of the election on April 2 the committee's recommendations were followed by the voters. In the words of W. P. Lovett, executive secretary of the Detroit citizens' league, "It was a unanimous victory for the forces of progress and shows what can be done by careful co-operation and persistence. Without question our new school board will enter its large task under very favorable auspices, and we will have a chance to try out the new plan with promise of success."

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[1] Since this note was written Mayor Gill has been acquitted.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 277.

⁂

Pastoriza Elected Mayor of Houston.—On February 23, J. J. Pastoriza was nominated at the Democratic primary for the office of mayor of Houston. This is equivalent to election. Pastoriza, who has been a commissioner for a number of terms, was opposed by the big daily papers and by the big interests, but his platform of "Let the people rule" proved effective. Commissioner Pastoriza has been a conspicuous advocate of the single tax. The vote, which was a preferential one, was as follows: Pastoriza, 6,290; Robinson, 5,213; Vann, 4,277; Masterson, 1,971.

⁂

Colorado Springs Election.—The voters of Colorado Springs defeated the proposition to go on a city-manager basis, by voting by a vote of 2,521 for the proposition to 3,588 against the proposition. This is properly regarded as a very interesting result of a campaign which lasted only three weeks. At the same time they voted to annex Colorado City, that community voting to the same effect. Charles L. McKesson, who for four years has been mayor of the city, was defeated by a partisan candidate, the mayor running on a non-partisan ticket.

⁂

Woman's Suffrage in Ohio.—The supreme court of Ohio having sustained the provision of the new charter of East Cleveland giving women in that municipality the right to vote, other Ohio cities are planning to give the votes to women in municipal elections, Springfield being the first to take steps to avail itself of this privilege.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS[1]

Rate Regulation.—In *Woodburn* v. *Public Service Commission*,[2] the supreme court of Oregon decided that the right to regulate telephone rates is a matter for the public service commission because it is of general concern. Notwithstanding the fact that Woodburn enjoyed home rule and had granted a franchise to the company, the court held that the constitution does not extend the power of municipalities over subjects not properly municipal and germane to the purposes for which municipal corporations are formed; that the possibilities of the exercise of the police power of the state is an implied term in the contract, and, therefore, does not work an impairment of the obligation of the contract.

⁂

Referendum — Sunday Baseball. — In *Levering* v. *Board of Supervisors*,[3] the court of appeals of Maryland decided that the statute[4] relating to referenda applies only to matters referred to the people by the legislature, such as local option, and not to a city ordinance permitting amateur athletic games on Sunday afternoon. There is no authority in the city charter to refer such questions to the people.

⁂

Adverse Possession.—The general rule is that title by adverse possession cannot be acquired against a municipal corporation while it is acting in its governmental capacity. The authorities, however, are divided on this point. But where a city is acting in its corporate or proprietary capacity a person holding a piece of property by adverse possession can acquire an indefeasible title. In *Robinson* v. *Lemp*,[1] Boise City was estopped from asserting any title or claim to certain land not used for governmental purposes.[2]

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the decisions are those of the court of last resort in the state mentioned.

[2] 161 Pacific 391.

[3] 99 Atlantic 360.

[4] Code Pub. Civ. Laws, article 33, §54, 55, 57.

⁂

Public Garage and Zoning.—In *Dangel* v. *Williams*,[3] the court of chancery of Delaware held invalid an ordinance prohibiting the erection of public garages in the residential section of Wilmington without the consent of the adjoining owners as an unreasonable, unwarranted and not uniform delegation of the power to make building regulations. The police power granted by the city charter must be exercised by the legislative branch and cannot be delegated to an individual. This is in line with a rather narrow construction by the Delaware courts of the meaning of delegation of legislative power.

⁂

Exemption from Liability for Park Accidents.—In *Cornelisen* v. *Atlanta*,[4] the court of appeals of Georgia, sustaining the decision of the supreme court[5] held that where a city maintains a park primarily for the use of the public, intended as a place of resort for pleasure and the promotion of the health of the public at large, its operation is in virtue of the governmental powers of the municipality and no municipal liability would attach to the non-performance or improper performance of the duties of the officers, agents, or servants of the city in respect to keeping the park safe for use by members of the general public. It would not affect the public character of the duties of the officers, agents or servants of the city that a purely incidental profit might result to the city from its operation or management of the park. But if the city, having charter authority, maintained the park primarily as a source of revenue, the duty of maintaining it in a safe condition for the use for which it is intended would be ministerial, and municipal liability would attach for breach of such duty.

⁂

Streets as Playgrounds.—Two boys were killed by the caving in of a sewer trench which a village was constructing through the centre of its principal street. The trench was open and uncurbed; the soil was sandy and liable to cave. The boys were playing on the street, although a playground was close by. The contractor knew that the boys played around the trench and warned them away whenever he saw them. Nobody saw them at the time of the accident. In *Barrett* v. *Village of Princeton*,[6] and in *Jesmer* v. *Same*, the supreme court of Minnesota held that the boys were not trespassers and that the village would have been liable had there been evidence of negligence. There are two lines of cases on this point and this decision joins those holding that even if streets are used for play, the children are owed a duty of care.[7]

⁂

Punishment by State and City for Same Offense.—In *Shreveport* v. *Nejin*,[8] it was decided that the city council had the right to declare a "blind tiger" a public nuisance and to order it abated with penalty. The defendant was convicted under an ordinance which was upheld[9] and was declared to have been repealed[10] by a state law upon the same subject, only in so far as the two were inconsistent. The chief justice in a long opinion dissented, saying that since the city is only an agent for the state the question of double punishment by the same sovereignty is raised. He pointed out that punishment by the United States and by a state of the same person for offenses against both is quite different.[11]

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[1] 161 Pacific 1024.

[2] Virginia Law Review (March, 1917) 492.

[3] 99 Atlantic 84.

[4] 91 S. E. 510.

[5] 91 S. E. 415.

[6] 160 N. W. 190.

[7] Columbia Law Review (March, 1917) 252.

[8] 73 Southern 313.

[9] 134 Louisiana 490.

[10] 136 Louisiana 770.

[11] Virginia Law Review (March, 1917) 488.

Municipal Regulation of Street Car Fares.—In *Willis* v. *Rochester*,[1] the New York laws of 1915[2] amending the charter of Rochester[3] and providing for regulation of fares on street cars was held not to be unconstitutional as taking property without compensation. The court said: "As the rate of fare is a matter of municipal and public interest, it would not be so very extraordinary to find in a city charter some regulation of the terms and conditions upon which street railroads should operate, which might include the fixing of rates of fare." The amendment in question was annexing the village of Charlotte and taking over three miles of the right of way of the trolley company. Subdivision 2 of the act of 1915 provided for a 5 cent fare for a continuous ride to any part of the city, including the annexed portion.

In view of a recent decision of the United States supreme court, this New York case, if taken up on appeal, may go the other way. In the cases of the *Detroit United Railway* v. *Michigan* and the same against Detroit, decided on December 11, 1916,[4] Mr. Justice Pitney said: "We still think that the acquisition of the city lines by the plaintiff in error, and its subsequent acquisition of the suburban lines, did not bind it to put the reduced fare provisions in effect upon the suburban lines if and when the city limits should thereafter be extended to include any parts of the latter."

Because of section 10 of article 1 of the constitution of the United States, the court said that it was not within the power of the state, by subsequent legislation, to impair a contract, and since the judgment of the state supreme court[5] gave that effect to the annexation acts of 1905 and 1907, and to the ordinance of 1889, so as to impair the obligation of a contract, the judgment of the Michigan court against the street railway was reversed. Mr. Justice Clarke and Mr. Justice Brandeis dissented. The former said: "The passing of the valid extension act merely created a situation under which the implied condition existing in the fare contract from beginning, finds an application to the new territory." He held that no federal question was before the court, since the contract clause protects against decisions of courts only when such decisions give effect to a constitution adopted or law passed subsequent to the date of the contract. The decision of the supreme court of Michigan in his opinion gave effect not to the terms of the extension act but to the contract between the city and the street car company, and the most that can be said is that the court gave an erroneous interpretation of the contract.

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Public Use.—In *State* v. *Omaha & C. B. St. Ry. Co.*,[6] the trolley company was obliged to move its wires so that a house could be moved along the street. Under a general ordinance requiring temporary removal of poles and wires, moving a building was held to be a public use of the street. The company had to pay the expenses of removing the poles and wires.

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State Control of Municipal Water Supply.—The city of Helena, in *Public Service Commission* v. *Helena*,[7] declined to submit to the supervision of the public service commission over its water system and the lower court sustained the city. It seems that the city under article 13, section 6, of the Montana constitution empowering the legislature to authorize an extended indebtedness for public water supply, providing the city owns and controls the works, had invested in a water system and was claiming exemption from control and regulation of the public service commission, created by the laws of 1913, chapter 52. The court held that the city was acting in a proprietary not in a governmental capacity, and was therefore exempt from the control and regulation of the state commission.

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[1] 114 N. E. 851.

[2] Chapter 359.

[3] Laws of 1907, chapter 755.

[4] Number 1 and number 4 of the October term.

[5] 173 Michigan 314.

[6] 161 N. W. 170.

[7] 159 Pacific 24.

State and Municipal Officer.—In *State* v. *Jost*,[1] a police detective who was appointed for three years under the safeguards thrown about his position by state law and was paid by the city, but who could exercise authority in any part of the state, was held to be both a municipal and state officer within the meaning of the constitutional provision[2] forbidding increase of compensation for such an officer during his term.

Robert Emmet Tracy.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The Civic Advisory Committee of the Mayor of Milwaukee.—"Milwaukee is the first American city successfully to work out a method by which its city government and its citizens who are interested in municipal affairs are brought directly in contact." This quotation (from Mayor Hoan's statement to the press at the close of 1916) refers to the mayor's advisory committee which was organized primarily to advise with him upon questions touching the majority of people in Milwaukee. He had previously stated that he felt the need of getting in touch with all classes if he was to represent the whole city, and that if he could secure an organization through which the facts could get to the people, it would have a wholesome effect upon the opposition in the common council.

Milwaukee has an uncommonly large number of civic organizations to furnish a nucleus for a civic cabinet. The mayor invited such of these as were interested primarily in better city government to select representatives upon an advisory committee. Over thirty organizations sent their representatives to the first meeting, nearly all sending their presidents. In this call, it was stated that such a committee would be requested to investigate various subjects which might engage the public attention or call for governmental action.

The mayor has uniformly followed the committee's advice, and the common council in most cases has confirmed the action of the committee. The interest shown by the members of the committee is evidenced by the fact that the attendance at the regular monthly meetings has averaged 80 per cent of the total membership.

Some of the recommendations made are:

That the mayor request the public land commission to make a complete city plan and to take steps to employ a paid secretary.

The council has since created this position and a permanent secretary is now employed.

That the mayor request the public land commission and the city attorney to advise as to what legislation is necessary to assist the commission in carrying on its work, in order that the committee could take the necessary steps to have such legislation enacted.

Legislation is now pending before the legislature which will materially assist the commission in its work.

That the mayor veto the $75,000 bond issue for the McKinley bathing beach.

This issue was veoted and the veto subsequently sustained.

That the mayor use his good office to have a member of the city planning commission serve on the lake shore commission.

That the mayor together with a committee of seven from the advisory committee request the park board to adhere to the general plan of city lighting already adopted by the city, in the matter of the lighting of the city parks.

The park board has tacitly agreed to this recommendation.

That the mayor veto the ordinance changing the election laws so as to provide extra registration days.

This was done and the veto sustained.

That the committee oppose the ordinance taking from the mayor any more power with regard to appointments and that the council sustain the veto on the ordinance.

The council failed to pass this resolution over the mayor's veto.

In addition to the executive board, special committees are appointed to investigate those matters which are of sufficient moment in the eyes of the committee as to warrant special investigation. Among such questions considered are, city planning, city beautifying, legislation, park lighting, river and harbor improvements, street paving, traffic regulations and salary revision.

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[1] 191 S. W. 38.

[2] Article 14, section 81.

The work of the committee has conclusively shown that it can be developed into a beneficial and helpful organization. The great majority of citizens who are actively interested in civic affairs have been brought into close touch with the city government through the representatives of the civic societies. There is no one thing which will tend to bring about charter reform quicker than the organizing of this committee, for the unwieldy workings of the present city government are now clearly exposed to those who are most anxious for the improvement of municipal government.

John F. Putnam.[1]

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Housing for Wage-Earners.—Our belated recognition of the fact that the immigrant ignored does not become thoroughly Americanized as rapidly as we could wish, has led to a recognition of the further fact that the kind of dwelling we often provide for him and his family tends to retard rather than hasten the process we believe so desirable. So the National Americanization Committee has held a housing competition designed to secure from architects and builders in all parts of the country plans and specifications that would prove the practicability of better dwellings. The committee assumed as the place where the dwellings were to be erected an industrial community of 35,000 population. It further assumed that the density of population was not to exceed 65 persons per net acre and that the site would be level. Three types of dwellings were called for: First, a single family house; the second type was a single family house similar to the first except that two more bed-rooms and a bath-room were to be provided for lodgers, two to each bed-room. The lodgers and the family were each to have their own entrance from out-of-doors; the third type was the large boarding house for thirty lodgers, two in a room. The family and servants' part of the building was again to be separated from that of the lodgers with no means of communication except through the dining-room. In all cases there was to be provided 50 square feet of floor area per person in each bedroom and a window area not less than one eighth of the floor area.

Three hundred and sixty-nine designs were submitted in the competition and first and second prizes of $300 and $100 were awarded for each type of dwelling. The jury in making these awards was guided by considerations of sanitation; convenience and comfort; privacy; economy of construction and maintenance; esthetic values.

The interest excited by the competition has been even more widespread than was anticipated, and, as many of the designs contain suggestions valuable not only in the comparatively restricted field of immigrants' housing, but also in the wider one of wage-earners' housing generally. *The Architectural Review* is devoting two numbers to them, republishing not alone the prize winners, but many of the others, together with critical and explanatory articles.

John Ihlder.[2]

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Fights on the Social Evil in San Francisco, Louisville and New Orleans.—An active campaign under the leadership of Rev. Paul Smith has been carried on in *San Francisco* for several months in co-operation with the law enforcement league of California, which is affiliated with the American Social Hygiene Association, Inc. Bishop Sumner of Oregon, who was chairman of the orginal Chicago vice commission, has also been co-operating. Mayor Rolph has appointed a vice commission of 25 members to investigate, study and make recommendations upon vice conditions in San Francisco. He has also appointed a committee of five at the request of the police commissioner to find employment for prostitutes thrown upon the streets by reason of the district attorney's order closing all houses of prostitution in the city.

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[1] Director, Milwaukee citizens' bureau of municipal efficiency.

[2] Secretary, Philadelphia housing association.

In *Louisville* the mayor has followed the recommendations of the vice commission and is fighting commercialized vice, with the result that the number of registered houses and inmates has been steadily decreasing.

In *New Orleans* evidence has been produced that segregation really does not segregate, a newspaper reporter finding numerous houses of ill fame located outside of the district. A committee of 28 members named by the officers' league of Louisiana has been appointed as a nucleus for a committee of one hundred to secure law enforcement in the city. One result of the agitation has been that the commissioner of public safety has enforced existing statutes more vigorously than for many years.

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Dallas's Second Annual Exhibit.—The motto of the second annual municipal exhibit of Dallas was "the dollar that you spend in taxes buys more for you in Dallas than any other dollar you spend." The exhibit was built up around this idea and awakened thousands of citizens to a realization of what the administration of the city's affairs mean to them. In the words of Elmer E. Scott, director of the department of public welfare:

> It is a fact that a large number of unthinking citizens pay their taxes under bitter protest, more or less expressed. This protest is the outgrowth of old municipal mismanagement. They are not aware that a new spirit of efficiency is growing in some American cities, that their tax money is not simply paying the salaries of expensive "chair warmers," but that the wise expenditure of the taxpayer's money is what throws the protecting mantle over the life, health, property and morals of the whole community, and which provides for the community most of its education, recreation, and adds immeasurably to convenience and comfort.
>
> In this way, then, the municipal exhibit in Dallas has been of extraordinary value, and the interest of our people is aroused in the method of expenditure for their benefit, and this interest will gradually take the place of ignorant criticism.
>
> It is difficult to give much of an outline descriptive of an exhibit. The exhibit itself really is presumed to be a very large volume of detailed information presented in tabloid form, and being already so condensed, a further condensation can only be brought about by eliminating a large percentage of what is most interesting and valuable.

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Dayton Propaganda. — Commissioner Switzer of Dayton has been continuing his admirable propaganda work for the Dayton plan.[1] Since the Springfield meeting of the National Municipal League he has spoken in the following cities with a large degree of acceptance: Pittsfield, Mass.; Fitchburg, Mass.; Glens Falls, N. Y.; Xenia, Ohio; Louisville, Ky.; Richmond, Ind.; Bluffton, Ohio.; Springfield, Ill.; Athens, Ohio; Troy, Ohio; Evansville, Ind.; Louisville, Ky.; Clarksburg, W. Va.; Miamisburg, Ohio; Wooster, Ohio; Schenectady, N. Y.; Harrisburg, Pa.

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Mostly "Pork!"—Under this striking head, Charles Harris Whitaker, editor of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, has presented in that *Journal* the result of a careful survey of the system of appropriating money for public buildings by the United States congress in what is known as the "Omnibus Public Buildings Bill." The showing is astonishing, amusing, serious, disagreeable, and a painful comment on local selfishness and representative incapacity. Appropriations are made for public buildings in this fashion without intelligent regard of the need for such buildings, or of the propriety of the locations for the buildings which are needed. These appropriations total more than thirty-three million dollars, and are partisan in character to the extent that there is a distribution of "pork" on the basis of one-third to the Republican side of congress, and two-thirds to the Democratic side.

This carefully made survey, which includes statements of the population of the communities involved over three census periods, and the post office receipts as last reported, has been worked up by Mr. Whitaker in the hope of starting action toward the institution of "A wise public-building policy, framed after an expert investigation and study of all the factors by a commission of trained men." It is probable that should such action be taken, there would be saved to the government annually a larger sum than is now provided by the disagreeable and unpopular income tax; and at the same time, public buildings would not only be better in character and suitability, but would be placed where they are needed.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 679.

J. Horace McFarland.

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Reclamation of St. Louis River Front.—Definite steps to utilize the Mississippi river, after decades of neglect, have just been taken by St. Louis in constructing permanent modern docks on the river front. The move follows the turning over to the city of practically the entire river front and a double line of railroad tracks, through the expiration of railroad franchises in December, 1915. The new docks provide an entirely new system of loading and unloading freight by means of cranes, and are the first step away from the age-old system of carting freight up and down the levees. A new steel barge line for handling freight in the new way will be on the river by spring, and the shippers of St. Louis have agreed to ship a sufficient tonnage to make the new plan a success. St. Louis is co-operating with other cities up and down the river in getting the new system into operation.

In connection with the municipal bridge across the Mississippi, which will be opened within a few months, it is expected that the municipal ownership of these means of transportation will not only break the hold which the railroads have had on St. Louis transportation, but will also inaugurate a new and far-sighted policy in the development of the whole industrial district.

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Unnecessary Noises in Pittsburgh.—The civic club of Allegheny county in the course of its anti-noise campaign has received complaints regarding the following nerve-racking sounds:

Open muffler cut-outs, noisy motor cycles, stationary gas engine exhausts, over-use of auto horns, long continued ringing of bells, flat wheels on street cars, slamming of doors in street cars, early morning noises of milkmen, rattling of garbage cans, newsboys (especially Sunday mornings), beating of carpets, roller skates and "skidmobiles," auto engines running while car is at rest, whistles (locomotive and factory), defective or loose street car gear, noise in hospital zones, chickens in residence sections, barking and howling of dogs at night, rattling of heavy wagons over stone pavements.

In a circular it declares that "many of the above noises can be entirely eliminated and the rest can be much reduced, to the injury of no one and the gain of all in health, comfort and efficiency," and then asks the question, "How much noise can you stop?"

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The Feasibility of a Municipal University in Dayton.—The Dayton bureau of municipal research has prepared an elaborate report on the feasibility of establishing a municipal university in Dayton. After a careful study of existing universities and of their operation and of the local conditions, the school committee of the board of trustees of the bureau to whom the results of the investigation were submitted expressed the opinion that "as a charge upon the community a municipal university is not at this time considered desirable, but that with sufficient endowment the matter would be open for discussion from a new angle, as that then many of the present objections which were enumerated in detail would be eliminated."[1]

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Local Option in Massachusetts.—At the December, 1916, elections the following Massachusetts towns voted "yes" on the subject of the sale of intoxicating liquors: Boston, Chelsea, Chicopee, Gloucester, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Marlborough, New Bedford, Northampton, Pittsfield, Springfield, Worcester. The following cities voted "no": Attleboro, Beverly, Brockton, Cambridge, Everett, Fall River, Fitchburg, Haverhill, Lynn, Malden, Medford, Melrose, Newburyport, Newton, North Adams, Peabody, Quincy, Revere, Somerville, Taunton, Salem, Waltham, Woburn, Leominster.

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[1] For a discussion of the subject of municipal universities see article entitled "Municipal universities of the United States," by John L. Patterson, vol. v, p. 553.

Feeling that certain statements in the report of the Dayton bureau were somewhat misleading, the Municipal University of Akron has issued a bulletin giving a report covering the period of the existence of the university, from which may be drawn "conclusions as to the success of that institution."

⁂

Information Desired for Chinese City.—Mr. S. T'ang, a graduate of the University of Michigan and now president of the Commercial School of Changsha, is desirous of establishing a civic welfare club or league in that community for the purpose of furnishing information to the citizens of the town, and to assist them in forming plans for improving its conditions. Mr. T'ang states that he understands there are a number of civic leagues in cities in the United States who might have plans or pictures or literature which they would be willing to send to the municipality. He wants information as to how he could form connections with such leagues for the purpose of correspondence, so we commend his request to the public-spirited readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

⁂

George W. Guthrie, American ambassador to Japan, died suddenly of apoplexy at the American embassy in Tokyo on Wednesday, March 7. Mr. Guthrie, who was at one time mayor of Pittsburgh and always an active civic force in that city, was closely identified with the National Municipal League from 1896, when he spoke at the Baltimore conference, until his departure for his diplomatic post. He was a member of the council and later vice-president from 1907 to 1910. Mr. Guthrie was a strong factor for decent government in Pittsburgh as well as a constructive force in state movements for constitutional and electoral reform. He was a member of the first National Municipal League committee on municipal program and contributed largely to the conclusions which it reached.

⁂

F. S. Spence, for many years an active and impressive figure at the meetings of the National Municipal League, and a member of its council since 1912, died March 7, at his home in Toronto, from an attack of pleuro-pneumonia. Mr. Spence was one of the conspicuous figures in the helpful and stimulating municipal life of Toronto and Ontario and had achieved for himself a reputation as a keen, incisive student and debater of the various problems which those progressive cities have been solving during the past generation. Beginning in 1894 and continuing until 1917, Mr. Spence was a candidate at practically every municipal election, mostly successfully, but sometimes unsuccessfully. He served alternately as alderman and controller. He was twice defeated for mayor. Moreover, he was an active leader of the temperance forces not only in the province of Ontario but in the Dominion of Canada, serving for many years as secretary of the Dominion alliance for the suppression of the alcohol traffic. For several years he was a member of the port commission of Toronto, in which office he contributed largely to the development of the port facilities of the city.

As one of the Toronto papers said in commenting on his death, "Mr. Spence had made a name in civic history and had won his success on sheer merit." He will be missed from the meetings of the National Municipal League, where he always took an interesting and stimulating part in its discussions.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

State Government in the United States. By Arthur N. Holcombe, Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 498. $2.25.

Here is a timely and important catalog of information on a neglected subject coming happily just when eight state constitutional conventions are in sight and when the National Municipal League enters the field of state governmental problems. Members of those constitutional conventions who want a view of the development of state government throughout the country since the formation of the Union and a comparison point by point of its various features in the different states will find in this readable volume a handbook and a starting point for their studies as simple and helpful in its way as Bryce's American Commonwealth. They will not find much guidance toward new aspirations nor indeed much discontent with existing systems. The author deals little with remedies nor, for that matter, does he trace causes. The book is evidently not designed to convert anybody to anything. The author says:

> The greatest promise for the future lies, not in further changes in the form of government, but in the further redivision of powers.

This absence of uneasiness, this lack of philosophy makes Mr. Holcombe all the more acceptable as a faithful reporter of the facts and will give any reader a comfortable confidence in his impartiality.

The historical sections seem particularly well-informed but the part entitled "The working of the state governments" is less interesting and instructive than the phrase would lead one to expect, consisting of a cataloging of the various items of machinery, the kind of information that could be compiled from official sources and general knowledge rather than from the incisive comments that James Bryce knew so well how to extract from the confidences of slangy and cynical political veterans in the easy-chairs of a legislative lobby. There is little about railroads, for example, or how they have controlled state governments, nor about the quarrels between divisions of states, city against country, etc. Indeed there is scant consideration of all the various extra-legal phases of government and of popular organization and the methods whereby public opinion works. Another important omission is county government although it is surely a branch of the state without which state government would be very different in both its legal and practical aspects.

In the author's analyses of current problems there is always the spirit of the historian rather than the seer. He tells what people have said about this or that but indulges in very little pioneer thinking of his own. In short, Mr. Holcombe has not undertaken to contribute opinion or argument but to collect and arrange the existing material on a neglected but coming subject and this task he has performed with scholarly ability.

Richard S. Childs.

New York City.

⁂

Government Telephones. The Experience of Manitoba, Canada. By James Mavor, University of Toronto. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company. Pp. 176. $1 net.

Professor Mavor's little book covering the experiences of Manitoba with government telephones is a most drastic arraignment of government ownership. After a reading of this book no one can have a doubt that this Canadian experiment up to the present time has been a miserable failure. The successful operation of telephones in Manitoba by the Bell Company gave way in 1908 to the disgraceful conduct of this utility by the government. There seems to be no bright spot in the whole history for it does not appear that the government has even universalized the service in any way that the Bell Company was not preparing to do.

The counts in this indictment may be rapidly summarized as follows:

1. The acquisition of the telephone was brought about solely for party advantage. The promises made by the government in its campaign for acquisition were not made in good faith, and from the very beginning of government operation the telephone was used for political purposes.

2. The technical management of the system was subordinated to political management, rates were politically fixed, and were discriminatory and unfair.

3. The financial policy was unsound from the beginning, there was no attempt made to provide a decent accounting or auditing system, and the equipment was allowed to run down although the government reported it a great financial success. Eight years of operation have left a real deficit of $1,000,000 against the system.

Upon the basis of this study the author's conclusion seems to *him* irresistible,—"The entire history of the government telephone enterprise in Manitoba affords evidence of the most positive character against government ownership" (p. 63). "It is possible that only by repeated and costly failures such as the Manitoba government telephones, will the public realize that the proper function of government is not the conduct of industries but the impartial inspection of them under intelligent laws adapted to the character and conditions of the community and the country."

To the reviewer this argument is not at all conclusive. It is obvious that the political management of a utility must be a failure anywhere even under private ownership. Financial juggling can ruin any enterprise whether the pirates be politicians or private promoters. Just how the same government in Manitoba could have impartially regulated or "impartially inspected" the telephone system does not appear. The author himself suggests on page 36 that the telephone commission appointed by the government were men of many years' experience in the service of the Bell Company "and were unquestionably well qualified for the task of managing a telephone system under normal conditions." Had the author concluded that Manitoba, under present political conditions, could not operate a successful telephone system there would be no dissent. We in the United States were convinced not long ago that the management of the New Haven was a severe arraignment of that particular private management. We were just as convinced of municipal gas failure in Philadelphia. But we can draw no such sweeping conclusion upon such a basis of fact.

In this connection it may be of value to set down Professor Holcombe's final conclusion upon government telephones in Europe. "We find that on the basis of the experience of continental European governments in the conduct of the telephone business, no general statement can be made concerning the efficiency of state agency in the conduct of business undertakings. . . . In some countries public enterprise has bungled miserably in the telephone business, and in others it has not bungled at all." His conclusion upon the Swiss experiment may well be kept in mind by the reader of Professor Mavor's book, "The Swiss secured a wider and more prompt utilization of the telephone than occurred anywhere else on earth, led the way in the substitution of measured for unlimited service, and have ever operated a technically sound system at rock bottom rates."

C. A. Dykstra.

University of Kansas.

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Ethics of Democracy. A Series of Optimistic Essays on the Natural Laws of Human Society. By Louis F. Post. Third edition. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1916. $1.50.

From the "Democratic optimist" in Part I to the "The great order of things" in the conclusion this volume makes a rapid survey of facts, tendencies and ethical attitudes in the present economic and social life of the United States. The "Democratic optimist" of the beginning is doubtless the author, and the "Great order of things" to which he leads us is the régime of single tax. Many persons will value the book because of the doctrine, and many others, in spite of it; most thinking persons will appreciate the volume on account of its freshness, vigor, and pervasive idealism.

The preface at once arouses the attention, for in it the author links the dogma of "a favorable balance of trade" with the commercial exploitation of foreign lands. The dogma and the commercial tendency are unfavorably viewed from the democratic point of view. The first three parts of the book are given over to a criticism of certain contemporary moral standards and attitudes. If we are to be optimistic, we can be so only by facing the facts, and by joining with the forces that make for social reconstruction. We must, says the author, quoting Isaiah, "Cease to do evil; learn to do well." Appeal is made to college graduates to reflect critically upon the common notions of success and respectability. One is here reminded, by contrast, of the advertisements of high class commercial schools in the current magazines, which capture the eye by such words as, "Are you a $50,000 man?" That "Honesty is the best policy" is accepted by the author as a good dictum, but what is honesty? Sacrifice is estimated to be good, but what about justice? Success is to be desired, but, asks the author, what about monopoly, privilege, and the conditions of success from which many good men shrink? There is an obligation to serve, but there is also an obligation, grossly violated under the present social order, of rendering service for service. The net outcome of our base social and economic standards is to be seen in great fortunes which come to those only who play the game under the accepted rules. The dogma of the piety of industriousness is evoked by the successful as the moral sanction to the absorbing pursuit of modern business, whose spirit flowers in "literature" as "The message to Garcia!" The philosophy in question is very old, for did not the ancient Hebrew historians use to write that King Somebody or Other did well in the sight of the Lord, and he prospered? Then, a great poet raised the question regarding the failure of a good man; and since that day there has been put into this easy linking of piety with success a kink.

The author is occasionally a bit safer in his morals than in his science; for he clings tenaciously to the rejected doctrine of natural rights, and brands all who reject the notion of natural rights as atheists. Scientific men have not discarded the eighteenth century vogue of natural rights because they do not believe in God. Their opposition is rather based upon the observation that no such things can be found. What is natural are instincts. Rights emerge, when they do appear, out of the terrific struggle between the bestial and the social in man, and are, like justice, an artificial product of civilization. The notion that rights are natural, and that God made the world in seven days belong to the same stage of human thinking.

In the next two parts of the volume one is carried into the intricacies of economic discussion. Part IV finds the author clashing with the Socialists over the cure for the trusts. Trusts are natural say the Socialists; they are not, says the single taxer. Let the public own the trusts, say the Socialists; let it "bust" them by taxing the unearned increment out of their landed properties, says the single taxer. Thus only can freedom and normality be restored to business life.

In Part V sails are full-rigged, and we are on a voyage of "Economic exploration and survey." Political economy is well defined as a "science of tendencies," but the theorizing is somewhat loosely knit. Under free competition service would tend to exchange for service, and there is a suggestion of a labor theory of value. But elsewhere we are reminded that cost of production determines the value of products (page 148). And still again we are told that value "is an expression of exertion avoided," or that it is an equilibrium between the serviceability of productive power, and the irksomeness of producing (pages 234, 235). However, in these days it is no particular distinction in an author to be confused, or at least not clear, as to his theory of value.

In the "Economic exploration" we further see that wealth is an artificial product of land and labor; that serviceability is the economic characteristic of wealth, and that value is serviceability in scarcity. One may be pardoned for liking better Ruskin's definition of value as, "The possession of the valuable by the valiant." Trade is the exchangeable value of things arising through the division of labor, and money is the mere token that fools us all as being something. According to this classification, capital is tucked off into one corner as unfinished or mediate wealth, what the economists would call capital goods. The finished products, consumers' goods according to the economists, before they reach the consumers, are excluded from the category of capital. The latter is also not one of the basic factors of production. If labor could create things out of nothing, or if land were all equally valuable, all of wealth would go to labor as wages. But land is scarce, and there exist in it differential values; there is also monopoly in land. Hence, there exists rent. Normally rent would not press upon wages, though just why it would not, even without monopoly, is not explained. But the "water" in rent does press upon wages, forcing them ever downward with the growth of communities. Our social duty is plain: tax land values for the benefit of the community, and free business from all other forms of taxation. Industry would thus be stimulated and land set free for use instead of for holding. Such is the single tax ideal. Of special interest in this section is the chapter on "Our foreign trade" in which it is shown that the greater part of the balance due us from our excessive exports goes to pay interest on government, municipal, and state bonds owned by foreigners.

The remaining parts of the book upon democratic government and patriotism are devoted to a discussion of current problems such as universal suffrage, trial by jury, and imperialism, and to a much needed definition of patriotism in terms of real spiritual, national aspiration.

We have in the volume not only the ethics, but also the fervor, and even the religion of democracy. When such a book can circulate in three editions the heart of our people is sound.

Arthur Evans Wood.

Philadelphia.

✤

Housing Problems in America. Proceedings of the Fifth National Conference on Housing. New York: National Housing Association. 1916. 542 pp. and index. $2.

Though this rather bulky volume suffers from lack of careful editing, it contains so much value to the student of housing that he can not afford to pass it by. The committee in charge of the program secured a group of speakers who supplemented admirably those who appeared at preceding conferences, so these proceedings help to round out our knowledge of what is being done and proposed in American housing.

While some of the papers dealing with construction and management, with a sub-head of industrial housing, are distinctly disappointing, most of them are equally distinctly real contributions. The discussions that follow add notably to their value. Men who are working on the construction of low cost houses, others, like Grosvenor Atterbury, who have made promising experiments that lead us to hope for material reduction in costs, managers of wage-earners' dwellings in large cities and in industrial towns—who give to the pudding the proof of eating, here exchange facts and opinions. The result is a symposium of practical value to the housing worker nowhere else available.

A group of papers dealing with types of dwellings, with sub-heads on districting—to which Lawson Purdy, as usual, makes a valuable contribution, and on the multiple dwelling vs. the single family house—in which Bernard Newman and others vigorously attack the multiple dwelling and meet but a half hearted resistance.

To another group dealing with housing and health, a number of health and housing officials contribute. Here Dr. James Ford presents a paper that admittedly proves nothing but that by its sanity and suggestiveness points the way by which something may be proved. Heretofore we have relied too much upon assumptions and as a result a group of skeptics has arisen who find easy marks in exaggerated claims. Dr. Ford and those who discuss his paper leave us in no doubt as to the desirability of sunlight and fresh air, sanitary conveniences and honest construction.

There is a discussion of the housing needs of Providence, based upon a survey that had been made during the preceding five months and supplementing an inspection trip the day before.

John Ihlder.

Philadelphia.

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Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago. By Walter D. Moody, Managing Director, Chicago Plan Commission. Second (revised) edition, 1916. 10 x 8, pp. 137. Illustrated.

This important book, named for and dedicated to, but not written by Charles H. Wacker, one of the Chicago Plan pioneers, is confessedly "especially prepared for study in the schools of Chicago," and must therefore be considered as a school text-book. It is a clumsy volume of 137 pages, of the odd size—for a text or reference book—of 7¾ x 10 inches, and is in poor taste typographically, seeming either to have been planned to utilize old illustrative material, or more probably to represent bizarre ideas in book making. Indeed, it is printed as if the format had been designed in a newspaper composing-room, rather than by a capable printer of books, acquainted with the usages of good form and of library shelves.

But notwithstanding this mechanical handicap, Mr. Moody has presented a wholly admirable volume, from the standpoint of aims and contents. It must not only make a strong appeal to the school children of Chicago, for whose study it is designed, but be of immense value to students of city planning anywhere, or of any age. It discusses Chicago—the beginnings, the doings, and the future of the great city.

Mr. Moody's view of Chicago is not oppressively modest, as may be inferred from the opening paragraph of his introduction, in which he says, "Chicago is destined to become the center of the modern world, if the opportunities in her reach are intelligently realized, and if the city can receive a sufficient supply of trained and enlightened citizens." Possibly the author has overlooked the naivete of this remark!

The setting forth of the need for planning, and the comparisons in text and in illustration with cities everywhere, give Wacker's Manual a value much more than local, wherefore it is commended to civic workers and students in general.

J. Horace McFarland.

Harrisburg, Pa.

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Sixty Years of American Life. By Everett P. Wheeler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. $2.50.

For two generations Mr. Wheeler has represented a fine type of American citizenship. A leader in his profession, the law, he has always taken an active and militant interest in various public questions. His three chapters on municipal reform are particularly suggestive, dealing as they do with New York city politics from the time of Mayor Fernando Wood to Mayor William J. Gaynor. Concerning the latter Mr. Wheeler says: "Gaynor, who had co-operated with Shepard in the prosecution of McKane for the election frauds in King's county, commanded the public confidence to such an extent that he was elected mayor although his companions on the ticket were defeated." Further as indicating the progress of reform up to the administration of Mayor Mitchel (which is not included within the scope of his book) he declares, "It may truly be said of all the administrations since that of Mayor Low, that they have not relapsed into the corruption and inefficiency which marked some of the previous ones." His account of Seth Low's campaigns and his work as mayor, abounding as they do in personal experiences, constitute one of the most substantial parts of this volume, for Mr. Wheeler was a part, and an important part, of the story which he tells. In reading this volume it must be constantly borne in mind that Mr. Wheeler's interest is in the political and govermental phases of municipal life rather than along social lines.

✣

THE SECOND SOCIAL YEAR BOOK. The Human Problems and Resources of Cleveland, Sixth City. Published by the Cleveland Federation of Charity and Philanthropy, Cleveland, Ohio, December, 1916. Pp. 125. 35 cents.

The second Social Year Book of Cleveland is well worth careful study and attention and is valuable for two reasons. First, because it sets forth in vivid and clear outline, profusely illustrated with telling photographs, the achievements of the past year, individual and co-operative, of the fifty-nine different organizations which have composed the Cleveland federation for charity and philanthropy. Each body has reported in interesting fullness its aims and actual work done, officers, board of managers, staff, and treasurers' report.

It is of value secondly because it sets forth by detailed statement of past history and by announcement of a plan about to be consummated, a process of co-ordination and co-operation of all the welfare agencies of the city of Cleveland, resulting in the formation of the Cleveland welfare federation, to have, under the direction of Sherman C. Kingsley, the task of correlating all the welfare effort of the city. Cleveland is, therefore, forging ahead of many of her sister cities, both of higher and of lower rank, and it behoves them to learn of her how to bring about union of the multiplicity of organizations obtaining in every large city.

(REV.) EDWIN S. LANE.

Philadelphia.

COUNTER CURRENTS. By Agnes Repplier. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company. Pp. 292. $1.25 net.

Miss Repplier has won a substantial reputation as a clever and forceful essayist, and in this volume she employs all her abilities in presenting what is popularly called the reactionary position. Believing as she does that we are "rising dizzily and fearlessly on the crest of a great wave of sentiment," she does not hesitate to apply her trenchant pen and wit to pointing out some of the danger spots in such a course. Appearing originally in the pages of *The Atlantic*, each essay deals with some phase of current thought or movement as only Miss Repplier can—that is felicitously and epigrammatically. Her reasoning may not always be sound as rules of logic go—nevertheless what she has to say and the way she says it challenge the attention of those who have a sense of humor and who are seeking to leave the world a better place because they have lived in it.

✣

RECLAIMING THE BALLOT. By Ward Macauley. New York: Duffield and Company. Pp. 109. 75 cents.

A popular account of the methods in vogue at American elections, with suggestions for ballot reform, which "should precede all other reforms." The chapter on this subject is mainly based on B. P. DeWitt's "The Progressive Movement."[1] Our author's program "contemplates nothing less than a complete civic center in each election precinct, housed in a permanent building, properly equipped for the important work to be undertaken." This suggestion does not materially differ from the good government club plan of the last decade of the nineteenth century and from the ward clubs of the Philadelphia Republican organization, except that the school is discussed as an available place for headquarters. The Republican clubs (which are gradually giving way to building associations in many wards) are held together by officeholders. It is a pertinent question to ask who will keep the civic precinct clubs together, which opens up a most interesting field of political speculation.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 682.

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American Year Book. A Record of Events and Progress, 1916. Edited by Francis G. Wickware. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Pp. 862. $4.

In addition to the department of municipal government, the Year Book contains articles dealing with the following subjects which relate to or bear upon municipal problems: waterways and harbors, public service, municipal ownership, lighting, water supply, sewage and refuse disposal, finance, taxation, fire losses, social centers, settlements, surveys, remedial loans, tuberculosis prevention, recreation, child welfare, juvenile courts, social hygiene, crime and penology, the liquor problem, socialism, immigration, vocational education, unemployment, charity, engineering and public health, education and libraries.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

The conversion of the National Municipal Review from a quarterly into a bi-monthly leaves only a month to be covered between the March and May issues. In view of this, the editor of the department is of the opinion that the bibliography should be omitted from this issue. It will appear again in the July issue and, barring unforeseen events, regularly in each issue thereafter.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

The County: The "Dark Continent" of American Politics. By H. S. Gilbertson. New York: The National Short Ballot Organization. 7½ x 5. pp. 297. $2 postpaid.

Human Welfare Work in Chicago. Edited by Col. H. C. Carbaugh, of the Civil Service Board of South Park Commissioners. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. pp. 262. Illustrated. $1.50.

Journal of the National Institute of Social Sciences. Volume III, 1917. Edited by Mrs. Lillie Hamilton French. Boston: The Boston Book Co. pp. 262. $1.50.

The Man in Court. By Frederic DeWitt Wells, Justice of Municipal Court of New York City. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 7½ x 5. pp. 283. $1.50.

The Minimum Cost of Living: A Study of Families of Limited Income in New York City. By Winifred Stuart Gibbs, Supervisor Home Economics, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Lecturer in Household Arts, Teachers College, Columbia University. New York: The Macmillan Company. pp. 93. $1.

Municipal Functions. By Herman G. James, Associate Professor of Government, Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Reference, University of Texas. New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. pp. 369. $2.

The Psychology of Citizenship. By Arland D. Weeks, Professor of Education in the North Dakota Agricultural College. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 7 x 4. pp. 152. 50 cents.

Proceedings of the Eighth National Conference on City Planning, Cleveland, June 5–7, 1916. Published by the Conference, Flavel Shurtleff, secretary, 19 Congress st., Boston. pp. 275.

Public Utility Rates. By Harry Barker, B.S. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 9 x 6. pp. 387. $4.

The State and Government. By Jeremiah S. Young, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Minnesota. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. The National Social Science Series. 7 x 4½. pp. 180. 50 cents.

Town Planning for Small Communities. By Charles S. Bird, Jr. New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. pp. 492. Illustrated. $2.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Proposed Electric Railways for the City of Sydney.[1]—No one who is really interested in rapid transit matters should neglect to read J. J. C. Bradfield's recent report on Proposed Electric Railways for the City of Sydney, N. S. W. In spite of the war, the government of New South Wales is carrying out at the present time a comprehensive plan for the construction of a rapid transit system for Sydney and its suburbs, including the electrification of existing steam railroad lines, the building of extensions and of subways for trains and surface cars, the initial cost being estimated at no less than $50,000,000. The complete plans, as approved, including the construction of two immense bridges over Sydney harbor, involve a total cost of no less than $100,000,000. Considering the size of Sydney, these figures are rather surprising, for at the end of 1914, there were only 110,700 persons inside the city boundary, and 752,500 in the city and its suburbs. But Sydney has long been noted as a progressive city in transit matters, as shown by the fact that for the year 1914 there were 544 rides per capita, against 337 for New York City.

Mr. Bradfield's report opens with a discussion of the principles of rapid transit and electrification of suburban lines, based on his observations in Europe and America, and, while most of the facts are familiar to American engineers, his discussion of them forms one of the best treatises on rapid transit yet written. The present plans for Sydney are the result of many projects and investigations, covering no less than 60 years, and based on the very latest practice, American experience being largely followed.

In several respects, however, the Sydney rapid transit system will be in advance of anything yet carried out in America, which makes the report so interesting. For example, the new rapid transit lines will be united with the electrified suburban steam lines so as to form one unified system with through routes, like the plan recently urged for Chicago by the city club. There will be no changing of cars such as is required of all suburban passengers coming into New York at the Grand Central, Pennsylvania, Long Island, and New Jersey railroad stations.

The Sydney lines will also be unique in having a capacity of 80 trains an hour each way on each track, or two and one-third times the capacity of the New York subway tracks with their limit of 34 trains an hour per track. This immense increase in capacity is made possible by adopting in Sydney the plan unfortunately rejected in New York of having the main stations all of the reservoir type, with each track branching into two, so that a two track line has four tracks at the stations, and two trains can stop in each direction at the same time.

In the heart of the city, all the stations for trains and surface cars will be underground except two. The only elevated structure will be along the waterfront, and will be ornamental in character, with a monumental station on the circular quay. Outside the center of the city, the rapid transit lines will run on private property instead of along the streets.

Like Boston, Sydney will place the street cars underground in the congested section in a $9,000,000 subway system, but this is merely to relieve the streets, and the mistake is not made of expecting these surface car subways to act as a real rapid transit system, which is otherwise and independently provided for.

To many persons, the most interesting feature of the Sydney scheme will be its unique combination of surface lines, rapid transit and suburban lines. These will all be welded into one system in almost ideal fashion. Boston has had for about 15 years a single fare for elevated, subway, and surface lines, with free transfers at all stations between the different lines. But Sydney will go still further in bringing all the suburban railroad lines into the new system. Not only will electric suburban trains come into the central subway system, the same way as the rapid transit trains, but the suburban trolley lines will be used as feeders for the existing railroad lines; and the suburban stations and rapid transit stations will all be planned for the most convenient transferring between trains and surface cars. It will be possible to take a trolley car at one's home to the nearest railroad station, merely showing the conductor a season ticket, and then board an electric train which will leave you at your office, without having to buy a ticket each time or to bother with transfers.

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[1] New South Wales: Report on the Proposed Electric Railways for the City of Sydney. By J. J. C. Bradfield, M.E., M. Inst. C. E., Chief Engineer, Metropolitan Railway Construction. Sydney: W. A. Gullick, Government Printer, 1916. Cloth; 7 x 11 in., pp. 105; 86 plates.

It is a curious fact that this perfect combination of railroad, surface, and subway lines is hardly possible anywhere except in Australia, and is absolutely out of the question in America, and even in England, France, and Germany; because it requires the ownership of all transportation lines by one and the same authority, in this case the government of New South Wales, which owns the trolley lines instead of the city of Sydney. England cannot have such unified transit facilities in spite of the many municipal tramway systems, because the railroads and tube railways are privately owned. In Germany, where the railroads are all owned by the state, the trolley lines are all municipal or private property.

The initial fares proposed on the new lines are two cents for the central section, this amount also to be added at first to existing steam fares, to pay for passengers being carried through the heart of the city. Passengers coming in over the rapid transit extensions will pay four and six cents according to distance, or the same fare as on exsisting surface lines, though the time will be about cut in half. Later on, the fare will be reduced to considerably less than existing surface fares, and the additional charge to suburban passengers will be reduced below two cents.

There is only one serious criticism to be made of the Sydney rapid transit system: the decision not to try to furnish adequate seats at the rush hours but to adopt the new Brooklyn rapid transit car, which was designed primarily for standing loads, and has proved very unsatisfactory in a number of respects, such as its lack and arrangement of seats, its poor lighting, and its inadequate ventilation.

If Mr. Bradfield had studied the question of rush hour traffic more thoroughly, especially in England, he would have learned that it is not only possible to provide a seat for every passenger under the worst existing conditions, but the English municipal managers would have told him that, in order to get every possible passenger and the maximum income, it is absolutely necessary to furnish substantially more seats than passengers at every hour of the day. Why the knowledge of this important fact, affecting so much the health and comfort of passengers and the earnings of companies, has been confined to English municipal managers, and has never been appreciated by so-called practical electric railway men in America is a puzzle on which the writer has worked 15 years without finding an answer. Why the regulating authorities in America still accept the company point of view that seats cannot be furnished is still more puzzling.

If the Interborough rapid transit company, operating the New York Subway, had been far-sighted enough to have abandoned their present car and adopted the Illinois Central type, as urged for the last 10 years, they could not only have scrapped the old equipment and continued to pay dividends on it, but would have made a clean profit every year of about $1,500,000 and would have been giving every passenger a seat even at the rush hours for these past 10 years. The only valid objection to the Illinois Central car has been the old excuse that things were different in New York from anywhere else. The practical American railway man can sometimes "out-theorize" the most impractical theorist, if he doesn't want to change his methods; and the cherished idea that strap-hanging pays seems to be too deep-rooted to be overcome, even though the contrary has proved to be the fact.

It is curious that in the recent electrification of lines in the Australian city of Melbourne, the English engineers adopted the Illinois Central type of car which Mr. Bradfield rejected in favor of the Brooklyn type, which has only 78 seats in the rush hours, whereas the former type seats 130. It is to be regretted that a government project should adopt the false and unnecessary standards of short-sighted American companies, especially a project with such unusual merits as that for Sydney.

John P. Fox.

New York City.

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Report on Dock Employment in New York City and Recommendations for Its Regulation.[1]—The casual laborer, the man who works off and on, five or six hours a day, three or four days a week, is the subject of this report. The type is represented by the dock worker, the longshoreman who loads and unloads ships in New York harbor.

Longshoreman C, described in the report, worked four hours on Monday, three hours on Tuesday and had no work Wednesday. Thursday he went to another pier and got two hours' work and Friday he snatched another hour. Saturday he got five hours again on the first pier. He worked a total of 15 hours during that week spread over five days and made about $6.00. Another week his experience might be that of longshoreman E, who worked twelve or thirteen hours every week day and two and one-half hours on Sunday making 78½ hours in all. After which there might be three or four days of no work. The effects of such irregular employment may easily be imagined. A high death rate from accidents, pneumonia and tuberculosis, bad habits, poverty and low standards of living are inevitable results for the majority.

Mayor Mitchel's permanent committee on unemployment reports the conditions of employment in this occupation and outlines a plan for regularizing the work. The report is in two parts,—A—describing the present conditions, and B—explaining the plan of regularization. The description of present conditions is in the main a summary of Charles B. Barnes' excellent and exhaustive work, "The Longshoreman," recently published by the Russell Sage Foundation. The suggested scheme for reform is based on foreign experience, primarily on the Liverpool dock scheme originated and now directed by R. Williams who has written a full report on the subject.

The main features of the recommendations for steadying employment are (1) elimination of promiscuous hiring at each of the docks; (2) establishment of five hiring centers with a central clearing house to connect them and "stands" and waiting rooms to eliminate the long hours of idleness in waiting till the ship comes in; (3) administration of the clearing house system by a public employment bureau to link it up with the general labor market; and (4) direction of the policies of the dock regularization scheme by a joint committee of employers and workmen in the industry.

The report makes a valuable contribution in the analysis of the problems of irregularity in dock employment, and it outlines the general nature of the solutions to be worked out in a clear and logical manner. The committee modestly disclaims any desire to have exhausted the subject. It merely presents its plan as a basis for discussion and leaves it to men in more immediate and permanent touch with the industry to work out the practical details. No doubt we shall have to look to the employers and workers to put the scheme into practice. But the initial analysis made by the committee will not have to be done over again. The student, the government official and the men engaged in the industry will all find in this report the beginnings of any work they may wish to undertake on the subject of regularizing casual labor.

In an appendix to the report, the committee outlines a scheme for establishing on a limited scale permanent employment for longshoremen at weekly wages.

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[1] Mayor's committee on unemployment, New York city, Oct., 1916.

The idea is to incorporate an organization of longshoremen which will contract with the steamship companies for the services of its members and pay the men weekly wages from its treasury. The suggestion might well be adopted by the longshoremen's unions, and perhaps the United States shipping board, with its very broad powers, could be induced to try the scheme as an experiment.

◆

Municipal Activities and Publications of Stockholm.[1]—The numerous municipal and government reports that are published in Sweden may justly be rated as models of clearness, completeness, and accuracy. It may safely be asserted that they measure up to the standards of any country and are superior to most publications in this field. Public administration reached a high level in Sweden at a comparatively early date, and this accounts in part for the excellence of Swedish public reports; in part it is accounted for by the thoroughness and emphasis upon the practical that is characteristic at all times of Swedish scholars and administrators.

The statistical reports are particularly noteworthy. Sweden was one of the first countries to gather statistical data systematically and to issue reports based on these data. The earliest statistical collections are the exchequer rolls of the old treasury, the beginnings of which go back to the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1749, due largely to the influence of the newly created Swedish Academy of Science, the Tahles Archive was established, whose function it was to collect data from all parishes concerning births, marriages, deaths and their causes, and population. The population was classified according to sex, age, civil status, and occupations. At the same time diocesan authorities were instructed to keep full and accurate records. Six years later a special Tahles Archive Commission was created, which made abstracts of the data collected by the Tahles Archive. It has been claimed that this was probably the first public statistical office in the world. Likewise it has been asserted that the Swedish general population census of 1749 was the first systematic national census ever taken. This census report for a long time stood unique in respect to reliability and wealth of detail.

As a result of an exhaustive study by a special committee, the Swedish statistical system was reorganized in 1856, when the Tahles Archive was superseded by the Central Bureau of Statistics, and the Statistical Commission. The latter became in 1886 the Statistical Tahles Commission. Since 1860 the statistical authorities in Sweden have published a yearbook, Statistisk arsskrift, by means of which the gist of important reports are made more easily accessible to the general public. This publication also gives summaries of international statistics.

The larger cities also have their special statistical bureaus and publications. Thus in Stockholm there has been established a municipal bureau of statistics which collects and publishes statistical data relating to the corporate life of the city. The city council or any of its committees may order this bureau to make special investigations for the purpose of getting data on any question before them.

As in the case of the national government, the Stockholm statistical bureau publishes a statistical yearbook, which during the last few years has been edited by J. Guinchard, the foremost statistician of Sweden to-day. This publication of over six hundred pages gives very detailed data regarding sanitation, climatic conditions through a long series of years, population, mortality, education, attendance at art galleries and museums, elections, crime, building activity, business and transportation, taxes, real estate holdings of the city, municipally owned utilities, such as gas, electricity, and water works, and city finances. The tables of contents consist of parallel columns of Swedish and French texts and all headings of statistical tables are also given in these two languages, thus making the data intelligible to practically all students of municipal affairs.

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[1] Statistisk arsbok för Stockholm (statistical yearbook for the city of Stockholm). Statistical bureau of Stockholm, 1913; pp. xxii, 572.

Stockholms stadskalender (handbook for the city government of Stockholm). Statistical bureau of Stockholm, 1914, 1915, 1916. Pp. xiv, 477, etc.

Kommunalförfattningshandbok för Stockholm (handbook of laws and ordinances of Stockholm). Statistical bureau of Stockholm, 1915; pp. xiii, 1071.

Berättelse angaende Stockholms kommunalförvaltning (annual report of the municipal government of Stockholm). Statistical bureau of Stockholm, 1912, 1913, 1914. Pp. 198, etc.

Utländskt statistiskt o. d. tryck förvävat ar 1915 av Sveriges offentlige bibliotek (catalog of statistical publications and reports and kindred literature acquired by the statistical bureau of Stockholm during 1915).

A few examples will suffice to show to what extent the report goes into details. The table of the per capita living expenses per annum includes no less than fifty-nine items, ranging from lobsters to house rent. The books also show at a glance how many fire alarms have come to the central station within a given year, how many of them have come over the telephone, and how many through the alarm system, the average number of miles traveled by the apparatus to each fire, and the average time consumed.

Another annual publication, the Stadskalender or handbook, presents clear and concise data concerning the organization and activities of the various city departments. Especially valuable and interesting are the brief historical statements that are given for each department. Thus we learn that the street cleaning system and fire department had their origin in 1661, and the charity board as early as 1527.

The handbook makes it clear that the principal legislative and administrative body of Stockholm is the board of aldermen, consisting of one hundred members. The board of magistrates of twenty members formerly had wide powers, but the tendency has been to curtail these. The magistrates' power is now limited to the exercising of control over the board of aldermen on a few points and to the appointment of members to a few boards. The governor-general represents the crown in the city. This office, too, has been shorn of much power during the last decades.

In the election of the city aldermen the so-called proportionate system of balloting prevails, according to which a citizen or corporation casts a number of votes proportionate to incomes and property holdings. The maximum number of votes any individual or corporation may cast is limited to forty. Women enjoy absolute equality with men in municipal affairs, both in voting and in holding office. The annual publication for 1916 gives the number of women members of the council as seven.

The board of aldermen controls practically all the departments of the city, and its functions are extremely varied. Its budget for 1916 amounted to 23,862,500 crowns (one crown is approximately equal to 28 cents), of which 9,311,000 crowns were for permanent improvements. Thus a city slaughter house was built at an estimated expense of 6,400,000 crowns, and work was progressing on a large municipal power station which is to supply the city with electric energy for illumination, motive power, and heating. Street cleaning alone involved an expenditure of 2,259,702 crowns in 1915, but the money was well spent, for Stockholm has a high reputation for cleanliness. Food inspection is extremely rigid and requires a large number of officials. The total expenses for educational purposes were, in 1916, 4,150,725 crowns, of which a part was contributed by the state. It may be noted, among matters of special interest, that dental clinics are provided in all public schools, as well as swimming basins and gymnasiums. Swimming is compulsory for all children in the schools. The city owns an entire island in the archipelago, which is used exclusively as a summer home for frail children. In addition there are approximately thirty-five workshops where the children of the poor may spend their time during vacation days or after school hours in interesting and useful work, or in play under the guidance of teachers. The city gives financial aid to something over ninety charitable and quasi-charitable institutions.

The fire department is a matter of great pride to the citizens of Stockholm. At the end of 1916 there was not a horse connected with the department; every piece of apparatus was motor driven. This department also furnishes ambulance service for the entire city for man and beast. Thus a teamster who has a sick horse merely telephones to the fire department, which immediately and at nominal cost furnishes an ambulance for transporting the animal to the city veterinary institute.

Another publication of the bureau of statistics is the handbook of city ordinances, a book of 921 pages, which in an ingeniously devised form presents the laws that govern the municipality. The ordinances contain exceedingly detailed provisions, but by the aid of a very complete index the student can easily find his way to the desired data. A supplement of 142 pages contains an index to previous handbooks.

Annual reports of the activities of the various city departments are also published by the statistical bureau under the direction of the city council.

A. A. Stomberg.

University of Minnesota.

✤

Unification of Local Governments in Chicago.[1]—Larger cities are realizing that the separation of city and county government is clumsy, wasteful, and inconvenient, and are beginning to consider the consolidation of the taxing units within the greater urban districts. Recently, the Chicago bureau of public efficiency has published a brief general study "to show the need for complete unification of the local governments within the metropolitan community of Chicago, and to present a plan of responsible governmental organization under which greater efficiency might be expected from public officials." If started immediately, this program could be materialized in six years. The study is not in detail, but indicates in a general way the consolidation which is desired and the results which would accrue.

The report shows the advantages of bringing under one government the whole of the territory now included in the sanitary district of Chicago, which comprises, besides 22 taxing agencies in Chicago, 108 taxing units in Cook county, contiguous to the city. The remaining units of Cook county would be ceded to the adjacent counties. The units within the sanitary district are socially, economically, and industrially one community; yet politically they are separate.

To govern this proposed district, it is recommended that all local legislative and administrative bodies be merged into one, in order that duplication of expensive governmental machinery, the lack of coordination and indirect responsibility might be eliminated. It is proposed, however, that the judiciary have a separate identity. It is believed by the Chicago bureau that a modification of the city-manager form of government, to be known as the council-manager plan, would give better government than any other scheme. Under this proposed organization a council of 35 aldermen, one from each ward, would be elected on a non-partisan ballot for four years, subject to recall. This body would have the power to appoint a mayor who would be the city manager, a controller, and a city clerk, who would hold office for an indefinite period and be subject to dismissal at any time and would be the responsible executive head of the city, with power to appoint and remove department heads.

The suggested advantages from the proposed unification and reorganization are enormous. It is estimated the economies would amount to at least $3,000,000 annually. And the monetary savings are really minor when considering the advantages of centralized responsibility, the attracting to public employment of men of exceptional ability, the improved service, the formulation and prosecution of large municipal improvements, and the increased civic pride and spirit which it is believed would result. The Chicago bureau has presented a very logical and convincing arraignment of the expensiveness and efficiency due to the separation of the county and city government, and has "done its bit" in stimulating a public demand for better things. However, the recommendation concerning the type of government, although secondary in importance to the suggestion relative to the consolidation of the city and county governments, should receive careful thought regarding its practicability. However successful city-manager government may have proven for small cities, in large communities its machinery may require substantial adjustment to meet the conditions of more responsibility and less civic conscience.

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[1] A report by the Chicago bureau of public efficiency.

Since the National Municipal League has enlarged its field of activities, it might find an opportunity for constructive work in a comparative study of the consolidation plans of Denver, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Oakland, San Diego, and elsewhere. A critical statement of results in Denver should be of particular value.

Lent D. Upson.[1]

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Additional Powers for New Jersey Municipalities.[2]—The New Jersey legislature of 1914 enacted a statute which provided that each city with the commission type of government "shall have all powers which it shall deem necessary or convenient for its government, or for its welfare and prosperity, not in conflict with the laws applicable to all cities of this state or the provisions of the constitution." This liberal home rule statute was declared to be in conflict with the state constitution on somewhat technical grounds. The legislature of 1916 therefore authorized Governor Fielder to appoint a commission of three to revise and codify the statutes of the state relating to cities and other municipalities, and to prepare bills delegating additional powers thereto (chapter 84 of the Laws of 1916). The commission was promptly created and a series of meetings was held in Trenton and other cities of the state to which all persons interested in municipal government were invited; and the report was made to the governor on January 22, 1917.

The report calls attention to the fact that the constitutional amendment of 1875, which prohibited special and local legislation for New Jersey municipalities, did not accomplish its purpose. A statute could still be enacted applicable to all townships, to all boroughs, to all villages, to all towns, or to all of any one of the four classes into which cities were divided. Moreover, a city could prepare a charter and have the legislature enact it as applicable to any city of its class which might adopt it by a majority vote. Of course no other city desired this special charter so that the act was in effect a special charter for a particular city. Therefore, to clear the field, the commission prepared a number of bills for the repeal of hundreds of acts, or parts thereof, constituting about one third of the entire compiled statutes of New Jersey.

The commission further prepared a bill, which was introduced on January 27, 1917, as Senate Bill No. 7, extending numerous powers to all municipalities of the state, whether a borough with 19 inhabitants, a city with less than 100, a village with 6,000, a town with 40,000, a township with 20,000, or a city with nearly half a million population, for all of these exist in New Jersey. These powers include such as the right to own and operate wharves, docks, abattoirs, markets, street railways, heating plants, coal yards, ice plants, etc.

The commission did not attempt to confer complete powers on municipalities by a "general welfare clause," as was attempted for commissioned-governed cities in the act of 1914, because, in the words of the commission, "attempts of this kind have been unsuccessful elsewhere, and the legislative custom of specifying in detail the powers granted is so well established that it is unsafe to attempt a radical change in this method. Such a clause, without a specification of powers granted, would leave the powers granted uncertain," and in the hands of the courts because of various constitutional restrictions.

Considering our system of constitutional limitations, the commission no doubt acted in accordance with expediency. However, one can but regret that means have not been found for granting to municipalities all powers not prohibited, which was attempted for commission-governed cities in the act of 1914, and which has long been enjoyed by continental cities.

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[1] Detroit bureau of governmental research.

[2] Report of the commission to revise and codify New Jersey statutes relating to municipalities. (Trenton, New Jersey, January 22, 1917. Pp. 354.)

It should be understood that the commission made no recommendations regarding the structure of municipal government, because it was created for the sole purpose of systematizing and increasing the powers of municipalities.

Frank Abbott Magruder.

✣

Chicago Commission on the Liquor Problem.[1]—On July 12, 1915, the city council of Chicago directed the mayor to appoint a committee of six aldermen and three citizens "to consider in a comprehensive way the medical, moral, political, financial, social and economic aspects of the use of intoxicating liquors in Chicago; to consider the chief methods of licensing, regulating and prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors; and to recommend to this council the best practical policy for this municipality to pursue." This pamphlet is "a preliminary report together with such recommendations as an incomplete study of the problem at this time appears to warrant." The report may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The commission declares that above all it has been firmly impressed with the fact that "what Chicago needs in the way of better regulation of the sale of alcoholic beverages, is a strict enforcement of existing laws and ordinances." To this statement probably every "wet" city in the United States will say "Amen." In Chicago the commission found the woeful lack of law enforcement to be so notorious that not only has the populace grown callous, but that also it no longer accepts in good faith any order issued which has to do with the regulation of saloons and other places where alcoholic beverages are sold.

2. "Why are the laws regulating the sale of liquors not enforced?" The answer given is "because of a sinister political influence, law enforcement as it applies to the liquor is a joke and a byword. The police are afraid to do their duty, because if they offend someone who is a political power in the ward, they find themselves transferred 'for the good of the service.' The responsibility rests higher up. The whole system is vicious and calls for an immediate remedy." A further cause is found in the fact that the saloonkeeper who conducts an orderly saloon soon finds his trade going to his competitor who is permitted to violate the law and he must also follow suit if he would maintain his business. Thus arises a wholesale contempt for law and order.

3. The commission makes recommendations which are of considerable general value, some of which are here noted: (a) the divorcing of the liquor business "from pull, preference, and special privilege." (b) Greater care regarding the licensee, full statement as to when and under what conditions licenses should be revoked. (c) Reduction in the number of saloons per ward resident. (d) Suggestion that the interior of all saloons be kept well lighted and that the front be unclosed and unobstructed except by transparent window glass "so that a clear view of the interior of the premises of such saloons may be had at all times. No booths, stalls, winerooms, closed or partially closed rooms of any character should be allowed in places where alcoholic beverages are sold." A necessary and radical step, which will probably keep many citizens out of the saloon and especially women. (e) No gambling of any kind to be allowed or sale of intoxicating liquors to minors. (f) All treating to be forbidden.

We miss in the report any recommendation regarding the suppression of cabaret features and of the political club both of which have grown in most communities to be almost as pernicious as the saloon.

Edwin S. Lane.

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First Annual Report of New York Bureau of Attendance.—The bureau of attendance in New York city is a bureau of the department of education which exercises functions relating to compulsory school attendance, juvenile labor, school census and general child welfare activities.

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[1] Preliminary report to the mayor and aldermen of the city of Chicago. Chicago, Illinois. December, 1916. Pp. 65.

Its first report (for the year ending July 31, 1915), a volume of 216 pages, outlines clearly the functions and policies of the bureau, describes in considerable detail its administrative procedures, presents adequate statistical data in support of the most important parts of the text, narrates several case histories to give the critical reader a clear insight into the character of its work, and contains valuable constructive recommendations for the development of the bureau's work during the next year.

Since the relation between truancy, juvenile delinquency and adult criminality appears to be a close one, it is evident that effective work against truancy will result in lessening the work of the other public agencies. It is on this account that the first report of the New York bureau of attendance should be carefully studied throughout the United States in order that each city may adopt as many of the policies described as may be found suited to its needs.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

✱

"Highways and Byways—A problem in Upkeep."[1]—A review of this annual report of the Philadelphia bureau of highways and street cleaning emphasizes the fact that its chief has set a standard worthy of imitation by municipal authorities generally. It is fortunately compiled in such form that the citizen will be able to read understandingly and with interest of the several activities of the bureau. An admirable feature which will appeal to laymen and engineers alike is the profuse illustration of the work of its several departments. While presented in a semi-popular vein, nevertheless the report is of great value to engineers specializing in the field of highway engineering. As of particular value to the municipal engineer are to be noted the detailed descriptions of the concrete service test road on Oxford pike, the Byberry and Bensalem service test road, the planning boards of the bureau of highways, and the excellent and comprehensive tables of cost data covering street cleaning, and the construction and maintenance of the several types of roads and pavements laid in Philadelphia.

ARTHUR H. BLANCHARD.[2]

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Governors' Messages.—The March 17 bulletin of the public affairs information service is devoted exclusively to a digest of the inaugural messages of the governors to the legislatures of 38 states in session during the winter of 1917. In several cases the messages of retiring governors have also been included. As the sessions of the Florida and Georgia legislatures convene at a later date, the messages of their governors together with those of Arizona, Idaho, Indiana, Oklahoma and Texas will be published in a later bulletin.

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Street Railway Franchises.—The October, 1916, number of the Minneapolis *Municipal Statistics* is a "street railway franchise issue," so called because it contains a condensation of the report of City Engineer Cappelen on the physical value of the properties of the Minneapolis Street Railway Company. This valuation was authorized by the city council on August 27, 1915. The report was submitted on September 29, 1916.

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[1] Summary of operations for 1915 of the bureau of highways and street cleaning of the department of public works of Philadelphia by William H. Connell, chief. 138 pages.

[2] Consulting highway engineer, New York.

NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. VI, NO. 4 JULY, 1917 TOTAL NO. 24

THE WAR AND MUNICIPAL ADVANCE

BY J. HORACE MCFARLAND[1]
Harrisburg, Pa.

FOR the first time since its great internal struggle in 1861, the United States is involved in a real war. The Spanish American war was a mere skirmish, and the incidents with Mexico have been far less serious. We now face an extraordinary, determined fighting combination, operated as a unit and not as a democracy.

We are populous, we are wealthy, and we are united. We will fight with determination and vigor. The feeling throughout the country is serious. It is appreciated that we have reached a definite crisis in the life of the nation.

Does this mean the abandonment of all work other than that related to the sending of soldiers and vessels, of munitions and food, to the fighting line? Does it mean that education must be checked; that philanthropy must be exerted only toward war relief; that the United States must in patriotic thought definitely set aside endeavors for municipal betterment?

Each man at war is said to require five or six men back of him to keep him supplied and in fighting trim. Each shot from any gun on any vessel represents the work of from ten to one hundred men, for a time between a week and a month. Each shipload of food or munitions supplied to the Allies has to do with the life of a large town in the United States for a whole year.

Thus, with a united nation, intent on fighting with success the battle for liberty and democracy, the larger part of the actual work is done at home, and more than 50 per cent of it in the cities and towns of the country.

If by continuing civic effort the efficient expenditure of a single dollar can be caused to do as much for the community as two dollars previously did; if by civic thoughtfulness ten men can do equally well the work which has heretofore taken twenty; if by the use of better methods community service and community government can be improved, it is obvious that to abandon or intermit efforts for the sort of advance work for which the National Municipal League stands would tend to embarrass rather than to help the fighters at the front.

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[1] President, American Civic Association; vice-president, National Municipal League.

The National Municipal League, therefore, calls for greater intensity on the part of its associates and members, so that not only the soldiers at the front but the war workers at home, their families and those who pay the taxes, may live in the best fashion at the least cost with the utmost equality of opportunity. It follows that this action is patriotic, and distinctly and directly in the line of producing quickly in the United States, and in a better fashion, that marvelous community efficiency which has been a conspicuous factor in the fighting ability of the German empire.

AMERICAN CITIES IN WAR TIMES

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF [1]

Philadelphia

THE first shock of the entrance of America into the world war has failed to produce an appreciable effect upon American cities, and so far but slight effect upon American progressive organizations like the National Municipal League, and the activities of local bodies working for better municipal conditions, save in the direction of a still greater conservation of energy and resources: for the conduct of American volunteer civic bodies has not heretofore been generally characterized by waste, extravagance or red tape.

Unquestionably the most striking development of these first few months since war was declared has been the determination to stand steadfastly for all that has thus far been gained through long, hard effort. England, in the first months of her war experience, showed hysteria and a bending, a letting down of the bars, especially along industrial lines and in certain lines of public work. America appears to be determined not to make the same mistake.

This is the testimony of the civic director of the woman's city club of Cincinnati:

> Declaration of war brought at first a paralyzed discouragement at the spectacle of halted plans which had been aimed at social progress. But civic and social workers are regaining their footing in the sweep of international events. There is now emerging among them, as if by unspoken consent from one end of the country to the other a high resolve to safe-

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[1] Secretary, National Municipal League.

guard from sacrifice, if possible, their hard won gains. National and international calls for service must be heeded, and the larger patriotism to which they have given birth makes it possible to dedicate to one's country and to the world, with clearer vision, one's unwavering will to strengthen the links of common welfare by local civic effort. Our own committees, though somewhat shaken by diverting demands, have not lost their grip upon their earlier programs of reform. Twenty committees in the last month have held thirty-one meetings.

NO HYSTERIA

Thus far there has been little or no hysteria on the part of American civic leaders and civic organizations. Naturally there has been a searching of hearts; a thoughtful consideration of the whole situation; but no serious suggestion of giving up the fight for improved conditions. There has been a general recognition that the cities of the country constitute the reserve forces of democracy; the essential support of those at the front. In the pioneer days of the municipal movement, we used to say "As go the cities, so goes the nation." True then, it is even truer now for the cities bulk so much larger in importance, numbers, strength, influence. If democracy fails to make good in the city, it will inevitably fail in the larger units—but it is not going to fail in the city.

The present war is one of economic forces. It will also be one of enormous expenditures—the greatest in the history of the world. This means that as never before our governmental machinery must be organized for efficiency and economy.

GOVERNMENT: "THE BIGGEST FACT IN OUR LIVES"

"Can governmental methods be improved in the hurry and scurry of war?" the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research asks, and answers its own question in this way:

> If ever citizens are conscious of the government over them it is when they are face to face with war. In ordinary times of peace the great mass of citizens take little heed of the fact that it is government that protects us from violence and accidents, that it is government that very largely looks after our health, that it is government that educates our children, that government is the greatest constructive social agency in the community. But suddenly war tears the veil of indifference from our eyes and we see government as it actually is, always a part of our very existence. . . . It becomes in war times the biggest fact in our lives. . . .
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> To those living under an autocracy, this close-up contact with government has brought home the importance of the democratic form. To those who have the democratic form, it brings home the necessity for perfecting that form as much as possible. Exploitation and inexpert blundering bring disastrous consequences which teach hard lessons.
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> Every instrumentality that makes for social and governmental efficiency becomes of intensely more importance in a national crisis. If sanitation was important during peace, it is immensely more important

during a war. If education and the advancement of science were worth while last month, how much more so are they now when our very lives depend upon knowing how to control the forces of nature! If it were worth while to save babies in ordinary times, how much more important it is to save them in war time! If scientific methods of employment and purchase of supplies were necessary to meet the normal demands on government, how much more necessary are they now that we are in the conflict! If good methods in the management and control of the governmental finances were desirable in times of peace, they are *indispensable* in times of war.

So, while at first thought sloppy, haphazard ways might seem justified on account of the unusual pressure suddenly brought to bear upon our machinery of government, reflection shows us that now of all times are precision, expertness, careful planning, improvements in all phases of governmental work most supremely important.

If we are wise we will start on this assumption and not have to learn the bitter lesson in the most expensive way.

Under the caption: "American Cities are Awake," the editor of *The American City* in his May issue pointed out that when war was declared an instant and patriotic response on the part of municipal officials and commercial and civic organizations throughout the United States might have been predicted with certainty. But, as he said, there was naturally a feeling on the part of many leaders in municipal activities that the attention of the nation might be concentrated on measures of military preparedness to the exclusion of problems of equal or greater importance relating to economic resources and social welfare.

THE AMERICAN CITY CANVASS

If any doubt still exists on this subject, there is now documentary evidence to refute it. A communication was sent on April 13 by the editor of *The American City* to the mayor and to the leading commercial or civic organization in some 1200 cities throughout the United States to the following effect:

> The war with Germany has brought to everyone of us an opportunity to render patriotic service in promoting economic preparedness and social welfare.
>
> The importance of these activities in the present crisis is generally realized. People throughout the nation are showing their willingness to co-operate, but few of them know just how to proceed. . . .
>
> Will you co-operate by telling just what your city has done, is doing or is planning to do along any of the lines covered by the enclosed blank? . . .

A questionnaire accompanied the letter with a request for information as to activities already inaugurated, of the several kinds indicated in the following list:

1. Vacant lot cultivation.
2. Care of families of soldiers and sailors.

3. Co-ordinating and financing of local charities.
4. Plans for Independence Day receptions to encourage naturalization of aliens.
5. Promotion of increased production in agricultural areas adjacent to your city.
6. Improvements in marketing methods.
7. Training school children in gardening.
8. Vocational training in night schools.
9. Teaching English to adult foreigners.
10. Physical preparedness through improved housing conditions.
11. Baby week campaigns and other child welfare work.
12. Increased attention to public health and sanitation.
13. Safeguarding moral conditions in camps.
14. Enlistment of emergency forces by fire departments.
15. Increased attention to road building and maintenance.
16. Enlistment of emergency forces by police departments.

The 526 replies received from 454 cities showed a widespread intention to co-operate in definite work along the lines indicated, and to hold fast to ground already occupied.

NEW YORK STATE CITIES

Practically every city in New York state has a vacant lot and back garden campaign according to a bulletin issued by the state conference of mayors. Forty-one cities have already started campaigns and have their work well organized. "There will be few uncultivated vacant lots in the cities of this state" said William P. Capes, secretary of the conference, "if the officials and organizations which are co-operating with them succeed with their plans. Most of the cities have reported that their campaigns are in full swing and being developed to the greatest possible extent. In all the cities committees are listing all vacant lots that will not be tilled by the owners and arranging for their cultivation. Back-yard gardening is also being encouraged. Several cities are arranging to have school children and adults plant municipally owned land such as parks, plots bid in for unpaid taxes and the unused space about city places."

At a meeting of the Indiana mayors' association held in April, it was reported that municipal labor bureaus will be established in many Indiana cities for the purpose of encouraging men to go to the country and to work during periods when there is a shortage of labor on the farms to "assist the more-food movement." Several mayors told of their plans to confiscate vacant lots for gardening purposes in cases where the owners do not give permission for their use. The mayor of Marion said the lots should be plowed and the question of the city's right to take possession of them could be settled later. The mayor of Fort Wayne told of the comprehensive organization work for gardening in that city. The mayor of Goshen said it was his intention to place all idlers at work in gardens.

Close co-operation by all mayors of Indiana for encouraging the raising of as much food as possible in home gardens, and the taking of organized steps for the preservation of the surplus food for winter use, were urged.

MORE EFFECTIVE CO-OPERATION AND UTILIZATION

The same story comes from other parts of the country where municipal officials and workers have gathered. Everywhere, in fact, there has been a recognition of the need of more effective co-operation and utilization of our forces, both in the way of production and of economy. While our civic volunteer organizations have generally, both through necessity and conviction, been careful and economical in the transaction of their affairs, the same cannot be said of individuals and of cities, and both of these must now contribute their share. There are numerous wastes of water, light, heat and power, which if corrected will result in truly enormous savings. These are small matters, but practically within the control of every citizen and should be attended to without further delay.

Our city governments have not heretofore, except in rare instances, been characterized by either efficiency or economy. Now is the time to inaugurate both. "Eventually—why not now?" reads a well known advertisement. And it may be asked with great appropriateness of our municipal governments. Somebody must pay the enormous bills that will be entailed by the conduct of the war and the citizen can no longer shrug his shoulders when reminded of municipal waste and inefficiency, and dismiss the whole matter with the comment "that we can easily afford it."

Called upon to bear greater burdens, to practice greater economy and inaugurate greater efficiency at the same time new duties are assumed, the cities will demand the closer attention and the greater co-operation of organizations like the National Municipal League and the long list of local civic associations, city clubs, municipal leagues, and similar bodies. This was the moral to be drawn from the Kansas City meeting of the city planning conference, generally conceded to be the most successful in its history.

Moreover, as Walter Lippman recently pointed out,

> We are living and shall live all our lives now in a revolutionary world. That means among other things a world of restless experiment. If this activity is to be controlled by mind, our minds will have to be controlled by some great central idea. That idea may be described as the search for the ways and means towards new and more workable varieties of federalism. We might almost say, I think, that there is no form of inquiry into human need and organization which could not profitably be directed for the near future by that dominant idea.

Therein lies the need for the unremitting support of the National Consumers League, the Child Labor Committee, the National Municipal League and their allies. We are determining by our conduct in this war not only the immediate issues, but the civilization of the coming generations; for it is possible for us to win the war and lose our own souls.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

The coming of war found us unprepared for war. The coming of peace, whether this year or next, or years hence, must not find us unprepared for the problems, the difficult problems, which peace will bring. The editor of the *Canadian Municipal Journal* (and that great dominion has never abated its civic activities during the whole period of the war) in his May issue points out that

> Practically throughout the Empire, and the world for that matter' preparations are being made right now by municipal authorities to meet the after war conditions. In the Mother Country municipal councils, realizing the keen competition that will follow the war, and the ambitions of men who have tasted the sweets from the profits gotten of war's necessity, have for some time been preparing publicity campaigns to encourage industries to locate in their particular district. . . . Great Britain in the midst of her vast preparations to win the war has also been preparing for "after the war." What are war plants to-day will be peace plants to-morrow, for England has a big bill to pay and she must manufacture and sell goods to meet that bill. She has the ships and will have the goods to flood the markets of the world, including this country, at prices that Canada could not begin to compete with—goods that may be indigenous to the Old Country but certainly are not to this Dominion. Canada's great chance and opportunity is in industries indigenous to her soil—in the utilization to the full of those resources right at her door. With that idea in view we have confined ourselves in Canada's preparedness propaganda to the natural resources and their development. That is all. . . .

FRENCH EXPERIENCE IN CITY PLANNING

In recounting his French experiences as a member of the American Industrial Commission to France, George B. Ford told the city planning conference at Kansas City that heretofore, France has never known recreation in the sense that we know it. Recreation has usually been "sport," and even at that, largely borrowed from England. But partly as a result of the outdoor life at the front and partly as a matter of reasoning, the Frenchman has come to realize the necessity of providing recreation places in his cities and towns. The movement is very recent, but the new recreation parks and playgrounds designed for Rheims, Clermonten, Argonne, and Bordeaux, give a suggestion of the importance that the new movement is taking in France. As success in war or peace depends so largely on keeping both men and women in the best physical condition, the provision of play space becomes doubly imperative.

Mr. Ford in the same address said:

> War shows up very clearly the need and lack of general city planning. All of the various matters that are touched upon here and many others

must be woven together into a unified comprehensive plan. We found in Paris that the city government had since the beginning of the war organized a city planning bureau with broad powers which was planning comprehensively the whole metropolitan area, not only within the city, but through all the surrounding district. In Lyons, we found similar plans being worked out. In London, the architects, engineers and city officials have come together and are working out most extraordinarily comprehensive plans especially for traffic routes for an area of nearly two thousand square miles around London.

But more striking still, were the plans which they showed us for the replanning of Rheims and some of the other destroyed towns. In France, they have come to realize that they must make a virtue of their necessity and rebuild the destroyed cities along modern, scientific lines, always preserving as far as possible the charm of the past. They have gone further still, and now appreciate the vital need of general scientific planning. They have actually framed a law which has already passed the Senate,—The Loi Cornudet,—according to which every city, town or village in France, regardless of whether it is in the destroyed area or not, will be forced to lay out all its future developments according to modern city planning principles. Every community will have to have its city planning commission, over which there will be a general commission in each of the 86 departments, and over these in turn, there will be a federal commission, so that all may work along similar lines and so that the whole area of France will be laid out according to one great comprehensive plan.

They are doing these things because they find that they have got to do them to meet the economic competition with other countries which is coming after the war. There must be no waste, and they are providing to eliminate every possibility of it. France is doing all these things at enormous cost, despite the superhuman work of carrying on the war. She is doing it because she finds it necessary to make up for the mistakes of unpreparedness. We in America are remarkably fortunate in having the example of their experience before us. It is comparatively easy for us to plan for these emergencies; be they in aviation, in the transportation of men or supplies, in housing or recreation, or in the working out of general all including plans. In peace times, it is sheer common sense to give our best thought to the planning of our cities. It is imperative to do so now to meet the demands of war.

America bids fair to take to heart and profit by England's example and hold fast to what she has already gained. May she take a further leaf from the experience of her present allies and take thought of the future while discharging her present duty to the uttermost!

THE PARIS EXHIBITION OF THE RE-CONSTITUTED CITY (1916.)

(EXPOSITION DE LA CITÉ RECONSTITUÉE)

BY PROF. PATRICK GEDDES

Edinburgh, Scotland

"THE Cities and Town Planning Exhibition," now becoming known under the shorter, more human and more accurate title of "Civic Exhibition," had been in India during the winters of 1914–15 and 1915–16 at the invitation of three presidency governments. It was held at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and later at Nagpur and Lucknow, the capitals of the central and united provinces respectively. Its director was reporting on cities, and advising on town improvements and extensions, when a request came from the Comité Supérieur of the Exposition de la Cité Reconstituée in Paris to share in this exhibition in the summer of 1916 by exhibiting the whole or part of its collections.

The original collections of the exhibition had been destroyed on their way out to India in October 1914 by the famous *Emden*, which met the vessel on which these collections were being carried, and sunk it in the Indian Ocean with all its cargo. It was a serious loss, as the collections represented much of the work of twenty years or more, and many of the documents were irreplaceable. Nor did the insurance cover war risks. Moreover, the first exhibition in India was to have been held a month or so from the date of its destruction. Members of the town planning institute in London, Edinburgh and elsewhere set to work with admirable promptitude and energy to gather new collections; and generous aid was forthcoming also from colleagues in America like Dr. Nolen and others. An exhibition, smaller of course, but not without value, was held in Madras in less than three months; and since then with each subsequent exhibition further reconstruction has been in progress.

After this experience the transporting of the best of the renewing collection once more across the seas in war time was not without risk; but the documents reached Paris at the end of April 1916, a few days before the date announced for the opening of the Exposition de la Cité Reconstituée. It was not surprising, however, to find that owing to war exigencies the preparations for opening were still far from complete. Even under ordinary circumstances exhibitions are apt to be late; and when we consider those under which the idea of this Paris Exposition of 1916 was conceived, and the difficulties of innumerable kinds in carrying it out, we cannot but regard it as one more amongst the many indications of the energy and vitality of the French, of their power of co-ordination, above all of their farsighted and generous social outlook.

It was planned and held when the enemy was still only some sixty miles from the gates of Paris, and holding a portion of France more than equal to the whole of Belgium, and while the terrible struggle of Verdun was at its fiercest, the Germans gaining ground there, and threatening to break through the French defences. Every available man of fighting age was either at the front or otherwise employed in war work. Scarcely a family but was mourning their men already fallen on the field. The exposition, too, suffered from the absence at the front of architects and others who would have rendered good service; as also from the inevitable cares and preoccupations of those promoters who remained on the spot. Workmen were scarce; materials, such as wood for temporary constructions, were hard to find. Nevertheless, the exposition was useful, as an education to the general public and to specialists of various kinds; and above all it was a triumphant demonstration, alike to allies and enemies, of the courage and confidence of France.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE GOVERNMENT

The draft programme announced that the exposition was organized by the *Association Générale des Hygiénistes et Techniciens Municipaux de France et des Pays de Langue Française*, under the ægis of the republic, with the patronage of the ministries of commerce, of industry, of agriculture, of education and fine art, of labor and of the interior; of the general council of the Seine and municipal council of Paris; and of the committees for housing and social welfare and the like. Its working nucleus was well constituted, of architects and planners, men of affairs, of politics and government; and its composition included at once a strong representation of regionalists, from Brittany to Provence, as well as eminent Parisians. Of their working president, M. Georges Risler, much might be said, and all appreciatively.

The site of the exposition was well chosen on the Terrace of the Tuileries adjoining the Place de la Concorde, easily reached by underground railways and by tramway from both sides of the Seine. Most of the buildings were temporary constructions except the central one of the old "*Jeu de Paume.*" In this were exhibited plans for the reconstruction of Rheims and other towns and villages in the war zone, as well as of foreign towns by skilled and scholarly French architects and municipal engineers. There were also photographs and drawings of some of the destroyed Flemish towns, with plans for the reconstruction of their ruined quarters and public buildings.

Around the central building were examples of building materials and constructions in wood, in various kinds of cement, plaster, terra-cotta, etc.; some separate, or in street rows, some grouped as model villages. The exposition showed altogether 40 of these model houses costing from 1500 francs ($300) upwards. There were of course the usual business exhibits by firms of cabinet-makers, electricians and other house furnishers, agricultural implement manufacturers, and so on.

THE QUAKER CONTRIBUTION

One of the most interesting and congruent exhibits was that of the English Society of Friends (Quakers), whose war victims' relief committee has for the past two and a half years been engaged in reconstruction work in the departments of the Marne and Meuse, from which the Germans were driven back in September, 1914. This exhibit took the form of a wooden hut of three rooms, such as the Friends have been building in great numbers for the inhabitants of the villages and small towns wrecked by the Germans. Inside the little dwelling were plans of these villages and towns, indicating the houses totally or partially destroyed (in some cases scarcely a single one was left standing), and those rebuilt by the Friends' committee. There were also photographs showing other branches of their work, such as medical relief, distribution of agricultural implements, seeds, etc., of clothing and other necessaries; temporary schools and work rooms, with specimens of needlework for sale.

VILLAGE PLANS

An important feature of the exposition was the competition, open to all architects, French and other, for the best village plans, for which prizes were offered. The competitors, of whom there were twenty-five or more, were supplied with plans of three types of ruined agricultural villages, large and small, chosen from different regions and with varying situations and needs. The competitors were of varied points of view, from the most urban outwards. Some were extreme Parisians—must one say even to cockneyism?—of the type which prevails in every great city; projecting the boulevards, places, rond-points of Paris, even the Etoile itself, upon the village, which was thus effaced beyond recognition as a village altogether. Others there were with all degrees of practicality, up to rural commonsense. But in general, for villages as for cottages, with of course creditable exceptions, the idea was not clear enough to most of the competitors, that the peasant requires a homestead, a working farm-center, and not merely that pleasant suburban retreat to which the city dweller, his work over, looks forward to retiring.

THE CATHEDRAL QUARTER OF RHEIMS

The proposals for the cathedral quarter of Rheims were too much influenced by Paris. They tended to repeat the errors of the Second Empire, and those of the earlier German town planners with their excessive opening up, in front of Notre Dame and all around Cologne Cathedral. The Germans before the war, awakened to this error, were organizing competitions for building up again around their cathedrals, and so restoring them to their former scale and majesty. For thus, instead of being left isolated upon an empty place, like a head on a charger, like bric-à-brac upon a table, or like a model on a museum floor, they will again appear soaring above the homes grouped around them, presiding over, protecting, inspiring their city.

So far these two criticisms, of country plans and city ones. But one of the great uses of our exhibition is to provide an opportunity of making mistakes like these of village and cathedral in their experimental phases, while there is still time for criticism and improvement, instead of the commoner method—that of half-considered execution first, and useless criticism after the fact.

An excellent and varied programme of lectures was provided on civic subjects ranging from public sanitation, rural and urban, to the æsthetic and social aspects of town planning. It included also regional studies of the French provinces, Alsace-Lorraine, Brittany, Provence, Auvergne and many more. Peripatetic lectures (*promenades-conférences*), too, were organized; and all this again with fitting leadership, not only antiquarian, artistic and architectural, but embracing at once the best geographers of France, all now regionalists to a man; and the small but growing group of politicians who are working to renew the too much lost lesson of 1870–71; that of slackening the excessive cerebralization of Paris, and renewing the life of the old provinces, recombined as natural and economic regions, and each around its provincial capital and university city.

Parties of school children were admitted free of charge under the direction of their teachers or other guides. Members of municipalities and other city officials came from afar. A special invitation was sent by the comité supérieur to the lord mayor and council of Dublin, who at the time were preoccupied by the question of replanning and rebuilding the areas destroyed during the Sinn Fein rising at Easter of last year. The lord mayor, city architect and several councillors accepted the invitation, and a cordial meeting took place between them and their Paris colleagues.

So much for the bulk of the exposition; our own section, that of the civic exhibition, was of more general scope than any other. It consisted of a type-collection of graphic illustrations bearing on the life of cities, and on their constructions considered as expressions of this civic life. It was arranged as a basis for the scientific and comparative study of cities past and present, and for relating to each the conception of the "city possible."

PLANS OF ANCIENT CITIES

Plans and drawings of ancient cities, of Egypt, Israel, Greece, Rome, of mediæval and renaissance times led on to those of the modern industrial age, and supplied that historical perspective needed to correct the view too limited to our mechanical age of town planning and city improvement.

which is still so characteristic of both the city engineer and his lay public. Without such preliminary study, our town planners overlook elements of vital importance, material as well as moral, to the life of the community for which they plan, and thus have too often impoverished and degraded their towns instead of enriching and ennobling them.

The influence of wars on the congestion and consequent deterioration of cities was exemplified in a series of old prints and plans of Flemish towns, Ypres, Dixmude, Ghent, etc. Yet with all these tragic records the opportunities of renewal also were not forgotten.

The too narrowly utilitarian character of the town planning of the earlier modern industrial period, with its accompaniments of squalor and degradation of the worker and his family, were only too easy to illustrate; but happily also the garden villages and garden suburbs characteristic of the later industrial developments. It is of the greatest importance to distinguish between these two phases of the industrial age. Just as we recognize in the stone age the two great periods of paleolithic and neolithic, of rough stone and polished stone implements respectively; so in the industrial age we must distinguish on the one hand the earlier, ruder industry characterized by coal and steam, and the making of cheap products and cheaper people crowded into ever spreading, ever dirtier and smokier towns,—the paleotechnic period as we may call it. On the other hand we are entering upon the second stage, the neotechnic, characterized by electricity, by finer industry, by more skilled and educated workers, by cleaner towns with parks and gardens and playgrounds all of which are important factors for survival in the struggle for existence of a community.

CONGESTION

Examples of the plans of Indian cities showed overcrowding, and consequent disappearance of open spaces,—gardens, parks, squares—as in the west; with the accompanying evils of depression, dirt and disease. The remedies for this congestion by "conservative surgery," *i.e.*, demolition of the less valuable property and consequent opening up of crowded quarters in more economical fashion and with less hardship to the inhabitants than by wholesale destruction, were also indicated. In many cases the plans revised yielded economies rising from three-fourths to five-sixths or even nine-tenths over the original ones.

Examples of regional survey as applied to cities great and small illustrated the growth of London from Roman times. A more detailed study, geographical, historical and social of Edinburgh as a complex typical city further demonstrated the usefulness and even necessity for such a preliminary study preparatory to replanning, on the principle of diagnosis before treatment.

REGIONAL SURVEYS

Other regional surveys, on a simpler scale, had been carried out by schools and colleges, primary, secondary and higher; and afforded illustrations of how geography, history and other subjects may be taught in a concrete and living way; while at the same time developing that early acquaintance with and interest of the child in his village or city, which is the best training for citizenship.

This regional survey movement is rapidly growing. Its provisional committee formed two or three years ago has developed into a regional survey association with separate branches for education, for archæological and scientific research, for the co-ordination of naturalist societies of all kinds, and now for civics and town planning also. A world-wide appeal may shortly be made to educationists and to the wider public; for this conception of survey for service harmonizes and unifies all systems of education—the classical and historical with the modern and scientific, the technical with the ethical. Towards this end the efforts of regionalists even in France are still but half consciously directed. But with the approaching reorganization,—mainly after the war, yet as movements like this exposition show, already fully begun—the renewal of education on this basis of survey, and with this outlook and purpose of service, will become clear, and this in thought and policy alike.

But as yet the most important outcome, the main result of the Exposition de la Cité Reconstituée, has been the grouping which was coming into being as it closed, and which is its real continuator and successor—the formation in Paris of a school of public art and town planning (*Ecole d'Art Public*). Here the organizing leader is M. Patris, a distinguished Belgian architect; who, though a simple alien and refugee without wealthy or official backing, has collected in the course of the exposition promises of teaching help and part time service, all of course unpaid, from no fewer than some seven and thirty colleagues, like the guidance by the French painter of his pupils, or the services of the hospital physician everywhere.

Such an organization is itself at once the best example of the civic movement, and the evidence that its leaders are forthcoming. And what was done last year in Paris, as queen of art and inspirer of cities, may and will be done in cities everywhere.

THE PLANNING OF THE MODERN CITY[1]

BY THOMAS ADAMS[2]

Ottawa, Canada

IT WAS to be expected that Mr. Nelson P. Lewis with his wide experience as chief engineer of the board of estimate and apportionment of New York city, and his familiarity with the city planning movement in all parts of the world, would write a practical and instructive book on the subject of the planning of a modern city. That expectation has been fully realized, and Mr. Lewis has presented us with a volume which is an admirable introductory text-book to the subject for city planning engineers.

He recognizes the importance of city plans being made adaptable to varied local conditions, and does not attempt to lay down hard and fast rules on matters which can only be considered in detail and on their merits in each locality.

The experience of Mr. Lewis in New York gives special weight to his counsel regarding the defects of large American cities in regard to the absence of reasonable restrictions governing the height and arrangement of buildings. He shows that the correction of these defects in New York and Chicago will involve greater cost than in European cities, and that a fundamental mistake was made in the failure to impose limitations of height and bulk in the first place.

ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF THE CITY PLAN

The author regards the four essential features of the plan as: (1) The transportation of system; (2) The street system; (3) The park and recreation facilities; (4) The location of public buildings. These he regards as the features which need consideration "to give the town its character and make it convenient or inconvenient, dignified or commonplace." The inclusion of a fifth feature, namely, the control of building development and sanitation, would have been desirable and might have led Mr. Lewis to develop that feature a little more fully in working out the scheme of his book.

I venture to take issue with Mr. Lewis on his statement that one purpose of a city street is to provide light and air. Of course the street forms part of the space between buildings and in that respect it contributes towards the light and air of buildings, but we want to get away from the idea that that is a definite purpose of a street. Mr. Lewis shows elsewhere that he agrees that the right principle in determining the amount of light and air which should be provided for buildings is to fix both the distance between buildings and the amount of any lot that can be built upon.

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[1] The Planning of The Modern City. By Nelson P. Lewis. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. $3.50.

[2] Town planning adviser, Canadian Commission of Conservation.

In comparing European and American practice in regard to land development the author points out how slowly it has been realized in the United States and Canada that offensive and unhealthy development of private property must be controlled. There is need for his warning that regulations for this purpose must be reasonable, so that they will not defeat their purpose.

SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT AND GARDEN CITIES

One of the most important problems in connection with city planning is the control of suburban development. There is no constructive planning of such development and some of the "most insanitary and debasing conditions are to be found in the small towns forming the fringe about a great city." While this is one of the most important city planning problems in America, as in other countries, it is probably the one to which least attention has been given by city planners.

In the chapter on "Garden cities," Mr. Lewis shows that he shares a common misunderstanding regarding the garden city movement in England. He refers to the garden city "type of development" as something which had taken place long before Mr. Howard wrote his book on "Garden Cities of Tomorrow in 1898." He also refers to workingmen's colonies in Germany and in England as being "garden cities." As a matter of fact, there is no scheme alluded to by Mr. Lewis, or I think in operation, which is a garden city in the sense advocated by Mr. Howard, or as being carried out in Letchworth. None of the colonies to which Mr. Lewis refers has an agricultural belt as a definite part of development. Yet that is an essential part of the garden city. None of the other schemes is definitely limited as to the area upon which the building development may take place, thus placing an artificial limit on the city population, as proposed by Mr. Howard and being carried out at Letchworth. Few, if any, of the other schemes are self-sustaining and independent, in respect of their government and finance, of some existing city or manufacturing interest. Letchworth is controlled by a company acting in the interests of the whole community. The manufacturer and working people have equal citizenship and there is an entire absence of the paternalism of industrial colonies. Mr. Lewis does not underestimate the value of Letchworth as an experiment, although I think he takes too seriously some of the facetious criticisms which have appeared with reference to the over-artistic character of garden city architecture.

In regard to city planning legislation, generous recognition is given of the developments in Britain and Canada.

In dealing with finance Mr. Lewis urges that a city's credit should not be used to borrow money for a longer period than the life of the improvement, and that where there is local benefit there should be local assessment.

THE MUNICIPAL ENGINEER AND THE CITY PLAN

In the concluding chapter on the opportunities of the municipal engineers, attention is drawn to a matter which is usually overlooked by writers of books on city planning, namely, that the progress of city planning in America, as in England, will largely depend on the sympathy and training of municipal engineers. They will be primarily responsible for executing most of the city plans, whether they are responsible for preparing them or not. Mr. Lewis acknowledges it as his chief purpose to bring home to municipal engineers their responsibility, and if he succeeds in doing that his achievement will be of enormous value to the cause of city planning and more scientific development of cities. Whether Mr. Lewis will succeed in his purpose or not will depend on how many municipal engineers will confer upon themselves the privilege of accepting the counsel of one of the ablest and most enlightened members of the profession. So far as the author is concerned he has done his share, and has given to America a most valuable contribution to city planning literature.

DAYLIGHT SAVING

THE VALUE OF THE DAYLIGHT SAVING PLAN AS AN EMERGENCY WAR MEASURE

BY MARCUS M. MARKS[1]

THE "Daylight Saving" plan, namely of turning the clock forward an hour during the five summer months from the last Sunday in April to the last Sunday in September was first put into effect by Germany in the spring of 1916 as an emergency war measure. Immediately all of the other leading warring nations, except Russia, adopted the plan, as well as Norway, Sweden, Holland and Denmark, on account of its great economic and other advantages.

Last year's trial in all of these countries resulted in such material benefits that not only all of the countries mentioned, but also Portugal, Australia, Iceland and Bermuda have enacted it for 1917.

To ascertain the exact results of the trial, the British Parliament, the German Reichstag and the legislative body of Holland appointed investigating committees—each of which reported favorable results and recommended its permanent adoption.

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[1] President of the Borough of Manhattan, and president of the National Daylight Saving Association.

INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION

The plan is not only of great value in times of peace, but its economic advantages as a war measure are fourfold. Under the plan, an extra hour of daylight in the late afternoon is afforded to everyone and it was found that a large majority, particularly of the working classes in England and Germany, utilized this hour for home gardening, resulting in an increased production of food.

It is of the highest importance, as everyone now realizes, that every step and measure should be taken to stimulate the cultivation of every possible parcel of ground for food purposes. In New York city alone there are at least one million daily commuters, most of whom live in homes with grounds, a portion of which could be easily planted with vegetables. Under the present-time conditions, most of these commuters arrive at their homes at night just about the time the sun is setting which prevents their spending any time in gardening, unless they are patriotic and ambitious enough to rise before time in the morning. Under the "Daylight Saving" plan practically all of them would have at least an hour of daylight after their home-coming which they, in this crisis, would undoubtedly use or spend in their gardens. Thousands of plots would be tilled which had never produced food before. This would be true not only of New York city, but also of all our great cities and several millions of people would be enlisted in the government's service, doing their bit daily in their home gardens.

This is not a speculation. The experience of England and Germany proved that the extra hour of daylight was used for this purpose.

SAVING IN LIGHTING BILLS

The second great advantage of the plan in war time is the great money saving in lighting bills. Under the new time arrangement, every householder would save one hour daily in the consumption of gas or electricity or other means of illumination. It is estimated that in England $12,000,000 were saved in this connection. Vienna alone saved $142,000, and it has been estimated by Robert L. Brunet, public service engineer of Providence, R. I., after a careful study, that in the United States during the five summer months the sum of $40,000,000 would be saved in lighting bills.

This saving in lighting consumption would not materially affect the income of the lighting companies, for the experience of Detroit and Cleveland shows that, under the plan, these companies are able to reduce the peak of their load and lessen their overhead charges.

DECREASED COAL CONSUMPTION

Another item of saving is that in the consumption of coal and other fuel by the lighting companies. In England alone last year this saving amounted to 260,000 tons and a conservative estimate of the saving in the United States during the coming summer season is 1,000,000 tons. At the present moment the Federal Trade Commission is about to investigate the coal shortage. Dealers seem unable to supply the demand, and, in New York city and many other large places, are making contracts for coal with very indefinite dates of deliveries. By the passage of the "Daylight Saving" bill, the demand would be lessened by this one million tons saved, an item worthy of much consideration.

BENEFITS TO HEALTH

The committees which investigated the plan in Europe also reported that the general health of all, praticularly the workers, was greatly benefited. Nine out of fourteen trade unions of England reported favorably on the plan and social settlements stated that it was widely appreciated by working class families. The athletic clubs noted great increase in recreational activities. The manager of Messrs. Vickers Co., Ltd., one of the largest manufacturing concerns in England, called the Summer Time Act "One of the greatest boons conferred on the industrial classes of the greater towns by recent legislation."

ENDORSEMENT OF PLAN IN UNITED STATES

Early in May, 1916, after the adoption of the plan in Germany and other European countries, I organzied the New York daylight saving committee, consisting of about two hundred leading men and women of New York city, to bring the movement to the attention of people throughout the country. Shortly thereafter, the plan was taken under consideration by many of the leading chambers of commerce throughout the country and its approval spread rapidly. At the suggestion of the New York committee and several chambers, the chamber of commerce of the United States at Washington appointed a special committee on "Daylight Saving" to investigate the merits of the plan. This committee at the annual meeting of the chamber on January 31, 1917, presented a very comprehensive favorable report, recommending that the clocks in the United States should be set one hour ahead of the present "standard" time, stating that

> "The considerations supporting this proposal are physiological, economic, and social. It will substitute a cool morning working hour in summer for a warm afternoon hour; in winter it may place breakfast before sunrise but it will bring a greater amount of daylight into the working hours at the end of the day. The accompanying improvements in working conditions will be great. Increased daylight in the hours of greatest fatigue will tend to lessen tuberculosis, will decidedly reduce eye strain, will increase personal efficiency, and will materially lessen industrial accidents. In cities the advantage of having the evening "rush hour" when transportation facilities are taxed, come in daylight is so apparent it scarcely needs statement.

The use of facilities for recreation, especially by the classes that work longest hours and most need them, would be tremendously increased, with results in health and physical stamina which would redound to the advantage of the whole community. There would be great benefits, too, from the increased opportunities for use of means of education, direct and indirect, which in recent years have been greatly augmented for the period after the workday has closed.

The social life of the nation, too, would benefit. The hours for companionship among members of families would have greater value, and there would be more opportunity for cultivation of all the useful and desirable activities and interests which engage our attention outside our vocations.

From such benefits as these economic advantages inevitably flow. Improved physical health and social welfare will increase the efficiency of every individual at his daily tasks. Furthermore, there would be large direct savings in expenditures for fuel and artificial light."

In order that victory over Germany may be assured to us and our Allies, it is highly desirable that we should co-operate with them in every possible way. The "Daylight Saving" plan is in operation in every country of the Allies. Our standards and methods of reckoning time should be uniform and in harmony with theirs.

The plan is no longer an experiment. It has fully demonstrated all and more than its original advocates predicted for it. It has no disadvantages or objections of any weight. It has been endorsed in this country not only by the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, but by hundreds of the leading chambers of commerce and boards of trade, including the Merchants association of New York city.

In the present emergency, it is now up to congress to hurry its passage, with the knowledge that President Wilson who has endorsed it will give his executive approval.

THE LABORER'S HIRE

BY NEVA R. DEARDORFF, PH.D.[1]

Philadelphia

"A STANDARD of living consistent with American ideas"—how often we have heard the phrase and how seldom we have been given a clear concept of just what it means! In political speeches it is usually synonymous with the equally vague phrase "a full dinner-pail"; to a few it suggests an environment which is conducive to right thinking on the questions which come before the body politic for decision. These latter believe that somehow the fate of democracy is tied up with our ability to maintain such social and economic conditions as will make it possible for each family unit to have at least a little more than a mere physical existence. Stated in another form, this proposition resolves itself into the question of what the unskilled laborer shall be paid and how he shall be compelled to live. This class of wage earners is the key to the situation because it is the lowest paid group and because its numerical strength gives into its keeping the future of our political institutions. The superior claims of "this land of opportunity" mean very little unless the opportunities extend all the way down to the laborer's family, and the most important element contributing to such equality of opportunity is the standard of living in which the child is raised.

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[1] Assistant director, Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

THE ABSOLUTE NECESSARIES OF LIFE

Two recent publications are highly stimulating to the thinking on this subject. "The Minimum Cost of Living: A Study of Families of Limited Income in New York city," by Winifred Stuart Gibbs[2] is the story of an attempt to teach seventy-five actual families how to spend effectively. Every one of the families had suffered some degree of ill health on account of insufficient income. Scientific minimum standards of the necessaries of life were set up for each family and careful plans were made to use the available income to maintain these standards. Much patient, devoted teaching was, of course, necessary. The conservative estimate of results attained is most encouraging. The world very much needs to develop efficiency in consumption.

These minimum standards, particularly of food and clothing, will doubtless be of much assistance to those who are in charge of relief work, especially as they are expressed in commodities, calories, garments, etc., as well as in dollars and cents which are so delusive these days. The encouragement to the teaching of home economics and the advice as to how to go about it, are most valuable. These standards are not, however, to be taken by employers as "consistent with American ideas." As the author points out, they were devised to bring health and animal comfort out of under-nourishment and ill health and to serve as guides in the teaching of the first principles of home economics.

In referring to these accounts one has to bear in mind that in a sense they are incomplete for in addition to the goods purchased there were gifts of clothing, the value of which is not recorded and in some cases free rent in return for janitorial services. A better picture would perhaps have been presented if the estimated value of these things could have been included. Naturally there was no margin for the pursuit of happiness, nothing, other than the variety of the food, to mark this standard as "consistent with American ideas" which, it may be assumed, are differentiated in some way from the ideas of other occidental countries.

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[2] New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.

REMUNERATION FOR LABOR AND THE COST OF LIVING

The second study goes much farther. The "Report on the Increased Cost of Living for an Unskilled Laborer's Family in New York City," prepared by the bureau of personal service of the board of estimate and apportionment of New York, not only sets forth facts about living costs but also makes definite recommendations to New York city as to what it should pay its unskilled laborers. The findings in brief are: That in 1917, $980 per year is the minimum amount upon which a workingman's family of five can maintain "a standard of living consistent with American ideas." Then, on the basis of this investigation, the *maximum* rate of pay recommended for street sweepers is fixed at $888! It was originally recommended in 1915 that the minimum cost of living for a family of two adults and three children—then $840—be made the maximum rate of pay for an unskilled laborer who had completed at least seven years of "meritorious service." He was to begin at $720 when, it was assumed, his expenses would be lighter. The recent condition of the labor market has forced a revision of this scheme. It has become necessary to move the minimum rate up to $792 and it will probably go higher. This may cut down somewhat the period of waiting for the maximum rate.

But let us return to the minimum standard of living "consistent with American ideas." The $980 for a family of five represents a total of items every one of which has been cut to the bone, $14 per month rent, $9.47 per week for food, $127.10 per year for the family's clothing, $42 for light, heat and fuel for cooking, $20 per year for health, $22.88 for insurance and $73 for sundries. This last item includes $18 for furniture, equipment and moving expenses, $5 for church contributions, $5 for soap, washing and toilet materials, stamps, umbrellas and other miscellaneous items, $5 for reading material, that is, a one-cent daily paper "with a Sunday paper almost every week" or for thirty-seven weeks, to be exact. The remaining $40 is intended to cover recreation—vacations, occasional trips to the beach, refreshments, moving picture shows, miscellaneous amusements, Christmas and birthday presents, and anything else not provided for above. This item for sundries compares very unfavorably with Father Ryan's estimate made in 1906 of $131.73 for the same group of expenditures. In fact, the more one examines this standard in detail, the more meager it looks; the weekly allowance of sweets, for instance, for the family of five, consists of one and three-quarters pounds of sugar, two cents' worth of syrup and two pounds of cake. A dozen jars of fruit conserve would wreck the schedule. One pound of butter has to stretch over at least 80 meals for cooking and table purposes, no other fats—other than that in the milk—are allowed. One looks in vain for ice; one feels dubious about ten cents a week for washing, toilet and cleaning supplies for five people, not to mention stamps, umbrellas and miscellaneous items.

The whole standard shows a strong tendency to overwork the scientific minimum. The housing allowance illustrates this better, perhaps, than any other single item. The strictly scientific calculation of one and one-half persons to a room is adopted. But as five people cannot be easily distributed on this basis, the laborer is given a choice of three or four rooms. He will probably be compelled to rent a flat without a bath. In that case he will have a kitchen and three rooms or a kitchen and two rooms. In the first case he cannot have a living-room without sacrificing a needed bedroom, and in the second case, even without a living-room, the conditions under which the family would have to live are below the requirements for decency. One gets a vivid picture of the laborer's home from the following description submitted by the Consolidated gas company of New York which furnished data for the fuel budget:

> "Families of this class usually occupy what are known as cold water tenements, in which neither heat nor hot water is furnished by the landlord. The kitchen is the general living-room for the family, and in cold weather a wood or coal stove is used, for it not only supplies heat for cooking, but it heats the kitchen as well, and so provides at least one heated room in which the members of the family may be comfortable. The cost of coal, however, when purchased in the small quantities which these people are compelled by circumstances to buy (the bag or bucketful), makes its use desirable only when the weather requires the additional heating of the room, and at other times it is believed that the small gas stove or hot-plate is used altogether for cooking and for such small quantities of hot water as are required."

The "small quantities of hot water," the short allowance for soap and cleaning materials, the one heated room, the absence of a bath tub, the two suits of underwear allowed the man, all conspire to give one the impression that frequent bathing will not be practised by the standard family. On this point the Bureau of personal service seems to have run foul of what *is* and lost sight of what *should be*. After this description one has difficulty in conjuring up a mental picture of a sweet, clean little home for our laborer. Rather do we see him toiling up four flights of stairs, to his kitchen, reeking with mingled odors of cooking food and wet clothes, to the prison-like confinement of the entire family to one room, to a home without privacy and without repose. And yet who would be willing to say, out loud, that seven years of "meritorious" service is not worthy of more than that.

We do not wish to question that this budget would keep the breath of life in the bodies of the laborer and his dependents, but we do question the appropriateness of describing this allowance as a standard of living "consistent with American ideas" and the corporation, whether public or private, which pays such wages as a "model employer." The standard of $980 as here established for a workingman's family is a mere animal standard of existence; for the $50 for the expenditures which differentiate human beings from animals is only a reasonable margin for the animal needs.

NEW YORK'S INVESTIGATION HELPS THE LABORER, THOUGH INDIRECTLY

How the laborer is to get along on ninety-two dollars a year less than the ascertained minimum is a problem which the bureau of personal service passes on to the laborer with the optimistic prophecy that the various governmental agencies and committees now at work on the problem of high cost of living "will probably bring about considerable reduction in prices and will relieve the scarcity of certain products." Just now, four months later, the outlook is by no means bright.

But the importance of this report must not be minimized on account of its seeming lack of humanity towards the unskilled laborer. Nothing could be of more service to workingmen in general than just this kind of detailed study. Nothing could bring home better to those responsible for public policy in this country the glaring fact that we are trying to have a democracy which presupposes intelligence in a group composed of units, some of whom can be intelligent and informed human beings but to most of whom life means little more than it means to savages—a struggle to satisfy the primal physical needs. Are we not child-like to be surprised at not getting entirely satisfactory results from our mixture of the oil of democratic institutions with the water of the existing economic order?

EXPERTS, ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY IN PUBLIC UTILITIES

BY DELOS F. WILCOX
New York City

I SHALL write about conscience, patriotism, professional honor, the main chance, and other curious and interesting subjects. Having thrown prudence to the winds, I shall ignore the danger of being called a traitor to my "class." Poor blind Samson, having taken his fling and lost his illusions, pushed away the props and brought the pagan temple down about his own ears. I cannot lay claim to Samson's length of hair, his strength or the richness of his experience in this naughty Philistine world. But here goes with my puny pen, such as it is, and let all whom it may concern take heed!

WHEN PUBLIC OFFICIALS SERVED PRIVATE INTERESTS

Certain men do certain things for money that make other people remark. Is it not true that every wave of radicalism, local or general, in this country has its origin in a sense of outrage that brains, education and personal prestige should be divorced from conscience, and sold to the highest bidder? Railroads, public utilities, corporations, having received special privileges from the state, have developed enormous material interests, both of investment and of income, which depend for their security and growth upon the friendly co-operation of governmental power. It was not many years ago—just before Roosevelt—that government in nation, state and city was generally conceded to be less powerful than the corporations which were technically its creatures. In those days public officials were often, if not generally, selected by or with the consent of these special interests. Government in all its branches, legislative, executive and judicial, was primarily an instrument to help these special interests get on in the world. Under such conditions the political philosophy of America was individualism—the right of the strong to become stronger, and of the rich to become richer. Government had no initiative, and was not expected to have any. It was a dog with a good many masters. It wagged its tail for them, gnawed the bones they threw to it, and herded their sheep—or bit them. In those days conscience in a public official demanded that he be faithful to those who put him in office. Gratitude was a great virtue, and the development of personal independence or flirtation with democratic principles, as we now understand them, was treachery.

Old things have not all passed away, but new things have lifted up their heads to compete with them. We are now in the throes of an irrepressible conflict. Some good men run about crying, Peace, peace! but in truth there is no peace. The awakened democratic conscience first attacked the subserviency of public officials to special interests, until it is now recognized by the general public as frankly dishonorable for a man holding public office consciously to do less than serve the interests of the whole people as he conceives those interests to be. But in public officials conceptions differ, blindness is a common defect, and "the consciousness of kind" is a powerful social force. Therefore, emancipation from the old conscience and subjection to the new is still far from complete in officialdom.

THE INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

Nevertheless, the battle line has moved forward, and the great objective now is the trench line of the individual conscience. It is admitted that public officials and experts employed by the government should represent the public interests. But the questions now being hotly, though vaguely, debated are these: Shall all persons not employed at the moment by the government hold themselves open to employment against it? Has patriotism any claim upon the loyalty of trained men except as it is covered by a retainer? Has the public conscience any choice between the two sides of public utility controversies? Is there any inherent conflict of interests and purposes between public service corporations and the municipalities which they serve? Can a man who understands and has taken the "public point of view" on public utility questions, subsequently enlist on the other side without either changing his mind, losing his intellectual integrity, or forfeiting his claim to the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens? May a judge, a public service commissioner, or a city attorney, after acquiring knowledge, experience and prestige in public life, retire from office and accept with impunity the fees of the corporations and take up their battles for them before public tribunals? May an engineer or an accountant become an advocate without losing his professional standing? May an expert conscientiously see different values in a public utility, or in land that is being taken for public uses, according to the side that employs him, or according to the size of his fee? Is it permissible for an engineer or an economist who receives a salary from the state and is charged with the instruction of youth to spend his leisure time in doing expert work for public service corporations in their controversies with the state?

The questions take on many variant forms and are not always clear-cut. I have not wished to be unfair in stating them, but we shall gain nothing by beclouding the issues out of deference to the sensibilities of distinguished men who have been led by need, or by the love of money, or by failure to consider the underlying facts, into courses of action that give point to this discussion. In order to make the issues clear, I shall call a few names and refer to a few incidents in recent or contemporary history which are of more than passing interest. In doing so, I wish to emphasize the fact that these names and incidents are merely illustrative —pegs, so to speak, upon which to hang our discussion.

ILLUSTRATIVE NAMES AND INCIDENTS

In New York, William R. Willcox and Edward M. Bassett were two of the public service commissioners appointed on the first district commission by Governor Hughes. Frank W. Stevens was appointed by Governor Hughes to be chairman of the up-state public service commission. These three men, aside from Dr. Maltbie, probably represented the highest conception of public duty, and the most conspicuous ability, of all the original Hughes appointees to the public service commissions at a time when the commission idea was a new constructive force just being launched upon the sea of American jurisprudence. Mr. Willcox, after serving as chairman of the first district commission for nearly six years, was dropped at a critical time as a result of a shift in state politics. He was bitter at the governor's failure to reappoint him, and within a very short time he appeared before the commission as counsel for the Hudson and Manhattan railroad company and also as counsel for the New York Edison company (subsidiary of the Consolidated gas company) in important capitalization cases. Mr. Bassett, who was one of the most able and conscientious of public servants, had been dropped two years earlier, and his chair was hardly cold before he reappeared before the commission as counsel for the New York and North Shore traction company in a capitalization case. I understand that Mr. Bassett has since refused a lot of business of this nature, because he was unwilling to lend to the corporations over which he had recently had jurisdiction, his prestige, his experience and his legal training in their efforts to undermine the efficiency of the commission as a regulatory body, an efficiency that had already been dealt a body blow when sinister political influences prevented his own reappointment. Mr. Stevens, when he was dropped from the chairmanship of the up-state commission, forthwith became counsel for the New York Central railroad in valuation matters, and is now, I believe, one of the leading attorneys representing the railroads before the interstate commerce commission. The two men most prominent in the work of the Wisconsin railroad commission, which shared with the New York commissions the honor and the responsibility of leadership in the regulation movement at the very beginning of the new era of regulation, were John H. Roemer and Halford Erickson. Mr. Roemer *resigned* his public office two or three years ago to go with H. M. Byllesby and company of Chicago, operators of public utilities, and in his new capacity has appeared publicly to argue the case of the corporations against public ownership. Still more recently Mr. Erickson also resigned from the service of the state to associate himself with William J. Hagenah in private practice in Chicago. Mr. Hagenah is a public utility expert and statistician, graduated from the public service in Wisconsin, who since his report to the city of Chicago in the telephone case some years ago, gets most of his employment, as I am informed, from the public service corporations by whom he is regarded as an eminently intelligent and fair-minded expert. In regard to Mr. Erickson's "fall from grace," an acquaintance of mine in a recent conversation remarked to me that Samuel Insull, of the Commonwealth-Edison interests in Chicago and the middle west, "ought not to have bought off Erickson, but he thought he had to have him." This acquaintance was explaining to me how the public service corporations are now "putting it all over" the commissions, and that they are able to do so because throughout the country there are not more than a handful of commissioners who are able and willing to do the desperately hard work that alone can give them the mastery of details essential to the effective analysis of the corporations' claims. Erickson was one of these few, and his continuance in office tended to keep the regulation movement respectable, to save its prestige, and in this way to benefit the corporations, for which the commission movement will cease to be useful if it is so weakened as entirely to forfeit public confidence.

Edward W. Doty, of Cleveland, single taxer and progressive public service commissioner of Ohio, when a political governor dropped him, did not even take the trouble to go back to his home town, but merely transferred his headquarters to the offices of the Columbus railway and light company. Peter Witt, Tom Johnson's right-hand man, single taxer, radical, who used to say when Johnson carried an election that "Cleveland has gone religious," after serving several years as the city's street railroad commissioner under the famous "cost-of-service" franchise, had no sooner lost his job when Cleveland went "*ir*religious" two years ago than he began to practice as a consulting traction expert, and a few months later was retained to help the Cincinnati traction company pull its chestnuts out of the fire. Later, when asked his opinion of the remarkable "grab" franchise which the traction company succeeded in negotiating with the city government of Cincinnati, he remarked, it is said, that considering the incompetence displayed by the city's negotiators, the company's moderation was astonishing. James E. Allison, after doing splendid work for several years for the city of St. Louis in the valuation and regulation of public utilities, went into private practice for investment bankers, and a little later turned up in the east as the guest of the Edison companies to persuade the public service commissions that the supreme court of the United States was wrong in the Knoxville water case, in the Minnesota rate cases, and elsewhere in ruling that accrued depreciation should be deducted from original or reproduction cost in the determination of present value for rate purposes. Last year the two great water works associations of the country had for their presidents two eminent consulting engineers, Nicholas S. Hill, Jr., and Leonard Metcalf. Mr. Hill was employed by the Hackensack water company in a rate case before the New Jersey board of public utilities, and also by the Citizens water supply company of Newton in its negotiations with the New York city department of water supply of which Mr. Hill himself was chief engineer a number of years ago. As chief engineer in 1903 he had advised the city not to purchase the company's property at that time, as the value of the franchise would be greatly reduced later on when the city had secured an abundant water supply of its own. In 1915, as consulting engineer, he appraised the company's property at twice the value placed upon it by the water department at the same time. He took the company's own figures for land values and incorporated them in his appraisal, with an addition of 15 per cent for overhead expenses. On the structural property his estimate of reproduction cost new, differed from the department's estimate by less than one half of 1 per cent, but after he had gotten through with his multiplications and the department had finished with its divisions, his valuation, excluding land and intangibles, was 50 per cent higher than the department's. Mr. Metcalf's most conspicuous employment during the presidency of the New England Water Works Association, was, I believe, his work for the Spring Valley water company, with which San Francisco has been in almost continuous controversy for thirty or forty years. I mention the Hill and Metcalf cases chiefly because these men were at the head of the technical societies in that utility where municipal ownership and operation is largely preponderant, while they as consulting engineers were representing some of the remaining private water companies in their controversies with the government. Prof. Mortimer E. Cooley, dean of the engineering department of the University of Michigan, was not so many years ago a three-cent fare man and engineering adviser to cities in their street railway controversies. He has since blossomed out into such a satisfactory expert for the corporations that at the present time, so I am informed, cities do not have the courage to employ him. It has even been suggested in Michigan that legislation should be enacted to prohibit employes of state institutions from appearing as experts for the railroads and public service corporations which are fighting the state. Even Prof. Henry C. Adams, after a career of more than thirty years as one of the ablest and most radical teachers of political economy in the country, and after many years of distinguished service as statistician of the interstate commerce commission, has of late accepted employment from the New York Central lines, supplementary to his professorship in the University of Michigan. While this employment does not, I think, bring him into direct controversy with the government, it clearly sequesters his great ability and experience, and renders them unavailable on the public side in connection with the great issues now being fought out. Prof. Dugald C. Jackson, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has of late years become one of the most valued consulting experts for the electrical interests of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, and as such has incurred very severe criticism in certain quarters because of the testimony he has given as to corporate values.

In 1914, M. L. Holman, a distinguished hydraulic engineer of St. Louis, appeared as an expert for the Denver union water company in a rate case against the city of Denver, although a few years earlier he had served as one of the city's representatives on the board of appraisal appointed for the valuation of the same company's plant. When questioned about it, he intimated that an engineer had to make a living, and said that he was then doing the best he could for his client. Only two years ago Ray Palmer, as commissioner of gas and electricity of the city of Chicago, read an able paper at the mayor's conference on public utilities in Philadelphia on the cost of public lighting, in which he took the public point of view unexceptionably, and urged the cities to band together in furtherance of the program of the utilities bureau. He is now president of the New York and Queens electric light and power company. When, as deputy commissioner of water supply, gas and electricity, I opened negotiations on behalf of the city of New York with the Jamaica water supply company a year or two ago, I found that the president of the company was one of my predecessors in office, and that the vice-president was an ex-commissioner who, while in office, had executed the last hydrant rental contract with this company. I visited Kansas City twice during the pendency of the negotiations that finally culminated in the street railway settlement of 1914. The first time, I found Clyde Taylor as city attorney, sitting in with the mayor to represent the people. On my second visit, I found that Clyde Taylor had become attorney for the street railway interests and in the later negotiations had been sitting on the side of the table opposite to the people's representatives. Until a year or two ago, George L. Ingraham was presiding justice of the appellate division of the supreme court in New York county. Now he is head of the firm, Ingraham, Sheehan and Moran, counsel for the Citizens water supply company, and for the lighting companies of New York in their rate cases before the public service commission, the decisions of which formerly came before him for review when they were not accepted by the companies. It is hardly necessary to call attention to such historic characters as Joseph H. Choate and Elihu Root, statesmen, orators, constitution-makers, who have not scrupled to take great fees from traction interests to help in establishing policies generally believed to be inimical to the public interest.

The list could doubtless be extended indefinitely. Every person who has followed public affairs in any part of the country could add to it. In mentioning the names I have, I pay tribute to the high respect in which they are held. But for several years past the issues growing out of the incidents like those I have referred to have been getting to be more and more acute. The tremendous financial interests involved in railroads and public utlities alone, not to mention other corporations, and the vital character of the services they perform, when coupled with the rising tide of governmental regulation and control, make the matter of social standards for the guidance of individual action a thing of the utmost importance. Precedents, innumerable, universal, honorable to a degree, will not satisfy the developing conscience of democracy. The future demands more than the past has been satisfied with. How can democracy best put its house in order for the tasks that are ahead of it?

STANDARDS OF PROFESSIONAL HONOR

Engineers, economists, accountants, ex-public service commissioners, and even lawyers and ex-judges, will have to revise and clarify their standards of professional honor to square with the highest of all the obligations that brains and experience owe to civilization, namely, loyalty to the state. This assertion brings us to the point where the argument demands a "show-down." It will be urged by a great many high-minded and intelligent men that the lines of conduct which we are bringing to judgment are entirely legitimate, if not even praiseworthy. It will be urged that public service corporations "have rights" which should be protected, and that the lawyer is worthy of his hire. It will also be said that the regulation movement has increased enormously the amount of work to be done in the valuation of utility properties, in the examination of utility accounts and in the fixing of utility rates, and it will be alleged that the public service corporations have at last "seen the light," are conscientiously submitting to public regulation, and have need of the services of publicly trained men to help them co-operate with the regulating bodies and make regulation effective. It will be claimed that the companies now want only "fair treatment" and that their interests are in reality identical with those of the public. Attention will be called to the fact that many public officials are eager to make political capital out of corporation-baiting, and that the demands of the public and of the politicians are often grossly unjust to the companies and in the long run harmful to the public. Extremists on the corporation side, like Dr. Alexander C. Humphreys, of the Stevens Institute, will even claim for corporation experts higher ethical standards than they will concede to experts on the public side. Indeed, though the recent great expansion of public utility work has caused experts to swarm upon the earth, there are some persons who would indignantly deny the very name of expert to a man who admits that he does not accept employment from either side indifferently.

THREE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

The prevailing confusion of thought and of ethical standards in relation to public utility work cannot be dispelled without a searching analysis of certain underlying facts or assumptions. All the issues to which we have called attention seem to simmer down to three:

(1) Do common honesty and professional honor permit experts to assume the rôle of advocates?

(2) Are public service corporations public enemies?

(3) Is a judge or a public service commissioner primarily a public servant, or an umpire?

LEGAL AND ENGINEERING STANDARDS COMPARED

The shocking differences in expert testimony as to the value of land, as to the investment in public utilities and as to the sanity of rich homicides, not only bring into question the value of opinion testimony and the common honesty of individual experts, but also suggest the propriety of technical limitations to be imposed upon engineers, accountants, etc., by the adoption of stricter codes of professional ethics. To some of those who have been scandalized by the testimony which many engineers of the highest standing in their professions do not scruple to give on behalf of their corporation clients, the remedy lies in "sumptuary legislation" within the engineering profession. They give the lawyers up as a bad job, admitting that any honest attorney may be expected to take the part of the devil's advocate, if paid to do so, since everybody is bound by the injunction to "give the devil his due," and how can he get what is coming to him without the aid of counsel? The chameleonic nature of the lawyer's conscience, or, shall we say, of his intelligence, is taken for granted. His mutability is thought to be immutable—a necessary evil which it would be useless to combat at this late day. It is, perhaps, overlooked that every practising attorney is technically an officer of the court, concerned only in the exposition of truth and the pursuit of justice. Deception on the part of a lawyer is professionally a great crime. Yet there are some who would make a distinction between the professional obligations of lawyers and those of engineers and accountants in the presentation of truth. To such, the main difficulty in the public utility field is the failure of technical men—engineers, accountants and statisticians—whose business is supposed to be the ascertainment and reporting of *facts*, to confine themselves in their reports and testimony to what is incontestably true, and their tendency to vary their findings and testimony according to the interests of those who pay their fees.

THE ELUSIVENESS OF FACTS

Those who take this view appear to regard facts as things that are simple, definite and easily ascertainable, things that can be put in a bag and carried into court, like so many apples or potatoes. On the other hand, it may be urged that generally the facts in relation to a public utility problem are complex, indefinite and elusive. While certain facts may be picked out of the welter that are simple, definite and easily grasped, if an accountant, an engineer or a statistician were to bring these particular facts into court and lay them on the table before the judges, nobody would be much the wiser, and the accountant, the engineer, or the statistician, as the case might be, would cease to have a profession and become a mere common laborer. "Figures do not lie, but liars will figure." This old saying is, no doubt, a libel on the statisticians, but after all, it uncovers the truth that figures are useless except as they are organized and manipulated. Now, is it not true that an engineer, an accountant or a statistician must, to preserve his intellectual self-respect and the importance of his profession, attempt to organize and interpret the bare technical facts with which he has to deal? But as soon as we get to the organization and interpretation of facts, even though this process itself still falls within the technical professional field, the opportunity for the "liar" comes in. That is to say, judgment, opinion and interest, all of which are grossly or subtly affected by fees, are called into play, with the result that the technical conclusions of professional men may be as wide apart as the contentions of lawyers without any one being able successfully to impeach the integrity or the professional honor of the witnesses on either side. Of course, there are extremes which make testimony ridiculous and subject the witnesses to damning criticism, either as to their honesty or as to their intelligence. Every lawyer in dealing with issues affected with a public interest, is bound equally by his professional obligations, his patriotism and his private conscience to be honest. The same, but no more, is true of an engineer or an accountant. If we were to say that engineers should confine themselves in their testimony to "facts," which are just as true for one side as for the other, and should entirely eschew partisanship or advocacy of their clients' interests, two important results would follow: first, their testimony would be vastly more elementary than it now is, and second, they could without the slightest qualms of the tenderest conscience accept fees from one side or the other, or from both indifferently. In many ways, it would be delightful if matters could be arranged in this way, but unfortunately they cannot. The "facts," even some of the elementary ones, are too much the products of assumptions and judgments, and the organization and interpretation of the facts by the witness who has a first-hand knowledge of them are too necessary, to admit of this narrow limitation of the functions of engineer, accountant or statistician.

ACKNOWLEDGED BIAS IS PERMISSIBLE

My answer, therefore, to the first of the three questions, is that common honesty and professional honor *do* permit of advocacy on the part of public utility experts, but that their bias should be frankly recognized and their testimony given such weight as its reasonableness and their ability to defend it may warrant. A corollary of this conclusion is that public utility experts may not freely pass from one side to the other, even in different cases and in independent jurisdictions, where the same general principles are involved, without subjecting themselves to suspicion as to their intellectual and moral integrity, their patriotism, and their professional loyalty.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The conclusions just expressed assume that there are two "sides," not merely to each particular controversy affecting a public utility, but to the whole series of controversies affecting all public utilities everywhere. Hence, our second question: Are public service corporations public enemies? Having put this question in the somewhat sensational way in which the corporation men like to have it put, I answer without hesitation that they *are* public enemies in so far as they are dominated by private rather than by public motives. I maintain that there is a deep, necessary and irrepressible conflict between the public interest in public utilities and the interest of private corporations operating them. I maintain that this conflict is something more than the universal conflict of interest between buyer and seller, which gives rise to the higgling of the market. I maintain that there is a deep gulf fixed between the concept of public utilities as a field for speculative investment and exploitation for profit on the one hand, and the concept of them on the other hand as the second nature of cities, the instruments of urban civilization, the opportunities of democracy. I hold that in the fixing of rates, in the approval of securities, in the granting of a franchise, in the working out of a contract of co-operation, or in any other exercise of the regulatory or contractual power in relation to any public utility problem in which the people through their representatives take part, unless the result squares with the ultimate policy, which for want of a better distinction we call public ownership and operation, the proceeding from the public point of view is futile, if not positively bad. Further, I hold that a public utility transaction to which the city or the state is a party cannot be saved from this condemnation on the plea that it is neutral and leaves the determination of ultimate policy to the future. In this conflict, he that is not with us is against us, and every act either tends to clear the way, not only for the technical achievement of public ownership, but for its achievement under conditions that make success possible, or else it consents to the further entrenchment of the policy of private ownership and private exploitation, a policy that is radically wrong and profoundly inimical to the interests of the community.

If we maintain, or admit, that public utilities are *public business*, ultimate public ownership and operation becomes not merely a vague aspiration or an academic prophecy, but a controlling public policy that lays its commands upon every man's patriotism and claims his loyal service in whatever capacity he may be working. No "jingling of the guineas" can "help the hurt that honor feels" when a citizen hires out to fight against his country, or to hinder his city in the realization of a public policy fundamentally necessary for the general welfare. For anyone who believes in ultimate municipal ownership and who knows the tremendous obstacles that have been and are now being built up in the way of its realization, to hire out to "the enemy" is a species of civic treason. It is not my thought that all men who take the public side are honest and patriotic, and that all who accept retainers from public service corporations are the opposite. My contention is that, in all work on public utilities where public relations and public policies are involved, the immediate technical action is subordinate to the ultimate purpose. Men who have no convictions as to public ownership are not qualified for employment on either side, except possibly for the ascertainment of bare technical facts. Men who do not believe in public ownership may properly accept employment from the corporations and do their best to put obstacles in the way of its realization, but cities and states ought to refuse to employ such men or to put them in any public office where they have to deal with public utilities. On the other hand, men who have a public utility philosophy in which public ownership is a cardinal tenet cannot consistently accept employment on the corporation side at the present stage of the development of corporation purposes and policies. When, if ever, public service corporations themselves embrace the theory that they are the temporary agents of the community and that their purpose should be to perform their function well while it continues to be necessary and then cheerfully withdraw from the field as rapidly as the preparedness of the community to take over this function will permit, then it will be time enough for men who sincerely take the public point of view in regard to public utilities to be employed by these corporations to administer the last rites to them and prepare them for honorable dissolution.

HOW THE SHEEP AND THE GOATS MAY BE SEPARATED

The public side is not a mere question of temporary official opinion, or even of popular majorities. Cities are often wrong in their demands upon public service corporations, and sometimes insincere. They are often wrong, also, in the concessions they are willing to make. An expert on the public side is not justified in doing whatever his client, the public, wishes him to do. He needs to have a stubborn mind, well grounded in political philosophy. Instead of the type of imagination which now commands the highest fees in valuation work, an expert should see present facts with the naked eye, and use his imagination in conjuring up the future that he may see the ultimate effect of the advice he is giving. Indeed, it is conceivable that in particular controversies, the rôles may be reversed, and the corporations may be fighting for policies that are sound and necessary from the public point of view, while the public officials are in fact working against the ultimate interests of the community.

I have asserted that there is an irrepressible conflict of interest between public service corporations and the public. But this does not mean a divergence of interest from beginning to end. Indeed, identity of interest, under enlightened management, goes far, but ultimately it reaches the parting of the ways where the public ideal of community service and the private ideal of the exploitation of public privileges and common needs for profit reluctantly, and with mutual protestations, part company. One who accepts employment from a public service corporation in a capacity where he is called upon to formulate plans and direct the execution of policies in furtherance of private interests, thereby sells his soul if he is convinced that public utilities are fundamental and inevitable public functions, and that the duty of every man as a citizen is to prepare the community as rapidly and as effectively as possible to take over and perform these functions. I am convinced that the real separation between the sheep and the goats must be made on the basis of our fundamental conception of what public utilities are. There is a great deal of cant in the public ownership propaganda, and partly for this reason the philosophy of public utilities is almost universally misconceived. Municipal ownership is treated both by its loudest supporters and by its fiercest opponents as a quack remedy. When I speak of the fundamental difference between public ownership and private ownership, I do not mean to identify those terms with mere legal proprietorship. Public ownership that is not coupled with public understanding and community feeling is barren and only technically different from private ownership. The issue that we have been discussing goes much deeper than mere title to property. A subtle and deadly peril to democracy itself lies in the lack of understanding of what is going on, and indifference to it, on the part of men whose lips give light utterance to their professions of adherence to the cause of municipal ownership at some *future* time, when we are *ready* for it, but who close their eyes to the necessity of *getting* ready for it, and starting now.

A PUBLIC SERVANT OR AN UMPIRE?

We cannot stop long on the third question, namely, as to whether a judge or a public service commissioner is primarily a public servant, or an umpire. If such an official is a mere umpire between litigants of equal standing, then there is nothing in the fact of his having held such an office to prevent him from choosing freely afterwards which side he will serve in his private capacity as a practising lawyer. If, however, in his official position he is primarily a public servant, bound to seek out and pursue within the limits of his discretion that policy which shall best further the ultimate interests of the community as he conceives them, then it may well be held in the court of public opinion that in return for the confidence placed in him, the opportunities given him, and the power conferred upon him, he has pledged his talents and his experience to the public service, and that no mere whim of his own in resigning his office, and no mere political accident or temporary show of public gratitude can release him from his pledge.

LIMITS OF SOCIAL CONDEMNATION

We all realize that there are tremendous temptations and tremendous necessities which keep men from sticking close to the straight path of duty. Perhaps we should not criticize those who have prostituted their minds through economic necessity any more severely than we do those who have prostituted their bodies from the same motive. We should be careful about throwing stones at individuals, remembering that when the Master said, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone," the Pharisees all slunk away and left the scarlet woman without a bruise. But this is not saying that the men who have sold themselves to the public service corporations, even though they were driven by positive need, much less if their only motive has been the desire to get on in the world, powerful as that motive is, should be chosen for places of honor in public life, and made heroes of because of their demonstrated ability to yield to great temptations successfully, any more than the teaching of Christian tolerance requirés that Magdalenes should be chosen to officer suffrage clubs and educational societies.

THE BUDGET AMENDMENT OF THE MARYLAND CONSTITUTION[1]

BY DR. WILLIAM H. ALLEN

New York City

WHATEVER congress may do with respect to the proposed espionage bill, it has not yet passed a law declaring it to be lése majeste for students of budget-making to discuss frankly budget proposals from however eminent a source.

The fact that the Maryland budget law was devised by men who "labored for months without money compensation" and by other persons "who have had long experience in governmental matters relating to finance," is a reason why that law should be seriously studied. It is absolutely no reason why after studying it any citizen should either withhold question and criticism or confuse both by throwing futile bouquets at the distinguished participants.

The fact that the governors' conference, meeting and working as we know it did in a hurry under pressure from no budget analysts except those who wanted this particular amendment, unanimously endorsed the Maryland plan, is again reason why the rest of us who are interested in state budget-making should do the studying which the governors' conference omitted.

Could anything be more absurd than for a group of budget analysts wishing to improve budget-making to spend time writing "expressions of appreciation of the many admirable features of the Maryland amendment and . . . self-sacrificing work done by those responsible for its initiation and completion," after once being convinced that this amendment means a step in the wrong direction by state constitution makers!

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[1] As was stated in the editorial note attached to Mr. Chase's review of the critical pamphlet issued by the institute for public service entitled "Serious Defects in Maryland's Budget Law," certain questions were formulated by Dr. Cleveland to develop certain aspects of the points at issue. These questions were in turn submitted to Dr. Allen, the director of the institute. In this article he answers fifteen of the twenty-eight questions submitted on the ground that adequate answers to the other questions which are of a technical nature would take more space than is available in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, and further might tend to confuse the issues. The nature of the questions that Dr. Allen answers is intimated in his article, parts of which are also devoted to answering the review of Mr. Chase published in the May issue (page 395).—EDITOR.

Instead of analyzing our comment as we had analyzed the Maryland amendment, Mr. Chase asks readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW to believe that our analysis was prompted by a desire to sell services. On the contrary, these last two years we have spent, without cost to states and congress, several thousand dollars in answering questions, analyzing proposed laws, making budget comparisons,—all the time doing our best to interest budget makers and taxpayers in the proposition made October 17, 1916, in our *Public Service No. 45:* "It is not obtainable information but unescapable information which will improve state government."

To the institute for public service group budget-making is not a new, commercial or academic question. The institute for public service group, disparagingly contrasted with the Maryland law sponsors by Mr. Chase, consists of men long identified with budget propaganda and installation in the public's interest. We have been doing our best to keep this question of budget-making down to the ground within the comprehension of officers, editors and taxpayers.

In its pamphlet entitled *Serious Defects of Maryland's Budget Law* the institute for public service meant what it said. Instead of sneering at the Maryland production, as Harvey S. Chase wrote in the May number, the pamphlet took up earnestly, from conviction, straight-from-the-shoulder what we consider serious defects of the budget law.

We know from firsthand experience the price any community pays for failing to see that it is budget intelligence and not so-called budget science that determines whether a community gets light or darkness out of budget reform.

To answer categorically the 28 questions sent to me by Dr. Cleveland through the editor would take more space than is available. Four typical issues have been selected to indicate why we use the term *serious* when speaking of defects of the Maryland budget law.

I. WHAT BUDGET COMPARISON SHOULD BE MADE?

Questions 1 to 3 ask if it is not enough to have budget requests compared with the two fiscal years preceding, since previous budget documents would contain the facts from which comparisons with earlier years might be made. Our answer is No, because it is only unescapable information which really gets to the legislators.

II. MAY OR MUST GOVERNORS EXPLAIN BUDGET RECOMMENDATIONS?

Questions 10 and 11 relate to our comment upon Maryland's provision that accompanying each budget shall be a statement showing "(5) any explanation the governor may [*sic!*] desire [*sic!*] to make as to the important features of any budget and any suggestions [*maybe desired, maybe not*] as to the methods for reduction or increase of the state's revenue."

What we said in addition to the bracketed items we repeat here:

Desires of governors are poor safeguards for taxpayers. What governors know is vastly more important than what they desire.

What governors ought to find out and publish is the proper subject of legislation and constitutional amendment. Suppose the governor does not desire to make explanations; suppose he lacks the facts with which to make the explanations as he will do under the Maryland amendment? Other states should make it mandatory upon the governor to give explanations not only as to features he personally considers important but as to every feature in the entire instrument which shows a departure from the preceding budget.

Ohio's governor in 1915–16 explained in detail all recommendations, increases and decreases, consolidations, etc., recommended. Wisconsin's legislature in 1915 provided that all increases and decreases should be separately set up and should be explained.

III. BUDGET INCREASES BY MEANS OF SPECIAL BILLS

Questions 19 to 23 relate to the Maryland provision that the legislature may not increase any budget items except for the general assembly and judiciary. We are asked if it will not suffice to make any increases in the form of special bills. To elaborate our answer would need a whole article. Instead we condense our original criticism:

Certainly any legislature ought to be permitted to increase the provisions made by any state for public schools; nor should it be necessary to amend the state constitution in order to increase the salary of a constitutional office

The Maryland law not only fails to give a hearing to those who know these facts about the insane but prevents even the introduction of a supplementary bill until after the executive budget bill has been voted. This will in most legislatures be the last week if not the last hour of the session

Practically, as well as legally, this Maryland law confuses and muzzles the legislative branch, administrative officers who know of needs not provided for by the governor, and the public

Conceding that it is important not to confuse the governor's program with anybody else's program and that it is desirable to fix squarely upon the executive's shoulders responsibility for his recommendations, it still remains possible to foster discussion and to use legislators for promoting public welfare

So long as the supplementary bill is known to everyone not to originate with the governor is there not every reason for having a supplementary bill with respect to the care of the insane before the legislature and considered by it at the same time that it considers the governor's proposals for the insane?

IV. ARE TAXPAYERS' HEARINGS NECESSARY?

Questions 24 to 28 relate to Maryland's failure to provide for or mention taxpayers' hearings or compulsory hearings of governor and administrative officers.

We are asked if the provision is not enough that the governor or persons designated by him "shall have the right, and when requested by either house of the legislature it shall be their duty to appear and be heard with respect to any budget bill . . . and to answer inquiries relative thereto." We are also asked what has been the result of public hearings in New York city.

We and you are told that "the public hearings in New York city have had little or no effect on the determinations of the board of estimate." Even if that statement were true it would not prove to the institute for public service group that public hearings are a mistake. Perhaps it would only prove that New York had been inadequately or badly led and that eight years of *reform* had progressively disfranchised the public.

Whether or not taxpayers' hearings in New York city and New Jersey have been a failure, Maryland's omission of taxpayers' hearings emphasize a fundamental difference between those who are backing the Maryland law and others, like ourselves, who declare that it is seriously defective.

It was a disbelief in taxpayers' hearings (which includes what leads up to and follows them by way of citizen study and newspaper publicity) by the groups back and ahead of the Maryland law to which we referred in the statement quoted by Mr. Chase: "The institute for governmental research financed by the Rockefeller foundation and associates upon a platform that unequivocally disregards, where it does not unequivocally disrespect, public ability and right to understand *and discuss* budgetary questions."

Frankly, I am among those who believe that the right of the taxpayer to be shown legislative proposals and to be heard regarding them is among the bedrocks of democracy's fundamentals. Taxpayers have a right to stay away from taxpayers' hearings. They have a right to be foolish and unreasonable at hearings. They also have the right to come before city and state and national appropriators of public money, armed with constitutional and statutory rights to be informed and to be heard before their money is spent.

To argue, as Dr. F. A. Cleveland seems to, that because "*almost no one except the few parties interested have attended,*" therefore "*New Jersey's public hearings were fruitless,*" seems very much like arguing that because the public conducts itself in an orderly way all around our traffic police it is no longer necessary to have traffic police.

For the same reason that Governor Hughes when removing Borough President Ahearn said that "the majority, no matter how large, has no right to inflict upon the minority, no matter how small" an incompetent government, so believers in taxpayers' hearings answer those who consider them unnecessary and fruitless: "The majority, no matter how large, has no right to take from a minority of even one, the right to be told what budget alternatives are and to be heard regarding them before it is too late."

But what little bird told the institute for governmental research, the

Rockefeller foundation and subsidiaries that taxpayers' hearings in New Jersey and New York have been a failure? Hon. Arthur N. Pierson, to whose leadership is due much of New Jersey's constructive legislation of last winter, said this morning by telephone:

> On bills requiring budget plans for cities and counties our commission held hearings during 1916 in four or five cities. These were largely attended and spirited discussions were held. Hearings lasted until late in the afternoon. One taxpayers' hearing in Trenton began at ten o'clock in the morning and we were obliged to adjourn late at night before all the bills could be discussed. Great interest was manifested by crowded roomsful.
>
> New Jersey has never yet tried bona fide public hearings on appropriation bills. We are just putting in a governor-made budget. A taxpayer is invited to the hearing. It does him good whether he comes or not. The fact that officers know a taxpayer may come does both the taxpayer and officer good no matter how many come. Budget measures will be vastly better analyzed wherever officers know that the public will have its day in court.

As for New York city, let us begin by telling what other people think of taxpayers' hearings before I answer the question as to "what are the concrete results of public hearings . . . that could not have been accomplished by petition, remonstrance and presentation through representatives."

The latest official answer is a bill just passed by New York's legislature proposed by a "Tammany" aldermanic president and unanimously supported by a "Reform Fusion" board of estimate. Does this bill sneer at public hearings or fail to mention them? Instead it not only requires a public hearing but the date for such hearing is set 20 days before the budget is adopted, and it specifically forbids the board of estimate and apportionment to put any matter into the budget bill which has not been submitted to the taxpayers' hearing.

Were even Mayor Mitchel to run for re-election this coming summer on a platform that promised to discontinue taxpayers' hearings or even whispered a doubt about their value, no one would know that he was running.

Readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will undoubtedly concede that Henry Bruère is entitled to an opinion on the subject of budget-making. In his *New City Government* written after visits to ten commission-governed cities and several budget-makings in New York, he says:

> After a lapse of a reasonable period opportunity should be given at a formal hearing for taxpayers and others to appear with recommendations regarding proposed allowances. Where the budget is extensive and wide differences are likely to exist between estimates submitted and the tentative conclusion . . . it will be found desirable to afford taxpayers an opportunity to be heard on the estimates themselves.

After five years of taxpayers' hearings on New York city's budget the bureau of municipal research mentioned among the city's advances "taxpayers' organizations, social workers, ministers, get advance information as to budget estimates and are invited to prepare and attend public taxpayers' hearings enough in advance of the final budget to permit of analysis and discussion." Among signers of this statement was Dr. F. A. Cleveland.

Nor as late as 1913 had Dr. Cleveland acquired a doubting Thomas attitude toward taxpayers' hearings. His *Municipal Administration and Accounting* says:

> The independent advice thus obtained [*from official sources*] does not put the board in the position to become intelligent inquisitors. Preliminary estimates and statements of departmental needs should be made public in order that the people, in the press and in citizen organizations, may discuss each of the issues presented. Heads of departments may be cited to appear and answer interrogatories. Citizen bodies may be heard in support of the enlarging or discontinuing different branches of the public service. . . . After full hearings as to relative needs, the board may with much intelligence fix the gross amounts. . . . Gross budget allowances being tentatively determined, the public can be taken into the confidence of the board by having these tentative schedules published, with a day appointed for a hearing in order that taxpayers may appear and oppose or support hearings. By some such proceeding the budget-making body may have the benefit of the expression of public opinion at every important step on subjects which would require increase or decrease in expenditures.

One up-to-date illustration of taxpayers' hearings in New York city will have to take the place of a hundred I should like to write.

A year ago the board of estimate of New York was insisting that its proposed agreement with the New York Central railroad for removing its tracks from Death avenue and its nuisance from Riverside park was clearly in the public's interest. Back of this position were forces of unlimited wealth and unfathomable social prestige. Yet that agreement is not only lost to-day but has been publicly rebuked by an almost unanimous legislature which passed two laws, one providing for a special investigation, and a second making it impossible for the present city government to execute this contract until it has been approved by the very public service commission that has unanimously condemned the pending contract as inimical to public welfare.

It is true that only a few people went to the hearings. It is also true that "only those who were particularly interested" went, but these few were given—after public protest—respectful hearing and the facts they presented were told to millions of readers and repeated to thousands of auditors in clubs and people's forums. The few included spokesmen for the citizens union, city club, west end association, woman's league for the protection of Riverside park, institute for public service, etc. William

R. Willcox was not a horde but was a host because of his extensive definite knowledge of transit questions.

For failing to prescribe a procedure that would give a state—officials, legislators, public—unescapable information with respect to budget alternatives, and for failing to keep officials conscious every moment of their budget-making that they could not have secrets from their public, we charge the Maryland amendment with having serious defects. Does any member of the National Municipal League wish us to withdraw either the *defects* or the *serious?*

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND LEGISLATION:

AN ANALYSIS OF MEASURES SUBMITTED TO POPULAR VOTE AT THE NOVEMBER ELECTION.

BY FREDERICK REX[1]
Chicago

Second Installment

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS

The voters of Los Angeles adopted an amendment to the charter enlarging the city's power to provide for or require the elevation or depression of railroad tracks, there being a legal question as to whether this power rested in the city or in the railroad commission. The voters of the same city also approved an amendment of the charter authorizing the city to perform street work or any other work carried on under special assessment by a system of direct employment instead of by contract. It is further provided in the amendment that the city may adopt its own method for the financing of or payment for the work when accomplished. The voters of San Francisco defeated an amendment to the city charter permitting the people of San Francisco to order the raising of a given sum by means of a special tax for a specific improvement in installments extending over more than ten years in order to avoid the need of voting bond issues for projects which cannot be paid out of the ordinary revenues. It was urged in opposition to the measure that the special tax could be levied by merely a majority vote, while bond issues require a two-thirds vote and that no limitation was placed upon the amount of special taxes to be levied in any one year, thus permitting the levying of taxes amounting to practical confiscation. Two amendments adopted in the same city grant power to provide by ordinance a procedure for changes of street grades and work, the payment of assessments in installments and limiting the amount of installment payments of assessments. The voters of Detroit ratified an amendment to the city charter reducing the rate of interest on street paving assessments from 7 to 4 per cent and extending the time in which the second, third and fourth parts of street paving assessments may be paid without penalty one month.

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[1] Municipal reference librarian.

The electorate in Chicago defeated a proposal for a $2,000,000 bond issue for the purpose of acquiring sites for incinerators, loading stations and a municipal reduction plant for the disposition of garbage, ashes and refuse.

Lansing by a vote of three to one acted favorably on a proposition for the municipal collection of garbage.

In Hamilton, Ohio, ten bond issues aggregating $1,000,000 to be expended for street, sewer, parks and playground, public buildings and other projects were submitted to the voters for approval. All of the ten bond issues, however, failed to carry.

In Kalamazoo a proposed bond issue of $225,000 to be expended for an adequate system of drainage for the city was rejected as was also an amendment to the charter providing for an increase in the limit for street improvement bonds to $400,000.

The voters of Cleveland defeated a proposed bond issue of $1,000,000 for the purpose of erecting a county jail, quarters for the criminal and insolvency courts and an office for the prosecuting attorney. It was urged that no building of the above character should be erected until authority is received from the legislature whereby all of the criminal and police courts, police departments, jail and prosecutor's offices can be combined under the same roof and wasteful duplication eliminated. Cleveland approved a $3,000,000 bond issue for street paving in order to obtain immediate relief from the bad condition of the streets, the latter being deemed a menace to vehicle and pedestrian traffic and because the limitations of the Smith tax law make it impossible for the city to meet its share for new paving from its general revenue funds.

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL PROVISIONS

The cities and towns of the state of Minnesota by a three to one vote ratified an amendment to the constitution providing for direct legislation by the people through the initiative and referendum. It is provided that referendum petitions be signed by 15 per cent of the voters of the state, based on the number of votes cast for governor at the preceding election.

The voters of San Francisco approved an amendment to the city charter designed to prevent fraud and facilitate examination of initiative, referendum and recall petitions and to save expense in such elections. It requires the numbering of names signed to petitions and the extension of the time allowed for the official verification of the names signed to the petitions from ten to fifteen days. The amendment further provides that where an official sought to be recalled, dies or resigns before any recall election is called, the vacancy shall be filled as provided by the charter.

The voters of Seattle rejected a referendum measure considerably restricting the operation of the initiative and referendum laws by requiring that all initiative and referendum petitions be signed at the registration office and that all such signatures must be verified by the registration officials at the time of signing.

MATTERS AFFECTING LABOR

The voters of San Francisco approved an ordinance prohibiting loitering, picketing, carrying or displaying banners, badges, signs or transparencies or speaking in public streets and places for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence any person from performing or seeking work in any factory or place of employment or purchasing any goods or articles of merchandise. Another ordinance was voted down in the same city designed to prohibit speaking without a permit upon the streets, sidewalks or in the public parks. Two amendments to the charter, however, were approved. One provides for an eight-hour day for laborers on municipal work at a minimum wage of three dollars. It also provides that those performing labor on public work must be American citizens or at least have taken out their first papers, establishing the principle that those who earn their living from the public expenditures of a municipality should be local residents. The other amendment provides for the filing of a bond by every contractor to whom a contract has been awarded for municipal work or street work assessable upon private property to insure the payment of claims or liens for materials, labor, supplies, teams or machines, furnished by sub-contractors or other persons to the contractor or his sub-contractor for such work. The amendment gives to sub-contractors and material men the same protection they receive in private work or federal contracts. By a vote of more than two to one the voters of the state of Washington rejected a referendum measure providing that any person should be guilty of a misdemeanor who shall for the purpose of advertising any dispute between organized labor and a business man or his employes stand or continuously move back and forth within 500 feet of the place of business or home of the business man or his employe or carry anywhere any sign or cause any other person to do any of these things. The proposed measure was deemed extremely severe in its provisions and it is alleged would have made illegal the publication of news items regarding labor disputes.

LIQUOR CONTROL

It is not intended herein to analyze the various state-wide prohibitory measures submitted to the voters of cities and towns for adoption or rejection, but an attempt will be made to consider proposals designed to regulate or abolish the liquor traffic in municipalities at the November election. The city of Los Angeles since 1913 by ordinance has prohibited dancing in any public place where liquor is sold. An ordinance was proposed by initiative petition permitting such dancing and affecting primarily cafés and restaurants. The existing ordinance does not prohibit dancing, nor does it prohibit the sale of liquor, but simply makes it illegal to do both in the same place. The initiative ordinance, however, was defeated at the election by a two to one vote. In cities in Massachusetts and Rhode Island the annual query was submitted to the voters as to whether or not licenses shall be granted for the sale of intoxicating liquors in the city. St. Louis overwhelmingly rejected the proposed constitutional amendment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in Missouri after July 1, 1917, by a vote of 13,529 cast in favor of the same and 141,070 against.

The voters of Colorado by a vote of 163,134 to 77,345 rejected an amendment to the state constitution making the manufacture and sale of beer lawful and requiring that all beer be sold in unbroken packages and delivered directly to the consumer at his residence. The voters of Michigan by a vote of 378,871 to 256,272 defeated a proposed amendment to the constitution granting to every incorporated city, village or township in the state the right to determine by a majority vote of the electors whether or not there shall be prohibited therein the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors.

A measure initiated by the brewery interests and providing that beer containing not more than 4 per cent alcohol could be manufactured and sold in the state was rejected by the voters of Washington. The measure purported to aim at a re-establishment of a home industry but in effect was more far-reaching in that it permitted the establishment in the state of offices by outside breweries from which deliveries could be made direct to the home and eliminated the permit at present required for the importation and use of liquor. The voters of Washington likewise defeated a measure initiated by the hotel and liquor interests allowing the sale and service of alcoholic beverages to guests in a hotel having fifty or more rooms.

The voters of California defeated a proposed amendment to the constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale or possession of alcoholic liquors in the state after January 1, 1920. A milder amendment to the constitution was likewise rejected by the voters of the same state. It prohibited after January 1, 1918, the possession, gift or sale in a saloon, dramshop, dive, store, hotel, restaurant, club, dance hall or other place of public resort of alcoholic liquors and the sale or soliciting of orders anywhere, except in pharmacies for certain purposes and by manufacturers on the premises where manufactured, under delivery and quantity restrictions.

The voters of Baltimore rejected an act referred by the legislature giving the electorate the right to determine by ballot whether or not the sale or manufacture of intoxicating liquors should be prohibited in Baltimore after May 1, 1918.

MOTOR AND JITNEY BUSES

The voters of Harrisburg, Pa., approved a proposition amending an ordinance regulating the operation of motor buses in the city. The original ordinance contained a provision for the filing of a surety bond of $2,000 with the city for each bus licensed by the owner or lessee of any bus as an indemnity under which anyone injured or damaged in person or property by the operation of such bus could sue and recover for damages sustained. The amendment provides for an initial bond of $50 for each bus licensed and an additional bond of $1,000 per bus to be paid into the city treasury in monthly installments of five dollars. An initiative amendatory ordinance was defeated in San Francisco giving jitney buses the right to operate on all streets in the city and county. The amendment was proposed by the drivers of jitneys and designed to give them a free hand to operate as they should see fit without restraint or restriction. It was urged that the amendment would nullify the jitney ordinance enacted by the board of supervisors, keeping them off Market street during certain hours and the provision requiring indemnity bonds from owners of buses. The amendatory ordinance it was believed would make impossible the regulation of jitneys in any form and would preclude the city from operating a municipal railway in Market street should it be victorious in its litigation with the United Railways.

MUNICIPAL OFFICERS

A majority of the voters of Holyoke ratified a law passed by the Massachusetts general court extending the term of office of the city treasurer to three years. Lansing voted favorably on amending certain sections of the city charter relating to the duties of the city treasurer. Los Angeles amended section 13 of article III of its charter relative to meetings of the city council. The latter under the amendment is required to meet at least five days of each week, meetings on Saturday being abrogated. In San Francisco a proposed amendment to the city charter provided for the creation of a position of city and county attorney in lieu of the office of city attorney, with a salary of $10,000 per year and appointment of the new officer by the mayor until January 8, 1922. The foregoing amendment was submitted to the voters by a unanimous vote of the board of supervisors and also supported by the mayor. The charter qualifications for the office of city attorney specify that the latter must be a practicing attorney for at least ten years, an actual resident of the city for at least five years and devote his entire time to the office. It was urged in support of the amendment that the entry of the city into the ownership and successful operation of municipal street railways and other utilities, the building of the Hetch Hetchy water and power system, the construction of tunnels and boulevards, aside from ordinary governmental affairs, caused its legal department to constantly face problems of enormous magnitude requiring the best legal talent obtainable to protect the city's rights against powerful opposing forces. It was pointed out that a lawyer possessing the requisite ability, courage and honesty for the office would in ten years of practice have established a private business far more profitable and stable than the office of city attorney. Any attorney accepting the office of city attorney would be compelled to give up his private business and accept the salary of the office, five thousand dollars a year, as his only income from his profession. The amendment provided for a suitable increase in salary in order that some man whose record and standing proved him qualified in all respects might be induced to accept the office. It was also proposed to make the term of office of the person whom the mayor might first appoint until January, 1922, a term a few months in excess of that for which all officers of the city are elected, after which he should be elected by the people. It was urged in support of this proposal that an established lawyer whose qualifications are such as would make him an acceptable city attorney could not be induced to take the office unless a reasonable term could be assured him before he would be compelled to become a candidate for election. No lawyer of standing would care to sacrifice a profitable law business to enter into a political campaign with its uncertainties. The measure failed of adoption, 31,900 votes being cast in favor and 94,567 votes against such proposed amendment of the city charter. The voters of the state of Louisiana approved an amendment of section 148 of the state constitution providing for the election of a district attorney for the parish of Orleans for a term of four years at an annual salary of $10,000, 54 per cent of which shall be paid by the city of New Orleans and the balance by the state of Louisiana.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

The voters of Buffalo approved a franchise granted by the council to the International Railway Company to construct and operate electric railways on certain streets in the city. A resolution of the council granting permission to the Federal Telephone and Telegraph Company to sell its physical properties in the city of Buffalo to the New York Telephone Company was voted down and repealed by the electorate. The voters of Berkeley approved an amendment to article 12 of the city charter relating to franchises by adding to such article a new section dealing with the resettlement of such franchises. The section gives the council the right to provide for a general resettlement of the franchise rights of persons or corporations actually engaged in operating public utilities in the city upon written application therefor and acceptance of sundry terms and conditions. Such terms include the appointment of an advisory board by the mayor, indeterminate franchise period, division of annual net revenue, a joint board of control and the assumption of bonded indebtedness by the city in case of purchase. The voters of the state of Washington defeated a referendum measure providing that no competing public utility should be authorized to furnish service except after the issuance by the public service commission of the state of a certificate of public necessity and convenience, such certificate to be issued only in case the existing utility furnished inadequate service.

The voters of the same state rejected a measure—believed instigated by private dock owners—increasing the membership of the Seattle port commission from three to seven, the additional four members to be the mayor, county engineer, county auditor and prosecuting attorney and limiting the further expenditure of funds for port improvements. The measure also authorized the port commissioners to sell any or all property of the port district after an official appraisal of its value and also authorized the leasing of any or all property for a term not exceeding five years. While the act was general in its terms, it in effect only was applicable to the city of Seattle, the port district established in the state being located in that city.

The voters of Los Angeles adopted an amendment to the city charter, suggested by the public service commission, authorizing the latter after approval by the council, to enter into contracts with outside cities for the exchange with them or sale to them of surplus electric power for periods not exceeding fifty years, subject to the city's right to cancel the contract on three years' notice. One of the prime objects of this amendment is to permit a contract to be made with the city of Pasadena for the temporary furnishing of power to Los Angeles and also to permit the public service board to have a market for the surplus power which it is expected will be developed through the aqueduct plants.

The voters of Cleveland by a substantial majority approved a $1,750,000 bond issue for the extension of the municipal electric lighting plant in order that the latter may properly compete with the private electric lighting company operating in the city.

PUBLIC RECREATION

The voters of Evanston, Illinois, approved a proposition providing for an annual tax levy of three mills on the dollar for the purpose of maintaining a public park and in Hamilton, Ohio, a bond issue of $10,000 was authorized for parks and playgrounds. The voters of Los Angeles approved an amendment to the city charter empowering the council in its discretion to appoint a special commission to administer any donation for any improvement in a public park. The amendment had special reference to a reported offer from Colonel G. J. Griffith to construct a Greek theatre and an observatory in the park bearing his name. The municipal league of Los Angeles opposed the amendment on the ground that it would establish a bad precedent to create special commissions to carry on work logically within the jurisdiction of another commission. It was urged that the park board should be reasonably entrusted with the authority to look after the best interests of the city in all matters directly related with parks and that the adoption of the proposed amendment might lead to unlimited abuse. Los Angeles voters further approved an amendment to the charter authorizing the city council or the park board to grant a right of way for the chief transmission line of the municipal power system through Griffith park and to grant an easement for a subway to a railroad already owning a franchise for electric cars to cross under Silver Lake parkway, the contemplated subway shortening the run to the beaches by several minutes.

The voters of Chicago rejected a proposition for the issuance of $2,450,000 in bonds by the city for the purpose of acquiring sites and improving bathing beaches, swimming pools and parks and playgrounds. An unusually hot summer during the past year caused the citizens of Chicago to realize the great need of additional bathing beaches. It was urged by organizations and citizens seeking the defeat of the proposition that the plans for the proposed bathing beaches were inadequate in that they failed to provide for a sufficient number of small bathing beaches within easy reach of all sections of the city.

In St. Paul an amendment to the city charter was submitted to the voters providing that the cost of acquiring land for parks and playgrounds and of improving the same be defrayed by general taxation. The charter provided that the cost of all such improvements be met by special assessment levied against the property deemed benefited thereby.

SCHOOLS

Cities in Massachusetts voted on an act passed by the general court authorizing municipalities to maintain schools of agriculture and horticulture. As approved by the electorate the act gives cities the power to establish and maintain schools for instructing families and individuals by means of day, part time or evening classes in gardening, fruit growing, floriculture, poultry keeping, animal husbandry and other similar branches, subject to the approval by the board of education. Cities are given the power to acquire suitable plots of ground for instruction in practical agriculture and to erect buildings on the same for housing those attending the school. An amendment to the charter of San Francisco, approved by the voters at the election, gives the board of supervisors power to accept gifts for the establishment, support and endowment of a public aquarium and appropriate yearly not less than $20,000 for its maintenance. The adoption of the amendment thus prepares the way for the acceptance of gifts by the city that will be available from generous citizens when a maintenance fund is assured and thus secure to San Francisco a great public aquarium comparable to the famous aquariums of Naples, New York and Detroit.

A further amendment was proposed in the same city providing that certain school lots reserved under an ordinance adopted in 1855 and no longer available for public school purposes be sold and the proceeds used exclusively to purchase new sites or additions to existing sites for school purposes in localities where needed. The amendment provided that no sale of such lands should be made without concurrent action by the board of education, mayor and board of supervisors and by procedure ensuring full publicity and other reasonable safeguards. It was urged that the adoption of the amendment would enable the city to provide school sites in districts where the needs are pressing and acquire lands for school yards to be used as playgrounds by the children. The amendment, however, failed of adoption by a two to one vote.

In Worcester an act passed by the general court was submitted to the voters providing for the reduction of the membership of the school committee from the prevailing membership of thirty, three being elected from each of ten city wards, to eleven members, one to be elected from each of the ten wards and one to be elected at large. The act was approved by the electorate of the city, 11,408 votes being cast in favor of the same and 4,455 against.

The city of Detroit by a more than five to one vote approved an act passed by the legislature providing for the reduction in the membership of the board of education and their election at large by the people.

The voters of the state of Alabama adopted two amendments of the state constitution authorizing the levying of a special tax not exceeding thirty cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property by the various school districts in the counties of the state.

The voters of Louisiana by a two to one vote approved an amendment of the constitution providing that every municipal corporation, parish or ward when authorized to do so "by a majority in number and amount of property taxpayers" be given the power to assess and levy a tax the proceeds of which should be used for the purchase and improvements of grounds and for premium awards for municipal, parish or ward fairs. Resident women taxpayers are authorized to vote at any election called for the foregoing purpose, in person or by proxy.

Cleveland adopted a measure authorizing a $2,000,000 bond issue for the purchase of school sites and the erection and furnishing of schoolhouses and an additional one-half mill tax for sinking fund, interest and maintenance charges resulting from the bond issue.

In Milwaukee the voters approved a bond issue of $800,000 for the purchase of school sites, the erection of new buildings and additions to old ones. It was urged in support of the bond issue that Milwaukee is much behind other cities of its size in equipment for school buildings, resulting in overcrowded class-rooms and children studying in barracks, basements and assembly halls.

SUNDAY CLOSING

In Oregon the voters approved by a vote of 125,836 yeas to 93,076 nays a bill initiated by a committee of the independent retailers association of Portland providing for the repeal of section 2125 of the Oregon laws prohibiting the keeping open of any store, shop, grocery, bowling alley, billiard room or tippling house or any place of amusement on Sunday, excepting theatres, drug stores, offices of physicians, undertakers, livery stables, butchers and bakers.

In Wichita the voters defeated an amendment providing for the repeal of the city ordinance prohibiting the maintenance and operation of moving picture shows on Sunday.

TAXATION

The voters of Cincinnati approved a measure providing for an increased tax levy for general and school purposes. The voters in Los Angeles adopted an amendment to the charter under which the Council, by ordinance, can consolidate the office of city tax collector with that of county tax collector and the office of city assessor with that of county assessor. It is estimated that such consolidation will save the sum of $75,000 to the taxpayers of Los Angeles annually, as well as prove of additional value in the greater convenience in paying taxes at one place instead of at two, as under the old arrangement. The amendment also provides that other city offices may be consolidated with the county offices, but only after an ordinance has been passed by the council and submitted for ratification to the voters of the city. The voters of Oregon by a large majority rejected an amendment to the constitution of the state proposed by initiative petition providing for a full rental value tax and a loan fund for homemakers. It was urged that the amendment would abolish land speculation, reduce the price of land—separate from improvements—and lower the rate of interest to farmers and homemakers in town and country. San Francisco defeated an amendment to the charter providing that when a tax levy made prior to the adoption of the proposed amendment had been declared illegal by the supreme court, all of the tax should be refunded to property owners, irrespective of whether protest had been made or not. It was further provided that a special tax to refund the amount illegally collected should be levied. It was urged that the board of supervisors, under the amendment, could legally levy a tax to reimburse taxpayers for one previously levied and found illegal and that this practice would prove extremely vicious inasmuch as all charter restrictions on the tax rate could be evaded. The voters of Rhode Island by a five to one vote approved a proposed amendment of the constitution of the state providing for excess condemnation of land and property by any city or town in establishing or laying out any public streets or parks. It is provided that the excess land and property not required for such street and park improvement and abutting on the same may be sold or leased for its value. The voters of California defeated overwhelmingly a proposed amendment to the constitution providing for the taxation of land values, exclusive of improvements. It provided that all taxes and licenses, local and state, be abolished, with the exception of a possible income and inheritance tax, limited to providing for old-age pensions, mothers' endowments and workingmen's unemployment and disability insurance. Under the proposed amendment no saloon license or corporation tax could be levied. It was urged that, even if the principle of the modified single tax were acceptable, the amendment proposed too abrupt a change. Its results could only prove seriously unsettling and unjust, if not harmful to many persons and interests, in the same proportion to the inequalities prevailing under the present system of taxation, and that changes in the incidence of taxation should be made, so far as possible, gradually and under an extended and carefully prepared plan. The voters of Illinois approved a proposed amendment of the constitution providing for tax revision. Its purpose is to do away with the unfairness and inequality of the present general property tax, which places so heavy a burden upon certain classes of personal property—particularly credits and corporation stock—that capital is being constantly forced out of the state and the assessment of personal property brought into disrepute. The amendment, itself, does not provide a new basis of taxation, but merely empowers the legislature to deal with the subject unrestricted by the requirement that personal property must be taxed uniformly with other forms of property.

WARDS

Lansing approved an amendment to the city charter relative to dividing the city into eight wards and increasing the number of board members. Los Angeles voters defeated a proposal for the amendment of section 258 of article 25 of the city charter relating to borough government. The provisions of the present city charter regarding boroughs have been held by legal authority to be unconstitutional and according to a statement in the *Bulletin* of the Los Angeles municipal league, impracticable of operation. The proposed amendment made possible a borough system for sections of the city recently annexed, should they so desire. Under the amendment the boroughs would have been given jurisdiction over substantially the same branches of government administered at present by the board of public works, including, among other things, street improvements and street lighting. The boroughs would also have had the power to regulate liquor, saloons and other interests affecting the moral tone of the borough, providing that such regulation be not less stringent than that fixed for the remainder of the city. The borough was also given the right to levy an additional tax for any local matters affecting it. The amendment was asked for and supported by the municipal annexation commission on the ground that it would facilitate the annexation to Los Angeles of outside territory whose annexation would be desirable as a preliminary step toward the consolidation of the city and county of Los Angeles and its environs. The municipal league of Los Angeles, likewise, urged support of the measure.

BATON ROUGE'S MUNICIPAL CENTENARY

BY MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.
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DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

IT WAS on St. Patrick's day, 1699, that Pierre LeMoyne, sieur d'Iberville, discovered and named the site of the present capital of Louisiana. The date of the first settlement appears to be undiscoverable, but contemporary literature of 1719–1723 speaks of it as if it had been there some time. Nothing of moment occurred at Baton Rouge, apparently, until 1763, when the Bourbon flag was replaced with the banner of St. George, and the post's name was changed to Fort Richmond. Sixteen years later, the only engagement of the Revolution—and that a slight one—occurred at Fort Richmond, between the Spanish troops of Governor Galvez, reinforced by American backwoodsmen, some Indians and a few negroes, on the one side, and the British garrison, under Colonel Dickson, on the other. The attackers were victorious, and the castles and lions of Spain floated over Baton Rouge until September 23, 1810. At that time, the Anglo-Americans in West Florida revolted against the rule of Spain, organized the "Republic of West Florida," and sent an "army" under General Philemon Thomas to take this fort at Baton Rouge. This was done, after a slight engagement as the result of which the "lone star" flag appeared for the first time in American history. The ensign of the West Floridians was a blue woolen field with one silver star in the center. When the Republic of West Florida sought annexation to the United States, President Madison said it was part of the Louisiana purchase, so Governor Claiborne extended his control over the region, replacing the blue woolen flag with "Old Glory." To this day, that part of Louisiana between the river, the lakes and the gulf is called "the Florida parishes."

Within less than half a century five flags—Bourbon, British, Spanish, West Floridian, American—had flown over Baton Rouge. Within the next half century, two more were to fly—state and Confederate. A second state flag, adopted after Reconstruction, made the eighth, while the tricolor of the French republic, which floated over New Orleans for three weeks in 1803, makes nine banners that waved over one part or another of Louisiana.

INCORPORATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Under whichever of the first five flags she might be, Baton Rouge was not a municipality, merely a settlement about a military post, the commandant of which prescribed such regulations as he deemed needful. The city of Baton Rouge came into being when Governor James Villeré signed, January 16, 1817, the statute authorizing the people of the town to elect five councillors, one of whom should be "magistrate," or mayor. Hence January 16, 1917, was the centenary of the incorporation of Baton Rouge.

Besides having eight flags float above her, Baton Rouge has witnessed many other historic events. The visit of Lafayette, in 1825, was but one of such visits by notabilities like Clay, Beauregard, Scott, etc. Zachary Taylor departed from Baton Rouge for Mexico, in 1845. The city became the capital in 1850, while two years later a constitutional convention was held here. The secession convention met at Baton Rouge, in January 1861, seized the federal arsenal, and passed the ordinance of secession. Farragut captured the city, without a shot, in May 1862. In August, General Breckinridge, of the Confederate army, won a fruitless victory. He drove the Union forces from the outskirts of the city to the shelter of the gunboats, whose guns compelled him to withdraw. Federal headquarters were at New Orleans, Confederate at Shreveport. Not until after the régime of "carpetbagger and scalawag" was Baton Rouge again made the capital. This was done by the convention of 1879.

Ten years before this, the plant of the state university at Alexandria had been destroyed by fire, so its domicile was changed to Baton Rouge, which is also the site of the state schools for the deaf, dumb and blind, for several private and church schools, while on its outskirts is the state industrial college for the colored.

Perhaps the largest of all the Standard Oil refineries was erected at Baton Rouge in 1909. Four years later a constitutional convention met there and refunded the state debt. The year 1914 was signalized by the adoption of commission government, and the formation of the "organized charities," in which Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jew combine their resources to try to handle the problems of poverty and unemployment.

Meanwhile, in 1913, city and parish (county) had co-operated to establish a free fair, for which space for exhibits, admittance of visitors, and the like, are all gratuitous. By 1916 Baton Rouge felt that she had made so much history that it was time to collect and conserve some of it. For this purpose the "Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge" was organized, with General John McGrath, a veteran of Walker's first Nicaraguan expedition, and of the Civil war, at its head.

As oceangoing vessels can and do come to her docks, Baton Rouge did not rest until she was designated (1916) as a port of entry. Then she celebrated the occasion with a banquet. Seeking some other outlet for her enterprise and energy, she decided a modern Y. M. C. A. building was needed, so announcement was made that in the week beginning January 10, 1917, she would raise $50,000 for that purpose. When the clock struck 8, Tuesday evening, the 16th, $62,450 had been secured.

A municipal abattoir had been established in the fall of 1915, which was so successful that it reduced within six months its fees, and is still self-sustaining. At present, the plant is being enlarged.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

Early in October, 1916, the historical society and the city commission began to discuss the best way to celebrate the centennial of the city's incorporation. Soon a committee was organized, representing, beside the two named, nearly every other organization of a religious, patriotic, social, business or fraternal nature. Tuesday, January 17, was the day selected. Because of a driving rain storm two items had to be omitted from the program; the "Jackies" of the U. S. torpedo-destroyers, *Sterrett*, *Lamson*, and *Monaghan* (then in the harbor) were to have opened the celebration with a parade. In the afternoon, the cadet corps of Louisiana State University was to hold a dress-parade, followed by a band-concert.

The first number of the actual celebration was a joint meeting of the Louisiana historical society, with the local society. A marble marker has been erected on the site of the old Spanish fort. This monument will be dedicated on the anniversary of the capture.

The climax of the centennial was a series of tableaux, given the same evening, representing various epochs in the life of the city. Backgrounds, poses, costumes, music, all combined to lend an air of verisimilitude. First Iberville was shown, discovering the site of the city; the orders of Redmen and Woodmen of the World staged this. Next, the Knights of Columbus showed Galvez's capture of the British fort, in 1779. The Odd Fellows then displayed the West Florida forces capturing it from the Spanish in 1810. Students of the university posed the first session of the first city council. Be it said in passing, that tradition tells us that one of the first councillors had been a pirate with Lafitte; another, a member of the West Florida Revolutionary junto, while a third was of Tory antecedents.

Lafayette's arrival in 1825 was shown by the Knights of Pythias. This was followed by a ball in his honor. Lafayette himself opened the minuet, the other dancers being young ladies and gentlemen of "town and gown." Fraternal orders, civilians and citizens next presented the scene of Zachary Taylor's notification of his nomination for president, in 1848. The curtain then rose upon the secession convention, engaged in signing the ordinance. This was arranged by the Daughters of the Confederacy, and was posed by Confederate veterans, or their descendants. Students of the university showed the removal of the institution to Baton Rouge, in 1869. The last picture, another "town and gown" combination, showed the return of the capital to Baton Rouge.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

The Reorganization of the Administration of State Institutions in Kansas.—The legislature which has recently adjourned decided that among other things Kansas would try the experiment of conducting all state institutions under one board. One of the features of the administrative program of Governor Capper was a recommendation that there should be a greater concentration of boards and commissions in the Kansas system so that the general movement for economy and efficiency might be made to apply to those functions of government for which Kansas spends the bulk of its appropriation. Late in the session, after the city manager bill had been passed, Mr. Martin introduced House Bill No. 517 which immediately came to be known as the state manager bill. The legislature was already committed to the idea of a city manager and it quite readily accepted the manager principle for the state institutions as well. The bill was accepted by the senate with a few amendments in which the house concurred without much debate. On July 1 a single board and a manager will take charge of all of the educational, penal and benevolent institutions and be held responsible for their efficient administration.

This law is the latest chapter in a period of experimentation in the field of institution management in Kansas. Up to 1913 there were at least seven separate governing boards for the state institutions. The legislature of that year swept these aside and substituted for them three separate boards, each to have charge of a given class of institutions. The state board of administration took the place of all of the boards of regents of the state schools (five in number), and besides it assumed direction of the schools for the deaf and the blind on the theory that these were educational and not charitable institutions. The board of control continued in authority over all benevolent institutions, except the schools for the deaf and the blind just mentioned. The penal institutions, the administration of which had been in the hands of three separate boards were put under the control of a board of control. Since 1913, therefore, all of the Kansas institutions have been managed by three salaried boards, with the one exception of the homes for soldiers and soldiers' widows. These continued in the keeping of an honorary board for sentimental reasons.

Under the Martin law of 1917 two new features in American state administration appear, a single board for all institutions, and a responsible paid manager to be chosen by the board. As the bill passed the house the manager was to be the sole salaried officer but the senate amended the bill to provide for a salaried board which is to give its whole time to the state. This feature was not contemplated by the governor nor by Mr. Martin but it seemed wise to those in charge of the bill not to risk its defeat by insisting in the senate upon an unpaid board. This was the sop thrown to the old officeholders and the house was persuaded to concur in the senate amendment.

The Board. The board consists of three members appointed by the governor, who by virtue of his office is chairman and the fourth member of the board. Each appointed member holds office for four years and provision is made for the retirement of two every fourth year beginning in 1921, and the retirement of one appointed member every fourth year beginning in 1917. Since the governor holds office for but two years there will always be a two-year elected member on the board. At every other election the governor will be able to name a majority of the appointive members and between times he and his appointee will make up half the membership of the board. Virtually, therefore, the governor becomes the head of all the institutions in the state. His position is made still more impregnable because the law gives him the authority to remove any member when he thinks the public welfare demands it. The members receive a salary of thirty-five hundred dollars a year.

Its powers include the right to control and manage all institutions, to erect buildings and keep them in repair, to employ a manager and a secretary and the heads of the institutions. (The state treasurer is made the treasurer of the board.) It may make its own rules of procedure with the limitation that its regulations must be enacted into law by the legislature and no rule defeated by one legislature shall be considered legal until enacted by some subsequent legislature. It has authority to fix all salaries in the various institutions upon the recommendation of the executive officer thereof. It is also a corporate body with power to bring suits and institute and defend proceedings in the courts. The attorney general is made its legal officer for such proceedings.

The Manager. The law provides in the second place for a general manager, who for want of a better term may be called the fiscal officer of the board. He is the hired man, at a salary to be determined by the board, serving at the pleasure of the board. Under a senate amendment he must be a resident of Kansas of at least a year's standing at the time of appointment. His function is to "manage and control" the various institutions by and with the advice of the board and "to purchase all supplies required by such institutions." He does not, however, have any appointing power, for the choice of the heads of institutions is left with the board and the choice of employes throughout the state is left to the executive heads except in so far as the state civil service law operates under the present management. He is not a manager in the sense that many have seemed to infer from a hasty reading of the bill. As a matter of fact the executive heads of the several institutions are vested with more authority than they have exercised during the last four years under the experimental large-power board system. So far as local policy is concerned there seems to be less chance for outside interference than under the laws of 1913. Perhaps the most interesting function of the manager has to do with the making of the budget. It is his duty to submit estimates for appropriations to the governor before the meeting of the legislature. In making out these estimates the law declares that he must consult with the heads of the institutions. He is also made personally liable if expenditures exceed the appropriations.

Section 13 of the act gives the general theory of the board and manager system in the following words; the act contemplates "the employment of an expert general manager, for the business and scientific management of all state institutions covered by this act, and also for the placing of all educational, benevolent and penal institutions of the state of Kansas under one management and under one board of trustees or directors, with a suitable place of business at the state capitol, for the orderly and economical administration thereof, publicity and fairness in the awarding of contracts for all supplies, the keeping of such books and records, accounts and reports as shall not only show the cost of maintaining each of said institutions, but also the per capita cost of maintaining the inmates thereof, and this act shall be liberally construed so as to carry out such purposes."

Altogether eighteen state institutions are by this act brought under the management of this new board of administration—a board each member of which gives bond in the sum of ten thousand dollars to the state for the faithful performance of duty.

C. A. DYKSTRA.

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Home Rule Progress in New York State.—Since the assembly in 1914 passed the proposed amendment to the constitution granting to cities the right to adopt their own charters and regulate their own affairs free from legislative interference save by general laws or in matters of state concern, little progress has been made in the direction of constitutional home rule. The constitutional convention of 1915 proposed, by way of compromise, a limited grant of power, which failed with the defeat of the entire proposed constitution.

The advocates of a thorough-going home rule amendment, despairing of its speedy adoption, concluded to present a compromise proposal that would not encounter the strong opposition that had manifested itself to the grant of any independent power to cities. Such a proposal was the Mills-Welsh amendment, first introduced in the legislature of 1916 at the instance of the conference of mayors and other city officials and endorsed as an acceptable compromise by the municipal government association of New York state, the citizens union, the city club and other home rule advocates. It provides for legislative home rule rather than constitutional home rule, properly so called,—*i.e.* while commanding the legislature to grant to cities the power of adopting their own local laws on municipal matters, as well as of drafting their own charters, it is not self-executing, but leaves the manner of executing the constitutional command entirely in the hands of the legislature and by way of sanction prohibits the legislature from passing any special or local law relating to the property, affairs or government of cities, but leaves the legislature with unrestricted power to regulate municipal affairs by general laws and to regulate matters of state concern by general or special laws.

Even this moderate proposal met with opposition. It made no progress in the 1916 legislature and was reintroduced in the 1917 legislature. At the 1917 session, another amendment was introduced by Senator E. R. Brown, purporting to grant some measure of home rule by declaring the power of the legislature to grant additional powers to cities, but without any grant of or direction for the grant of power to cities and without restriction on the power of the legislature other than that resulting from the requirement that grants of power to cities (but not restrictions on cities) could be granted only by general laws. A contest developed between the Brown amendment and the Mills-Welsh amendment. The senate, of which Senator Brown was the majority leader, passed the illusory Brown amendment. The assembly, after debate, passed the Mills-Welsh amendment, against the opposition of the leaders of both parties. The Brown amendment, however, remained on the assembly calendar and was slipped through the assembly in the closing days of the session, without debate, by a "quick roll call."

It cannot fairly be said that the Brown amendment represents the deliberate judgment of the legislature. The advocates of real home rule will renew the fight next year. Any amendment, whether the Brown amendment or an adequate amendment, if passed in 1918, will have to be repassed by the legislature to be chosen at the next election of senators in November, 1918, before it can be submitted to a vote of the people. LAURENCE A. TANZER.

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Consolidation of Governmental Agencies in Illinois.—Concerning the editorial note attached to Professor W. F. Dodd's interesting account of the work that had been done in Illinois under Governor Lowden's administration appearing in the May issue under the above title, the Hon. Morton D. Hull writes as follows:

> I notice in the May number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW an editorial note to an article by Professor Dodd with reference to the recent legislation in Illinois consolidating certain departments of the state government, giving me perhaps more credit than I am entitled to. Credit for the initiation of this whole program belongs to the old committee of the 48th general assembly of which Charles F. Hurburgh of Galesburg was chairman. I am glad to have made some contribution in public discussion to the interest in this program, and believe that I have helped in its accomplishment, but think Mr. Lowden is entitled to much the major credit in the present situation.

✣

Idaho's City Manager Law.—The fourteenth session of the Idaho legislature was productive of but one significant measure relating to municipal government—an act providing for the city-manager form. It provides that the question of the adoption of such a form shall be submitted to the people whenever a petition is filed signed by electors equal in number to 25 per cent of all votes cast for mayor in the last election. The issue shall be voted on at a special election, and if at this election, the proposition is defeated, the issue cannot be again raised within two years.

A board of commissioners is provided for, varying in number from five to nine, according to population. Their term is four years, with a portion of the board retiring every two years. At the first election, the commissioners are to be chosen by wards, but subsequently they will be chosen either by wards or at large, according to the method subsequently designated by the municipal ordinance. The board must hold meetings at least twice every month. It also has the power to appoint the city manager.

The city manager holds office during the pleasure of the board, and is responsible for the general supervision of the city's business, for the execution of the ordinances, the making of appointments not otherwise provided for, and for the making of recommendations to the board relative to matters of public concern. No limitations as to salary are mentioned, and no qualifications are provided.

The act provides that the work of the city shall be divided into at least five departments (public affairs, accounts and finance, public safety, streets and public improvements, parks and public property) and as many more as the board may provide.

It is provided further that the city may return to the original form of government any time after the expiration of six years upon a majority vote of the people.

Three cities in the state, viz., Moscow, Pocatello, and Coeur d'Alene, are giving serious consideration to the question of the adoption of the city-manager form.

John T. Lewis.

Charter Revision in Bridgeport, Conn.—The legislature during its closing sessions passed a bill giving official sanction to the work of the charter revision committee which has been at work in this city for over a year. This is the committee which prepared the commission-government charter which was carried last November by an overwhelming majority, but which never went into effect for the lack of support by 60 per cent of those voting at the election. Immediately after the election, Mayor Clifford B. Wilson, who had opposed the commission plan, indicated that he would favor a city manager. The old commission thereupon started work upon a commission-manager charter. This, during May, was presented to the mayor and approved by him. It will be voted upon by the people on August 11.

The proposed charter is "orthodox" in every respect—five commissioners elected by preferential ballot and a city manager with the power of appointment of all city officers except the city clerk and corporation counsel. Provision is made for the four departments of public safety, finance, public works and public welfare. A civil service commission will have jurisdiction in the selection of appointees in all departments.

H. G. Gilbertson.

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Proportional Representation.—On May 19 the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia passed a bill, introduced by the Premier, allowing municipalities to adopt proportional representation in municipal elections. The act provides that the system of proportional representation shall be that known as the "single transferable vote," which was adopted in 1915 by Ashtabula, Ohio, and in December, 1916, by Calgary, Alberta. The rules and regulations for counting the votes and making the necessary transfers are to be prescribed, according to the act, by the "Lieutenant-Governor in Council," which in practice means the government of the day.

Chicago's Street Railway Situation.—Unification of the present surface and elevated transportation facilities of Chicago, financial as well as operating, into a composite system and articulating with a future subway system, is the ambitious plan presented by the Chicago traction and subway commission, recently submitted to the city council committee on local transportation, and now engaging the serious attention of Chicago and the legislature. The commission reports upon the value of the present elevated property and presents a comprehensive plan of operation, financing and regulation covering the combined systems.

The report is highly interesting in its detailed handling of a most intricate transportation problem. It has an additional interest in the attempt by its provisions to undo some of the more obvious mistakes of the original franchise ordinance of 1907 covering the surface lines, particularly the failure to provide for amortizing capital investment and to make municipal ownership a practical proposition; also to provide an effective scheme of regulation and control of service.

The traction and subway commission's first plan calls for a unified franchise covering the elevated and surface systems, running for thirty years from 1917, with a provision limiting the city's right to purchase the properties until one-half the capital has been retired through an amortization fund provided from gross earnings and incidental sources. It is estimated that this 50-50 condition can be reached by 1947, when the city would be empowered to acquire the property by assuming the remaining indebtedness against it. Later there was suggested, to meet the necessities of financing the proposition, a fifty-year grant with the city empowered to purchase the property at any time. This proposal was indorsed strongly by the companies, who claimed that nothing less than a fifty-year grant was a practical necessity to enable them successfully to finance construction. The city council, however, refused to accept the fifty-year proposition, insisting upon a straight thirty-year term.

Under the plan proposed by the commission, all the money for subway and other construction, equipment, etc., would be furnished by the company, except that the city's present share of the accumulated profits from operation of the surface lines, about twenty-one million dollars, and all future accumulations from this source, would be used for construction purposes.

It is provided that the operating company shall receive 6 per cent on its present certified investment in surface and elevated properties, aggregating $217,876,417. Of this amount $70,400,916 represents the value of the elevated lines as appraised by the commission. The above sum also will be the original agreed purchase price. New capital is to be furnished at actual cost, whether applying to the refunding of existing indebtedness or to new securities. There will be division of profits between the company and the city on the present contract basis of 45 per cent and 55 per cent, respectively. The company is secured in a profit minimum of 1 per cent of the annual gross receipts, but its total right of return upon its investment in excess of 8 per cent shall go into the amortization fund. This fund will be provided:

1. By annual payments from net earnings before the division of profits.

2. By the diversion back into the property for construction purposes of the city's entire present traction fund and all future additions to the same and interest thereon.

The commission's present forecast is that under this method the whole of the company's then investment, aggregating about $490,000,000, would be retired in 1960, leaving to the city the property free of all encumbrance, which it could operate directly or lease for operation.

As a means to assist the company to finance construction and refund its present obligations, the commission recommends that the surface and elevated companies surrender their existing franchises and accept new contracts under the terms outlined above. The franchise of the surface lines expires in 1927, those of the elevated lines at various times in the future, up to 1945.

To assure the largest possible measure of efficiency of public regulation and control of the unified properties, the commission suggests the creation of a non-political board of regulation and control, organized along the lines of the present board of supervising engineers, empowered to administer the details of the control of finance, organization, construction, service and extensions, subject to the general authority of the city council. The members of this board are required to be experts in traction management. The power of appointment and discharge is vested in the city council. The franchise is subject to a referendum vote of the people.

There is sharp public discussion of the commission's program, and some criticism. The fifty-year franchise proposal has been the most prominent point of attack, due probably to the traditional hostile attitude of the Chicago public to long-term franchises. Municipal ownership advocates oppose the proposed settlement on the ground that any settlement involving a franchise contract necessarily means the postponement of the day of municipal ownership and operation of the property.

Legislation broadening the city's present powers to deal with the new transportation situation will be required. Enabling bills to that purpose have been introduced in the legislature and approved by the Chicago city council. These bills provide in substance for the following:

1. Restoring to the city the powers of home rule taken from it by the state public utilities act (recently upheld by the state supreme court).

2. Authorizing the city to grant a thirty-year franchise to a new operating company formed by the merger of the elevated and surface lines.

3. Authorizing the city to construct and operate subways.

4. Authorizing the merger of the companies owning the surface and elevated lines.

Further progress in the solution of the traction situation in Chicago now depends on the action of the legislature. With passage of the proposed bills the larger problem of drafting a working ordinance still remains to be done.

It is of interest that the man who framed the 1907 ordinance, which was the real beginning of the new street railway franchise order in the United States, is now again at the helm, in the capacity of special counsel to the traction commission, Walter L. Fisher. Mr. Fisher's immediate special task is the preparation of the enabling legislation.

Former Governor Edward F. Dunne, who was mayor of Chicago at the time of the adoption of the 1907 street railway ordinance and led the fight against the same, is now vigorously fulminating against the proposed unification scheme. He declares that the proposition presented by the commission is flagrantly excessive as to cost and unjust in franchise terms and that it will be overwhelmingly condemned at the polls.

Stiles P. Jones.

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Cleveland's Three-Cent Fare Policy.—The question of continuance of the three-cent fare of the Cleveland street railway system is right now receiving more anxious consideration than ever in the life of the present franchise settlement.

Cleveland has been growing very rapidly in population in recent years. Transportation facilities have not kept pace with the increase in population and with genuine traffic needs. There is much complaint of undue crowding of the cars at the rush hours and of the general inadequacy of the system to meet the city's transportation needs. Mayor Davis publicly puts the responsibility for the inadequate service upon the company. He insists that the management must improve its service or be refused a renewal of its franchise in 1919. He declares, however, that the present fare must be maintained.

President Stanley of the company, on the other hand, charges the situation to the inability of the present rate of fare to supply the money with which to meet the operating costs of a better service. He states that there is at present a deficit of $450,000 in the operating and maintenance funds, and he wants a prompt settlement of this situation. The city has the power to relieve conditions through its control of service, he declares. To provide service in accordance with the present needs would, in the opinion of Mr. Stanley, so increase operating expenses as to make it necessary to advance the rate of fare, now three cents with one cent for transfer.

Right here comes the rub. The low fare is immensely popular with the Cleveland people. Any increase in the rate would unquestionably meet with public disapproval and indirectly might lead to political disaster to the present administration.

Fielder Sanders, street railway commissioner, asserts that no fare increase is called for; that the traffic needs can be met by greater efficiency and economy in operation on the part of the company, and he indicates where and how. There is danger that this situation will eventually make the question of low fare vs. adequate service the leading political issue in Cleveland.

The present situation in Cleveland suggests two thoughts to any city engaged in the preparation of the modern street railway franchise: (1) The doubtful wisdom of putting too strong emphasis upon the factor of low fare under the abnormal transportation conditions of the period—cost of furnishing the service and of construction. (2) The political complications associated with the Cleveland system of control of street railway operation.

S. P. J.

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Minneapolis Street Railway Settlement.—Negotiations between the city of Minneapolis and the Minneapolis street railway company for a new franchise settlement are finally assuming definite form.

It was almost two years ago that the necessary enabling act was secured from the legislature. Progress in the meantime has been waiting on a valuation of the property. The city engineer completed an appraisal for the city in September last. A short time later the company presented the appraisal report made by its engineers. No further progress was made until February 15, when the street railway committees of the city council decided to have the city engineer's appraisal reviewed by an outside valuation authority before negotiating for a valuation agreement. The committee at the same time directed the city attorney to secure the necessary expert assistance and proceed to the preparation of a franchise contract.

Subsequently the council selected Charles L. Pillsbury of Minneapolis, consulting engineer, best known for his recent work of appraising for the District of Columbia commission all the public utility properties of the district, to make the valuation review, and Stiles P. Jones, executive secretary of the central franchise committee, to assist the city attorney in the construction of the franchise. The company has submitted a franchise proposal based on the principles of cost of service, with the fare fixed at five cents and a division of the profits between the company and the city.

The question of the valuation of the property to be named in the franchise seems to be the present serious handicap to an early agreement. There was a wide difference in the aggregate of the two valuations presented. The city engineer's appraisal was $25,914,308, which included $4,270,230 representing going concern value in the form of superseded property. The company's appraiser found a total valuation of $35,323,375. Both appraisals were made solely on the basis of cost of reproduction. The city engineer deducted for depreciation on most of the depreciable physical property, while the company's appraisal made no allowance whatever for depreciation, stating that the property was in 100 per cent service condition and therefore not equitably subject to depreciation for value.

The two appraisals differed but slightly on the basis of value of the physical property undepreciated—1⅓ per cent. The difference represents largely the city engineer's depreciation allowance and the addition by the company's appraisers of discount, working capital, property not now used for transportation purposes and higher overhead expense.

The central franchise committee, the organization representing the public in the negotiations, has questioned some of the city engineer's conclusions, and it is at their suggestion that the review of his appraisal was authorized by the council committee.

The franchise must be ratified by a vote of the people.

S. P. J.

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Unification of Street Railway Systems in San Francisco.—Events in the making of local transportation history in San Francisco are apparently bringing the city and the United railways company constantly nearer together on the only logical solution of the complicated street railway problem of that city—unification of the United railways with the municipal system, under city ownership and operation.

The company's financial condition and the improbability under the city charter limitations of developing transportation facilities to meet the expanding needs of the city, seem to make municipal ownership inevitable at no distant date.

The recent decision of the circuit court finding for the city in the controversy over the joint use of Market street further complicates the situation for the company. The jitney competition of the past two years is another serious factor in the company's situation.

The city engineer is preparing a report for the board of supervisors which will discuss the problems involved in the taking over of the United railways properties by the municipality. The company's financial reorganization plan, which reduces the capitalization nearly one-half, makes municipal ownership easier by bringing the cost within the city's purchasing power, under the debt limitations of the charter.

President Lillienthal of the United railways company has been recently quoted to the effect that he is ready to sell the property to the city; that a monopoly is necessary to the successful operation of a street railway system, and that inasmuch as the city will not sell its lines to the company, the company logically must sell out to the city. He states that it is impossible for the company to secure money for extensions under the present conditions of municipal competition and hampering charter provisions.

The California railroad commission is now making a physical valuation of the company's property.

S. P. J.

II. POLITICS[1]

Indiana's Constitutional Convention Work is progressing most encouragingly. The Citizens' league of Indiana was an important factor in securing a patriotic, broad-minded, intelligent legislature in 1917, which differed from other legislatures in that for the past twenty years a majority of the members, if not in numbers, then in power, had been sent by "liquor" and "public utilities."

In 1911, in an effort to secure for Indiana cities an improved system of city government, there was organized the "business system of city government league of Indiana" which carried a very strong, state-wide campaign covering a period of two years. It went before the 1913 legislature with the support of the commercial and other semi-political and social organizations of the state. Its main effort, however, was centered on securing the adoption of a bill for Fort Wayne, and for that purpose was enlisted the support of all the organized bodies in that city, comprising the commercial, social and educational bodies, the clergy and the citizens at large, with the result that 2,500 signatures were secured to a petition prepared for this purpose. It was to be left optional with Fort Wayne or any other city to adopt the plan. The "plan" was approved by the governor and leading politicians, but was ingloriously defeated in the legislature through the efforts of the local political "boss" and the assistance of the members of the "secret government" made up of a half dozen of the leading public utility lawyers and brewery bosses. Immediately after the session of this legislature the citizens' league of Indiana was organized for the purpose of promoting a new constitution.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

As early as 1913, there had been considerable agitation for a new constitution, and the political "machine" in order to side-track it, employed their attorneys to prepare a series of "twenty-two amendments," called the "Stotsenburg" or the "lost" amendments. At the same time they prepared a bill, submitting the question of a constitutional convention to the vote of the people at the next election. There was also prepared for this same legislature a public utility law, perhaps the worst that was ever put over in any state of the Union. These three bills were put through without any hitch whatever. Under the present constitution, amendments must pass two successive legislatures, and so the "twenty-two amendments," after passing in 1913, were brought before the 1915 legislature. The league analyzed and exposed both the convention bill and the "twenty-two amendments," as they were vicious to the last degree. As a result of its work the "amendments" were killed, and when the convention bill came up for the vote of the people in the November election, a strong fight in favor of it for educational purposes was made to make the opposition show their hand. The bill did not receive a majority of all the votes cast as was expected, but this, together with the "twenty-two amendments" and the public utility law furnished the league all the material they needed for bringing before the people of the state the crooked methods of the "machine." It made a splendid campaign for two years, and in every way encouraged the anti-liquor and woman suffrage forces. A strong effort was made to secure good men for the legislature.

Another great factor that acted favorably on the 1917 legislature was the disruption in the "machine" brought about by "war" conditions. The saloon vote in Indiana has been controlled by the Democratic "machine" and was made up to a large extent of German-Americans. These Germans for once deserted the Democratic standard, to show their resentment toward President Wilson, and voted solidly for Hughes, with the result that Indiana went Republican. This produced a split in the Democratic party, and all those that got hit, together with the Wilson-Bryan and other "dry" Democrats, decided to withdraw from "liquor." Under these conditions the 1917 legislature met, with each man informed as to "machine" methods and the influence of liquor and public utilities. We had a very strong legislative committee, and fortunately had a governor, Mr. Goodrich, who belonged to our "forward lookers," and was a powerful factor in the fight.

This legislature passed, by a large majority of the non-partisan vote, the constitutional convention bill prepared by the league's committee, a womans' suffrage bill, giving the women their first vote on delegates to the constitutional convention, and a state-wide prohibition bill, operative April 1, 1918.

The citizens' league is now engaged in organizing the state, by counties, into constitutional discussion forums. The league has a number of organizers throughout the state, and furnishes speakers for each district. The campaign opened with a constitutional discussion supper at Fort Wayne, which was followed the next week by one at South Bend.

Ross F. Lockridge, 425 Law Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind. is secretary of the league.[1]

THEODORE F. THIEME.

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[1] The question has been raised by the interests as to the constitutionality of the provision permitting women to vote for delegates to the constitutional convention. This would be offset, however, by a provision under which the ballots of the women will be taken separately and deposited in a separate receptacle so that if it should be held that they have no right to vote their votes can be easily eliminated. The same method was adopted in Massachusetts.—EDITOR.

Chicago's New City Council.—In April Chicago held an important municipal election. Thirty-six aldermen were elected, or one more than half of the total number serving. There were several issues involved, but only one was "city wide" and fundamental—this issue being "Thompsonism vs. an independent and non-spoils city council." On this issue the mayor, "Big Bill" Thompson, suffered a decisive defeat. The new council is unmistakably anti-Thompson by a large majority. The city hall machine fought the best men in the council and sought to defeat them at the primaries or at the election.

Thanks to our antiquated election law, we have to use meaningless terms and labels in discussing city elections and their results. The council is now nominally "Democratic," and the spoils Democrats are pointing with satisfaction to the fact that they have complete and easy control of the council. Because of these foolish boastings of the reactionary elements of the Democratic party, Mayor Thompson has been saying that he expects to get along better with the new council than he did with the old one, and that he lost nothing in the April elections. For these claims there is very little foundation.

Every fit alderman in the council is formally pledged to treat his office as non-partisan, and the fit constitute a majority. When the matter of organization—of committee assignments and the distribution of important chairmanships—came up, immediately after the election, a serious effort was made by the obtuse mayor and his cheap henchmen to defeat the principle of non-partisan organization and put through a "slate" satisfactory to the spoilsmen of both parties. The effort failed signally. The mayor suffered a humiliating defeat, and the municipal voters' league won another notable victory for the established principle that the aldermanic office is wholly non-partisan.

It is true, however, that on certain real or sham "ward" issues the mayor's sordid machine scored two or three victories. The defeat of Prof. Charles E. Merriam in the Republican primaries (a defeat due to strained technical rulings by the election board), followed by his unsuccessful attempt to run as an independent (the attempt failing because of other and even more tenchnical quibbles), is admittedly a severe blow to the cause of intelligent, honest and courageous public service. The defeat of Alderman Robert Buck, a forceful and well-informed man, whom the crooks had every reason to fear, is also a bad blow. These able and useful men were "knifed" by voters of their own party. The independents and the public-spirited women voters worked hard in their behalf, but the spoils allies proved to be too strong. The latter, it should be added, had the active aid of narrow-minded "business men," who had opposed Merriam and Buck on school questions.

The present council is honest enough and "safe" enough. There is little danger of partisan or of corrupt treatment of the several important questions that await consideration and action. The trouble is that the council needs more initiative, constructive ability and knowledge than it now commands. As one good alderman said, "We know how to vote; we are to be depended upon to vote right, but we lack the authority, the grasp and information which we need." Merriam was an intellectual as well as a moral leader, and his retirement is a loss that will be felt in budget-making, in utility regulation, in protection of the merit service and in maintaining departmental efficiency.

New ordinances dealing with local transportation, gas rates, "home rule," etc., are before the council. The action of the council on these subjects is awaited with concern and anxiety. True, the mayor has lost what little influence he had, and his machine is bankrupt and discredited. Even the power of obstruction has been all but lost by the city hall gang. If, then, the council contains a trustworthy and progressive majority, the legislation of the next two years should fairly reflect the sentiment of the more enlightened and public-spirited voters of the community. And this, assuredly, is all that sober-minded liberals, or even radicals, have the right to ask.

Chicago, by the way, has lately suffered a severe blow in a decision of the state supreme court holding that the public utility commission, and not the city council, has the power to regulate the utilities operating within the boundaries of the municipality. Thus questions of rates, quality of service, etc., are taken out of the hands of the city's local government. This creates an anomalous situation. The city can grant franchises, but regulation of service is within the exclusive authority of a state body appointed by the governor. It may be doubted whether the legislature intended to rob Chicago of this amount of home rule when it passed the act creating a state utility commission. Chicago may be able to recover the power thus lost, to secure an amendment of the utilities act restoring home rule to her. The city council is committed to home rule and will work and fight hard to recover it. To obtain sufficient popular and outside support, however, it will have to display more capacity and efficiency with reference to utility affairs than it has displayed in the last few years.

Victor S. Yarros.

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"Detroit the dynamic" is awakening to appreciation of the value of efficient and economical municipal administration, along with big values in motor cars. Within the past year a civic revolution, acting on the evolutionary method, has been proceeding; its sponsors hope to carry it to culmination next November with such a final revision of the whole city government as to provide a small common council—nine to fifteen members,—elected at large on a non-partisan ballot. Demand for the commission-manager plan also is heard on many sides.

Nearly five years ago the Detroit citizens' league was organized by Henry M. Leland, president of the Cadillac Motor Company, and Attorney Pliny W. Marsh, formerly legislative superintendent of the Michigan Anti-Saloon Lague, and recognized as an expert in legislative matters. This organization now holds the center of the political stage, commanding universal respect and a measure of support as to its programs never before accorded to any good government group in this city. The Detroit bureau of governmental research, working on parallel lines, also is a strong factor in the situation, though its labors have extended only about a year.

"Something is wrong with the city government—find out what it is and fix it," said Mr. Leland and his associates to Mr. Marsh. A common council of 42 members, elected by wards, two from each ward, was the hub of the wheel. Various spokes were the 21-man school board, seamed with politics and graft for years, a similarly bulky board of estimates, a street-car system which had become a political football, and numerous jobholders who had been systematically sacrificing public to private interest.

In less than five years the league has created a public sentiment which has grown along with the astonishing growth of the city. Every year has added to the prestige of the league and to the confidence which it enjoys. With every election recently some moot question has been submitted by charter amendment and settled by the voters; now the final drive is on.

After three years of investigation the league found the root of all evil in an election system ruled by bosses who managed controlled precincts. The Scott-Flowers law, followed with a charter amendment, wrought radical, permanent reform here through an election commission of five men; the last election was 99 per cent clean.

Other achievements have been abolition of the old board of estimates and of the school board; for each was substituted a small, modern body. The new school board of seven members, one of them a woman, is made up of persons of highest character and ability. Saloons were wiped out at the state election last fall, though they will continue to operate another year. The saloon influence in Detroit politics had become so powerful and corrupt that thousands of liberals voted dry and the city gave only a majority of 9,000 on the wet side.

By legislation recently the city was permitted to revise its own charter, under generous home rule provisions, with a small commission chosen at large. City elections were separated from state and national elections by a charter amendment adopted last spring. The citizens' league now has launched its campaign for a modern plan of government. Politicians predict it will win without question, though there will be a real fight. Clinton Rogers Woodruff of Philadelphia gave the address at the meeting when the enterprise was publicly started. Detroit is preparing to entertain the annual convention of the National Municipal League next November.

William P. Lovett.[1]

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First Election Under the New Charter of Grand Rapids.—A new charter was adopted by Grand Rapids last year which divides the city into three large wards and provides for the election by the people at large of seven commissioners, two from each of these wards and one at large. The commissioners choose a city manager and other department heads except the controller, who is elected by the people, and except the directors of public service, public welfare and the purchasing agent, who are appointed by the manager. The commissioners were nominated at a non-partisan primary held March 7, and elected at the election on April 2.

Early in January an organization known as the citizens' league was formed under the leadership of Charles W. Garfield. This enabled the progressive voters to take full charge of the reform movement. They led the field of 40 candidates with a dozen of their own for the ruling positions, and all seven of the commissioners were among the candidates selected and vigorously supported by the league. Both Mayor Tilma and former Mayor Ellis were eliminated from all power or hope of power despite an understood alliance quietly formed between these two former bitter enemies. During the campaign the prevailing cry was "Leave out all the politicians—put the government strictly on a business basis." This is the new policy.

The city will have a new deal at the hands of seven high grade men. Five of them are business men. Another is a printer, recently president of the trades and labor council of the city and a strict union labor man. Daniel Kelley, the man in question, is one of those who helped draft the charter and is held in high esteem. Another commissioner who helped to prepare the new charter is a moderately successful shoe dealer, highly regarded in his community. Only one of the commissioners has had any political experience. He was an alderman some years ago.

As an evidence of the intention of the commission to conduct the business on a high grade of efficiency its first act was to select Gaylord C. Cummin who had made an excellent reputation as city manager of Jackson, Michigan, as city manager. Mr. Cummin entered on the duties of his office May 10, at a salary of $10,000.

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Cincinnati's New Charter Effort.—Cincinnati, practically the last city of any consequence in Ohio that has not taken the advantage of the home rule provisions of the state constitution, fell into line on Tuesday, April 17, by voting in favor of drafting a home rule charter electing fifteen commissioners to draw it up. Three years ago the voters of Cincinnati defeated by a large majority a somewhat radical instrument that was presented to them by the charter commissioners. At that time there was a very large and active "no charter" party. Cincinnati, however, has found that she is the only large city affected by amendments to the general city code. The state legislature in passing measures favored by the smaller cities has taken the attitude toward "protecting Cincinnati" that if she objects, she should, following the example of the other large cities, adopt a charter and take care of her own affairs. There was, therefore, at this election no opposition whatever to the charter movement.

There were three tickets for charter commissioners in the field. One of these was the Socialist ticket, but the two main tickets were non-partisan in their nature, the members of both dominant political parties being represented on each of them. However, the non-partisan flavor was lost a few days before the election when the Democratic party endorsed the "citizens' charter ticket." The Republican executive committee immediately thereupon "deploring that politics had been dragged into this non-partisan question" endorsed the "greater Cincinnati ticket." The total vote on the charter proposition was 29,011, a very small percentage of the registered voters. At the same election, 44,326 voters, approximately 40 per cent of the total registered vote, voted on the rapid transit "loop lease" ordinance, 25,383 voted for and 3,628 against the drafting of a new charter.

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[1] Executive secretary, Detroit civic league.

⁂

The Defeat of Mayor Lindsley of Dallas.—Virtue may be its own reward, but political usefulness seldom is, if we may judge from the regularity with which men like Henry D. Lindsley are defeated after administrations which reflect credit on themselves, on the community and establish precedents of far-reaching importance. As has been pointed out on more than one occasion in the pages of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, the administration of Mr. Lindsley as mayor of Dallas, Texas, has been of exceptional value, but evidently the voters of that city felt otherwise, for he was defeated on April 3 by a clear majority. Perhaps it was a case of undertaking to establish too many new records at once with the resultant civic indigestion. This phrase is used apropos of a discussion at the Geneva conference, May 4 and 5. After W. E. Kruesi, who had been superintendent of social welfare at Schenectady during the Socialist administration, had recounted the numerous advantageous measures actually enacted into law and the substantial reforms actually enacted, he was asked why it was the people did not re-elect those who had been responsible for such an unusual record, to which the reply came promptly, "It was a case of giving the people too much to digest at one time."

The situation in Dallas was peculiar. Coincident with the mayoralty campaign was a campaign inaugurated by the public service companies. Because the mayor could not conscientiously commend these franchises to the voters, although he had through his personal efforts brought them to the condition where they could be presented to the people of the city with many advantages, the public utility people brought out and backed a candidate for mayor whom they believed would be more amenable to them. The franchises were approved by a majority of 3,600 votes, and Mayor Lindsley defeated by 1,100 votes. Unfortunately the mayor was called out of Dallas by the serious illness of his wife shortly after the beginning of the campaign, which of course removed his striking personality from it.

One of the unfortunate results of the defeat of Mayor Lindsley will be the loss of the services of many men of high calibre who have been called into the public service through his leadership.

The new commission consists of three re-elected members of the old commission and two new men. Two of the holdovers were loyal adherents of Mr. Lindsley, clean and reasonably progressive. The other re-elected member was an unfriendly factor all through the Lindsley administration.

⁂

Galveston, Texas.—Galveston has just passed through another municipal election in which the candidates of the citizens' league were triumphantly elected, including the election as mayor president of I. H. Kempner who has been the finance commissioner for fourteen years. The commissioner of fire and police who has held office since the inauguration of the commission plan sixteen years ago had permitted his department to become lax and inefficient. A great deal of dissatisfaction arose and the result was that out of 6,500 votes polled, he received a few more than 1,000, this with both of his departments heartily supporting him. There seems to be general satisfaction with the change and with the outlook for an effective administration.

Wheeling, West Virginia's, Municipal Campaign.—Wheeling, West Virginia, will inaugurate its city-manager charter under what bid fair to be favorable auspices. At the election on May 24 a high class, non-partisan ticket was elected over the strenuous opposition of the political organizations, including of course the office holders. The successful men all had the endorsement of a citizens' committee, made up largely of the men who had framed and carried the charter and who were determined that the new government should be administered by officials in harmony with the spirit of the charter and committed to the idea of honest and efficient non-partisan government. The efforts of the committee were seconded by the *Register* (Democratic) and the *Telegraph* (Republican). The new council is divided politically, three Democrats and six Republicans, and contains several exceptionally strong men.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS[1]

Extra Compensation for City Employes.—In *Seaman* v. *City of New York*,[2] a contract of an employe of the highway department of the city to do extra work as an architect for a municipal building and to receive compensation therefor was held repugnant to the common law as permitting a clash of interests of the city and the individual. The fact that he had leave of absence did not help the situation.

In *McGuire* v. *Prendergast*[3] the court permitted a visiting physician at the city prison to collect fees for testifying as an expert on insanity before commissioners where defendants pleaded insanity as a defense despite the fact that he received an annual salary and had regular office hours, for the position was not specially provided for by law, and he had taken no oath of office. The court said that such payments violated neither the letter not the spirit of the charter, especially as the comptroller had been paying such claims and these payments were a county not a city charge. These two cases seem rather difficult to reconcile unless the distinction between city and county is regarded as of real importance.

❦

Employing Special Counsel.—The California district court of appeals in *Rafael* v. *Boyle*[4] has decided that the charter of San Francisco which provides a city attorney by implication requires the civil service commission to avail itself of his services, and it cannot, when he is ready and willing to serve, employ an attorney at the expense of the city to defend its members in legal proceedings merely because the charter empowers it to institute and prosecute legal proceedings for violation of an article of the charter. As a matter of fact, the commission got into trouble by acting contrary to the opinion of the city attorney.

❦

Appointive Officer Need not be a Citizen.—The charter of Traverse City, Michigan, provides that no person shall be eligible to elective office unless he is 25 years old, a citizen of the United States and a resident and taxpayer for five years. In *Coxe* v. *Carson*,[5] the court held that the charter did not require that the police marshal, an appointive officer, should be a citizen of the United States. The court said that the legislature had the power to confer on cities the right to determine the qualification of elective officers.

❦

Limitation on Home Rule Powers.—In *McQueen* v. *City Commission of Port Huron, Mich.*,[6] it was held that the city electors cannot dissolve or alter the powers of their board of education by adopting a new charter under the home rule law[7] which specifically excepts public school departments from alteration thereunder. An injunction was granted against the city commission's issuing bonds for a new school.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the decisions are those of the court of last resort in the state mentioned.

[2] 159 New York Sup. 563.

[3] 159 New York Sup. 658.

[4] 161 Pacific 126.

[5] 160 N. W. 534.

[6] 160 N. W. 627.

[7] Public Acts 1909, No. 279, section 4.

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Municipal Censorship.—The Texas court of civil appeals in *Xydias Amusement Company* v. *Houston*[1] decided that where the legislature by statute merely provides the penalty for showing improper moving pictures, the statute being silent as to censorship and making no attempt to cover the whole field, the city may create a board of censors and require their permit to issue before exhibition of pictures. In this case an attempt was made to enjoin the city from prosecuting for showing pictures without a permit.

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Rental for Poles and Wires.—In *Des Moines* v. *Iowa Telephone Company*[2] it was decided that a city ordinance attempting to charge a rental for telephone poles and wires in the street was invalid. The court said that where the fee title to streets and alleys is in the city, it is held in trust for the general public and not for itself and its inhabitants alone, and hence where permission or authority is granted by the legislature itself, the city is not entitled to compensation for the use of its streets.

Tax on Golf Courses.—An Illinois village attempted to impose a license tax on golf courses. The court in *Condon* v. *Forest Park*[3] decided that the game is a harmless recreation which does not attract crowds nor tend to disorder nor call for police supervision or regulation, and therefore is not a subject for the exercise of police power.

⁂

Municipal Powers.—In *Hahn* v. *Newport*,[4] the Kentucky court of appeals held that a second-class city ordinance prohibiting the retailing of meats from vehicles was not unreasonable although no public market places had been provided; that it was not discriminatory though it did not apply to wholesale sales, and that it was a valid exercise of the police power conferred by the legislature.

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Municipal Employment.—The Kentucky court of appeals has decided in *Herman* v. *Lampe*[5] that where a commissioner of a second-class city, engaged to perform engineering services for a city of the fourth class, refused to qualify as city engineer but served as an employe rather than as an officer of such city, the office of commissioner in the first city is not vacated since his acceptance of the latter employment was based on contract.

Robert Emmet Tracy.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The National Conference on City Planning held this year in Kansas City, May 7, 8, and 9, its ninth annual meeting. With probably 250 registrations from out of town, and liberal attendance by Kansas City people, it was at once the best and most largely attended meeting of the series. So were met the tests of war distraction and of a long journey from the eastern seaboard. The result seems to show that city planning is more vital than ever when war is enforcing the appreciation of the value of conservation and preparedness, and that the city planning movement is not of the East alone, but is truly national. In fact, representatives of eastern cities found they had some things to learn, as well as to teach, in the great southwestern metropolis; and that California and Texas had city planning enthusiasts who were not less earnest than are those of eastern Massachusetts.

Yet, with all this success, perhaps emboldened by it, the conference, which has never had chart and compass, voted itself out of existence, in order that a new and highly organized body might take its place. This is the American City Planning Institute. It is to be managed by a board of governors, twenty-one in number, and it has four classes of members:

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[1] 185 S. W. 415.

[2] 162 N. W. 323.

[3] 115 N. E. 825.

[4] 194 S. W. 114.

[5] 194 S. W. 122.

viz., members, who have had special training in engineering, landscape architecture or architecture, or who have special attainments in city planning; law members, who are members of the legal profession especially interested in municipal law; associates, who represent the non-technical propagandist element; and affiliated organizations. The first two classes pay $10 dues, the third $5, and the latter $25. All must be elected by the board of governors, who may also create junior memberships if they think it desirable. The underlying purpose of the action, which has been under discussion among city planners for two years, is to create a technical group which may meet with the hope of furthering the science of city planning—as has not been practicable to any large degree at the general conferences, where discussion has had to be more or less elementary.

Other important action was the adoption of resolutions authorizing the appointment of a committee to offer the services of city planners wherever they can be most effective—either in this country or in Europe—and calling to the government's attention, especially, the bad housing conditions which threaten to grow up at its new armor plant.

Kansas City's hospitality was of the proverbially generous western kind. It included a luncheon in Convention hall, at which two thousand were served and several hundred were turned away, and at which the speaker was J. Horace McFarland; a sixty-mile automobile trip over the Kessler boulevards and the Nichols subdivision, and another luncheon at which an Indian chief in full regalia sang American and Irish songs! The papers of the conference were up to the high standards of the past, and one whole day was profitably given to discussions suggested in a question box. The A. I. A. town planning exhibit was on view, and the conference closed with the usual banquet.

Charles Mulford Robinson.

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Meeting of the Intercollegiate Division.—The intercollegiate division of the National Municipal League held its annual convention in New York city on April 27. Despite disruption of the work in the colleges, decision was made to hold the convention on the ground that there are definite advantages in retaining continuity in the work and that greater effort than ever should be made to maintain civic interest.

Delegates convened at the Faculty club and after luncheon presided over by Prof. Charles A. Beard of Columbia, at which reports were given concerning activities of the various clubs during the year a trip was made to several New York city departments in the administration building. Lawson Purdy, president of the League, conducted the delegates through the taxation department, of which he is the head, and showed how the complicated business of registering property was simplified through efficient methods, and then gave the delegates letters to the heads of other departments which were visited.

The tenement house department showed how through constant inspection under the tenement house law and prosecution for violation it has been able to establish a comparatively low death rate and to control contagious diseases very effectively.

The department in charge of the new zoning system explained how this new field for American cities is being cultivated. The zoning commissions report, to be published soon, should be in the possession of every student of municipal government (price one dollar). Visits were made to the municipal reference library, where a large collection of material bearing upon every phase of municipal life is made available to city officials and citizens, and also to the University Settlement where east side living conditions were viewed at first hand. Plans for a trip to the immigration station were cancelled by government order.

Dinner at the City club presided over by Mr. Purdy and speeches by Mr. R. Bayard Cutting, Mr. F. P. Gruenberg, director of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research, and Prof. Charles A. Beard, supervisor of the training school for public service, concluded the convention. In their speeches Mr. Cutting dwelt upon the necessity of a heart-searching analysis of our attitudes and motives in the present crisis; Mr. Gruenberg was concerned regarding the reaction of the war upon our civic and social problems; and Professor Beard spoke of the inevitableness of our entrance upon new and untried fields in our foreign relationships.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD.[1]

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Geneva Conference on City Affairs.—A very interesting and stimulating conference to discuss various phases of the municipal problem, and especially city management as a profession, was held in Geneva, May 4 and 5, under the auspices of Hobart College. So far as we are advised this is the first small college to endeavor in this way to find a place for training for public service in the college curriculum. The conference was called as an incident to the establishment by Powell Evans of Philadelphia of a course in city affairs to be given by Frederick P. Gruenberg, the director of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research. Among the speakers were Professor Charles A. Beard, R. Fulton Cutting, Professor John M. Williams, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, City Manager Carr of Niagara Falls and Mrs. Carr, and Walter E. Kruesi.

President Powell of Hobart closed the conference by reminding the audience that there were certain questions of college administration involved, and the experiment that Hobart is planning to undertake must of necessity be limited in its range, but not the less important for that reason. He described it as one of the several efforts to hold to the best in the cultural past of such a college as Hobart, while meeting as far as possible certain new demands which are coming to be recognized on all sides.

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Open Forum National Council.[2]—The fourth annual gathering of the open forum council was held in Chicago at the Abraham Lincoln center, with George W. Coleman as chairman. Fifty-five members were present. Meetings were also held in the west side people's forum and the city club. The chief subject for discussion at the opening business session was the relation of the forum to the school-house, Edward J. Ward of the federal bureau of education serving as special pleader for such a use of the school-houses, contending that the school-house is the natural and almost the necessary place in a democracy in which to hold forums. Carl Beck, the managing director of the labor forum in New York city, opposed the idea, maintaining that from bitter experience there could not be a free discussion in school-houses or at any rate not at the "present stage of the game."

The formal organization of a national council was effected through the adoption of the following platform of principles and the election of officers, with Mr. Coleman as president, and Harold Marshall of Melrose, Mass., as secretary:

1. The complete development of democracy in America.
2. A common meeting ground for all the people in the interest of truth and mutual understanding, and for the cultivation of community spirit.
3. The fullest and freest open public discussion of all vital questions affecting human welfare.
4. For free participation from the forum floor either by questions or discussion.
5. The freedom of forum management from responsibility for utterance by speakers from the platform or the floor.

National slogan: "Let There be Light!'

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The National Community Center Conference was held in Chicago, April 17–21, with nearly 500 delegates present from various parts of the country. Democracy was the keynote of practically all the meetings, the address of John Collier on "The Crisis of Democracy" on the opening night furnishing the keynote. Mr. Collier was subsequently elected president of the National Community Center Association, by which title the organization will hereafter be known. Edward L. Burchard (2254 Marshall boulevard, Chicago) was made permanent secretary.[3]

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[1] Secretary, intercollegiate division.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 498.

[3] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 496.

The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the New York City Club.—On April 4 the club celebrated its twenty-fifth year with an anniversary dinner, at which were present, among many others, all the living ex-presidents, Austen G. Fox, George McAneny and Charles H. Strong, and very many of the pioneers in its service. President Nelson S. Spencer presided. The occasion abounded with enthusiasm for the past and with promise for the future. The club has over 2,000 members, which it finds itself unable to care for advantageously in its present quarters, and it expects to honor its anniversary with a completed scheme for a new house. It has in mind to make its residence the civic center of the city for all the various organizations which exist to contribute to the city's welfare. Not only that but as its functions have spread beyond New York it ought increasingly to be a kind of civic center for organizations throughout the country interested in municipal administration. This is not because the city club of New York esteems itself to have any commanding position over similar organizations in other communities, but, on the contrary, because it knows that it has much to learn from the experience of such organizations elsewhere. That it may furnish a common meeting ground of this kind comes principally from the fact of its geographical location in the largest city in the country. It is, in fact, at present, in a large degree a common meeting place, but there is room for a very great extension of its usefulness in this regard, and for much more effective co-operation between organizations of its kind throughout the country.

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Baldwin Prize Essays, 1917.—"Tendencies in Municipal Budget Making" was the subject assigned for this year's William H. Baldwin prize contest by the National Municipal League. The prize was awarded to Albert Elmer Marks, of Harvard, with honorable mention of the essays submitted by Joseph Low, A. T. Ginsburgh, Edmund Jolles of Harvard, and Miss Wilhelmina M. Josopait of Wellesley.

The judges were Dr. B. E. Shultz of the New York training school for public service, and Mr. Frederick P. Gruenberg of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

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The Nebraska Municipal Review is the title of the quarterly organ of the league of Nebraska municipalities. It is edited by C. A. Sorenson, assistant director of the legislative and municipal reference bureau at Lincoln. The first number is dated April, 1917.

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Professor Edward A. Ross, Russian Mission.—Professor Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin has been sent to Russia by the American Institute of Social Service "to learn the inner significance of the forces and tendencies which have brought on the revolution, and contain the dangerous and hopeful possibilities that are holding the world in suspense." Immediately on his return he will publish the results of his study and experience, taking up the following specific problems:

Distinctive aspects of life and custom among the Russian people which are little understood among us, especially as affected by recent changes.

Inquiry into the various forms of local assembly and administration, out of which apparently the new order of national government has grown.

Study of special questions, such as the organization of labor; prohibition, national and local; racial cleavages, including the future of the Jewish people; the new attitude of the various religious bodies.

Inquiry into social habits and sentiments which might affect business dealings between the United States and Russia.

Discovery of ways in which American experts in relief and community organization might be of immediate service to Russia, during the war and in the subsequent reconstruction period.

Estimate of the probabilities as to emigration from Russia to the United States after the war; and conversely, what new opportunities in Russia will invite the return to Russia of immigrants now in the United States.

Among the organizations whose greetings he will take to the socially minded people of Russia are those of the National Municipal League.

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Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland resigned his position as director of the New York bureau of municipal research May 22, 1917. After assuming sole direction of the bureau in October, 1914, Dr. Cleveland devoted a large portion of his time to securing an adequate staff for each of the several divisions of the bureau: New York city, New York state, field work, and training school for public service. It was then his intention to devote his entire time to the development of a new branch of the work, namely, scientific research in government, in case this could be adequately financed. Largely owing to the war it was found to be impossible to secure funds for carrying on scientific research on an adequate scale, and when a new and novel opportunity was presented Dr. Cleveland, he felt free to take advantage of it. He is now a member of the central staff of the Willett-Sears group of corporations. The organization of this central staff is in many respects similar to that of the bureau of municipal research on the technical side, with the primary difference that the staff agency renders a service to a private corporation rather than to the public. Those who have been associated with Dr. Cleveland either in a general way or intimately are well aware of the loss which the municipal research movement has sustained in his withdrawal, and they will not cease to hope that he will some day return, bringing with him a new and even wider experience in corporate management.

C. A. B.

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George C. Sikes, a member of the public affairs committee of the Chicago city club, and for a number of years secretary of the bureau of public efficiency, has been engaged by the taxpayers' association of California to assist in the preparation of a report on governmental conditions in Los Angeles following the general lines of the recently issued report of the Chicago bureau of public efficiency on the unification of local governments in Chicago, in the preparation of which Mr. Sikes had a large part. He has also been connected with the public life of the city in several other ways. In addition to his work as a newspaper writer in Chicago extending over a period of twenty-five years, he has been secretary of the municipal voters' league and of the street railway commission of 1900, and served as an expert investigator for the Chicago harbor commission in 1909.

✣

Dr. Edward C. Levy, for a number of years the efficient head of the Richmond, Va., health department, has resigned that position to take up work with the North bureau of public health in New York city. Doctor Levy's resignation is a loss which the city of Richmond will before long appreciate, as he has been a pioneer in a number of directions and has been most helpful in working out a sound policy of public hygiene. A lack of cordial co-operation on the part of the city council is believed to be largely responsible for his resignation.

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Hornell Hart has resigned the secretaryship of the Milwaukee city club and has gone to Cincinnati to take up work with the National Social Unit Organization there. Before leaving Milwaukee he did an interesting piece of work in an investigation of the fundamental causes of poverty in that city. He covered the subject in a series of talks before the Milwaukee city club, and in conclusion presented his remedies for the conditions of poverty in that city.

✣

Prof. Edwin A. Cottrell of Wellesley College has been appointed professor of political science in Ohio State University, and will organize a bureau of municipal research in that institution.

Professor Cottrell's successor at Wellesley is Miss Alice M. Holden who has been during the past year instructor in political science at Vassar College.

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Alderman Leslie Boyd, K.C., president of the union of Canadian municipalities, has been appointed head of the grain commission in Canada. He is succeeded in the presidency of the union by Mayor Stevenson of London, Ontario, the first vice-president.

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Professor L. S. Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania, chairman of the advisory editorial board of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and a vice-president of the National Municipal League has been appointed by President Wilson assistant secretary of the treasury.

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Leo Tiefenthaler, formerly the municipal reference librarian at Milwaukee, has been elected secretary of the Milwaukee city club to take the place of Hornell Hart, who has resigned to accept a position on the staff of the civic and vocational league of Cincinnati.[1]

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Hon. William L. Ransome has resigned from the city court of New York to be council for the public service commission of the first district of New York.

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Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, professor of American history at Vanderbilt University and a member of the advisory editorial board of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, has been appointed to fill the chair of American history at Brown University.

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Wilbur M. Cotton, a student at the University of Michigan, who is specializing in municipal administration, and who was at one time on the staff of the Dayton bureau of municipal research, is in charge of the city-manager campaign at Hamilton, Ohio.

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Mayor John MacVicar of Des Moines is now captain in the quartermaster's department at Fort Douglas, Utah, although he still retains his office as mayor.

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Louis R. Ash, a former city engineer of Kansas City and later of the engineering firm of Harrington, Howard and Ash, has been chosen city manager of Wichita, Kansas, at a salary of $10,000 a year. Mr. Ash's firm are the consulting engineers for the $500,000 job of bridge construction now under way in Dayton, and has just been awarded the contract for the construction of the new $1,300,000 viaduct at Akron.

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Albert D. M. Hall, who has been serving as city engineer of Jackson, Michigan, has been designated acting city manager of that city in succession to Gaylord C. Cummin who was called to Grand Rapids (see page 517).

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Henry M. Waite, the city manager of Dayton, is now an LL. D., Miami University having conferred that honor upon him.

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Austin E. Griffiths, formerly a councilman (elected at large) of Seattle and later for a few months chief of police, has been elected president of the Seattle municipal league.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 126.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

THE COUNTY. By H. S. Gilbertson. The National Short Ballot Organization, New York: The Knickerbocker Press. $2.

The birth, the adventures, and, the decrepitude of the county, together with a few desirable methods of medical and surgical treatment for its ailments, are the subjects which Mr. Gilbertson has sketched in this unique volume, which the Short Ballot Organization has recently presented to the public.

Why it is that the county has escaped the attention of sound and honest political thinkers through all the years of this country's history, is not easily understood by the small group of students that have recently begun to investigate this field; but Gilbertson's first chapter solves the puzzle: It is a political by-way. It is off the direct line of political travel. A by-way leading through fields so fertile for exploitation by those whose business is political exploitation, that the initiated appear to have said to themselves, "This is too good a thing to publish. Let us saw wood, and say nothing.'' So they have been sawing wood and cording it up in their own backyards for centuries.

Mr. Gilbertson sketches the county's evolution and development from the formation of the shire, as a unit of representation in the colonial assembly, and as a subdivision of the colony for various administrative purposes, down to the present time, when we find such intricately organized (possibly "disorganized" is a better word) counties as some of the larger ones of New York state, where the interrelations of the various county departments and their connection with and responsibility to state departments can best be charted by a photograph of a snarl of yarn with which cats and children have been playing. The frontispiece is just such a chart. It is so good a picture of the organization of the New York county that the county government association of New York state has adopted it as a sort of banner, and prints it on the back of its stationery.

Following his chapter headings through affords a very good picture of what he is talking about. I quote a few of them in the order of their sequence. It is "a political by-way," "a creature of tradition," growing up without being planned by any political foresight as to American progress. This undeveloped organization "falls afoul of 'democracy,'" and becomes "the jungle," with no central control. The politician finds it "a base of political supplies." "It is not strange," says Mr. Gilbertson, "that machine politicians have come to look upon the county as a source whence blessings flow. The county has both created and sustained them!"

In his chapter on "Nullification," Mr. Gilbertson sets forth a theory most interesting at this time, but one, nevertheless, that must prove surprising to many. That is, that as population spread westward, the German and southern European immigrants brought with them elements of civilization that upset the moral balance of the cities, "coming into sharp collison with the New England (we might almost say, American) conceptions" of established religious and moral principles. "This complex influence gave us the setting for at least one phase of that never-ending feud that rages between New York city and 'up-state.' It pitted Chicago against rural Illinois. It made Cincinnati a more or less alien city in Ohio. It gave us a permanent body of citizens who resent having their conduct dictated . . . from above." This, in the face of our conceptions of German imperial efficiency and German political organization, wherein not only every act but almost every thought of the citizens of Germany is ruled by imperial dictum and imperial regulations, throws light from an unexpected angle upon the problem of why the oppressed subjects of Germany, who have fled to this country for refuge, have become so intoxicated with their freedom that they seem to have adopted the view that America exists only for them.

The clash of these various elements was, of course, reflected in politics, and shows in the state laws and in the resulting management of the local communities; and the inconsistencies resulting therefrom have, of course, developed farthest in the parts of our political organization that are least subjected to scientific scrutiny. The author says, "It is not an altogether hopeless situation. The very thoroughness of the county's failure is the chief promise of the county's ultimate redemption." From this point on he cites instances of genuine reforms, introduced under state guidance, such as the establishment of standards of various kinds for uniform administration, regulation of accounting and reporting, uniformity of tax administration, civil service regulation, etc. But "state guidance" is, as Mr. Gilbertson aptly terms it, only "a sort of permanent first aid to the injured." Surgical treatment is the real remedy. He recommends amputation for most of the diseased functions and departments of the county.

If one follows the book up to this point, he draws the conclusion that amputation of the county at the ankles would be the most desirable treatment. The burial of the feet would necessarily follow. Then, with a clear field, a sensible, scientific government might be constructed entire.

After considering the "readjustments" and question of consolidation, Mr. Gilbertson reaches the conclusion that practically such entire reconstruction is necessary. A strongly centralized government is recommended, in place of the present scattering irresponsible, much entangled separate departments and bureaus. The short ballot, the small board of supervisors (or council), the county manager, held by law to a clear and direct responsibility for efficient and economical administration, is the best method recommended.

The volume is illustrated by several charts, and contains, in the appendices, the text of the California statute regulating the organization of counties on a modern, scientific plan (Mr. Gilbertson is a native of California); the Los Angeles county charter; the legislative proposals of the county government association of New York state, the New York charter amendment abolishing offices of coroners and creating the office of chief medical examiner; and a description, by Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, of the horrors of a Texas almshouse and a Texas jail. The book concludes with a bibliography, which lists practically all extant literature on county government, and a comprehensive index.

Otho G. Cartwright.

White Plains, N. Y.

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The Taxation of Land Value. By Yetta Scheftel. Hart, Schaffner & Marx. First Prize Essay in Economics for 1915. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Pp. 489. $2.

The first two thirds of this excellent monograph presents in some detail the development and the present status of land-value taxation in Australasia, Germany, Kiao-chau, England, and western Canada; the latter third is a special consideration of the fiscal and social aspects of the tax and of the feasibility of its adoption in the United States.

Although the forms it takes are diverse, the distinctive feature of "the tax on land value" which Miss Scheftel treats is its discrimination against land. This is seen (1) in Australasia, in the tax on the unimproved value of land and the exemption of improvements; (2) in western Canada, in the municipalities where improvements have been exempted wholly or in part; (3) in Germany, in the shape of a tax on value increment in land; (4) in Kiao-chau, where, besides a value increment tax of 33⅓ per cent, a 6 per cent tax is levied annually upon the site, plus 3 per cent additional for every three years it remains unimproved; and (5) in England, in the form of land-value duties comprising the increment, undeveloped land, mineral-rights and reversion duties, the latter being applicable upon the termination of a lease when the land reverts from the tenant farmer to the owner.

It is important to keep in mind that the tax is levied for two distinct purposes, fiscal and social, and that the results in each case should be judged from the standpoint of the purpose. As in the case of many other taxes, the more successful it is in preventing the social evils which it is designed to check, the less successful it is apt to be fiscally. The more it reduces large holdings of unimproved land, absentee ownership, speculation, poor housing, et cetera, the less fruitful it will be usually as a revenue producer.

It has proved very successful as an important or primary source of local revenue in the new and rapidly advancing countries of Australasia and western Canada, where the local taxes have, for the most part, been low, proportional annual rates upon the capital value of the land, with improvements largely or wholly exempted. Even in years of depression, these taxes have met the fiscal tests of certainty and elasticity, but experience indicates that increases in rates upon land should be gradual and at times of rising values.

Generally speaking, the state and national, as opposed to local, land-value taxes in Australasia, western Canada, Germany and England, are primarily for social rather than for fiscal purposes. Most of them are progressive rather than proportional, and they include many discriminations and differentiations to achieve their purpose. Practically all such taxes have been relatively unimportant fiscally, especially when their costs of administration are considered.

In most places, up to the present time, their social effects have been either so small, or so involved with the effects of other conditions, that they are much in dispute. This seems due largely to the relative smallness of the rates. In New Zealand, however, where the discriminatory rates have been greatly increased in recent years, the land value tax seems to have had unmistakable effects in lessening absentee ownership and in breaking up large estates, but even in New Zealand, the effects upon building and congestion in cities are in dispute, though housing conditions are said to be unusually good and improving. The evidence seems to indicate, but does not show conclusively, that housing conditions are somewhat better in the cities having the discriminatory land tax than in those not having it. The tax in western Canada stimulated building, at least temporarily, but has had no noteworthy effect upon land speculation, because land values have been rising very rapidly on account of other causes.

This rapid rise in such new countries as western Canada and Australasia is largely responsible for the fiscal success of the land value tax as a source of local revenue. Increasing budgetary needs have been met in most cases without increases in rates, but by continuance of the old rates upon increased values. The situation in older and more stable communities would be very different under heavy land value taxes.

Miss Scheftel's study has evidently been very painstaking and has involved an exceedingly large amount of work. Its preparation has been carried on for a number of years and in the meantime changes in taxation have been very rapid and general so that some of her statements were not entirely correct at the time of publication. For one who reads her work closely there is too much repetition, perhaps. But these are minor criticisms. Her monograph, taken as a whole, is undoubtedly the most unbiased systematic and comprehensive presentation of the facts regarding the land value tax in these various countries that has been published in America.

Roy G. Blakey.

University of Minnesota.

PARKS—THEIR DESIGN, EQUIPMENT AND USE. By George Burnap, B.S., M.A. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. Pp. 328. Illustrated. $6.

In the preface to this handsome volume Mr. Burnap writes:

''For the guidance of town and city officials entrusted with the development and maintenance of parks; for the assistance of landscape architects and superintendents in the designing of parks; and for the enlightenment of the public in whose interest all parks are created and whose active support is indispensable to the successful realisation of park projects, this volume is respectfully submitted."

Then follows the development of this aim in some fifteen chapters, the titles of which it seems worth while to quote: Park design in city planning; Bringing up a park the way it should go; Principles of park design; "Passing-through" parks; Neighbourhood parks; Recreation parks; Playgrounds in parks; Effigies and monuments in parks; Architecture in parks; Decorative use of water; Planting design of parks; Park administration in relation to planting design; Seats in public parks; Disposition of flowers in parks; Park utilities.

The format and the manner of the volume are alike unique. Practically every page of text is faced on the right by a picture, applying to it as nearly as may be. These pictures, excellent half-tone reproductions, are enclosed in uniform gray borders, and the title or legend is similarly enclosed in a panel occupying about one-third of the page. The result is great typographic elegance in form, which the excellent presswork has continued to elegance in effect.

When the text is examined, it is found to be helpful in its scope, rather didactic in its manner, and rather hampered by its dependence upon the succession of illustrations. Mr. Burnap is by no means a German, yet his treatment of the park relations is constantly upon the basis of "must" and "should." Most Americans resent being directed to do certain things in the public service; they prefer to be advised. Yet Mr. Burnap's directions are in general sound, and there is probably no work yet presented which provides so much excellent advice and suggestion.

In one respect the book is unfortunate. By parts of the title page, by implications in the introduction and the preface, it is made easy to infer that the author has been the chief designer of the parks and squares of Washington, though no such claim is specifically set forth. It would have been better, probably, if this inference had been avoided, notwithstanding the excellence of Mr. Burnap's contributions to the development of Washington during the time he was official landscape architect attached to the office of the superintendent of grounds and buildings of the federal city.

The work is heartily commended for its scope, its notable illustrations, and for its excellent suggestions. Those having to do with the development of park areas of any size will find it extremely useful.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

Harrisburg, Pa.

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TOWN PLANNING FOR SMALL COMMUNITIES. By Walpole Town Planning Committee, Charles S. Bird, Chairman. New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. Pp. 492. Illustrated. $2.

The reviewer is scarcely a fair witness concerning a work aimed directly to help small communities, for he has almost hysterically insisted for many years that far too little attention has been paid to the much greater number of persons living in the small communities as compared with the scant score of American cities having over a quarter of a million of population.

The book in question is therefore most welcome and opportune, and it ought to be found thoroughly helpful in literally thousands of American communities in which town planning now is either being thought of in a more or less vague way or in which it ought to be thought of.

The title of the book is slightly misleading, unless one takes into account its committee authorship. The book is, as one might first consider it, a report on planning for the town of Walpole, Massachusetts, but examination shows that the first 262 pages apply generally to community planning and are remarkably complete in treating the various elements of that much needed proposition.

It might be thought that the second part, including about 130 pages with the indexes, and referring particularly to Walpole, would not be interesting in a general way. As a fact, however, it is fully as helpful in its particularity as any other part of the work There is always an advantage in being specific, and the Walpole section is just that. The reviewer may be permitted a little regret and a little amusement at the planting lists beginning on page 391, in which either the author, the editor or the printer has introduced some new and lurid methods of horticultural terminology. Six glaring errors in the spelling of botanical names on the first page introduce an inexcusable looseness in this respect throughout the lists. One of the smile-making errors occurs on page 397, where the familiar plant Withe-rod is given the new name of "Withered!"

The survey of town planning included in this important book is broad. It seems worth while particularly to call attention to two chapters, one entitled "Can we afford it?" and the other called ''Ways and means." These chapters will be good reading for the citizens of any community which is advancing in its bounds, and which in consequence ought to be thinking about making that advancement worth while.

''Town Planning for Small Communities" is, as the editor has written of it in his introduction, ''an admirable complement to John Nolen's volume on 'City Planning.'" The two books stand, not as monuments (for monuments do not work), but as gospels, up to date in relation to the things which will not only make America better fit to live in now and hereafter, but better fit to fight any enemy we may be faced with.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

CITY PLANNING PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1917.[1] Compiled by the Committee on Town Planning of The American Institute of Architects. Edited by George B. Ford, assisted by Ralph F. Warner. Published by The Journal of The American Institute of Architects, Washington, D. C.

This is the title of a notable production, published in time to be of material encouragement at the recent successful Ninth City Planning Conference, held at Kansas City, Missouri. It is just what its title indicates, but it is that thing in a most admirable, convenient and notable way. The book is in the standard document size (8½ x 11) adopted by The American Institute of Architects, and is primarily designed for filing with other similar publications.

There is an adequate introduction which does not waste a word on felicitations or acknowledgments. Its sub-head is "Getting Started on City Planning," and it tells how to get going simply and definitely.

Then follows the detailed account of city planning progress. It is arranged in community references in alphabetical succession, and takes care of 233 cities and towns in the United States of which there is actual city planning progress recorded. All this information has been obtained in an authoritative way, and may in consequence be depended upon.

The illustrations in the book are a new feature. There are literally hundreds of them, applying to the plans and the progress which the volume sets forth. The notable difference in this volume from any similar volume is that there is not one single illustration of a German city or one single glorification of foreign city planning in the whole book. It might have been properly entitled ''American City Planning Progress," which, as the volume shows, is now a very definite and positive thing, going on with vigor and in a most encouraging way the country over.

One thing about this book needs to be

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 346.

noted. A statement is prominently set forth that the book is not copyrighted and that "The Town Planning Committee of The American Institute of Architects desire to make the material . . . of value to the largest possible number of persons engaged in city planning or interested in the extension of the ideals of city planning. To this end, material may be reprinted in whole or in part in local newspapers or in bulletins of commercial or civic bodies, providing only that proper mention be made of 'City Planning Progress' as a source of information. If illustrations are desired, photographs will be loaned whenever available, without charge." Thus the volume serves not only as an up to date record of what has been done in American city planning, but as a propaganda document of the utmost importance.

The American Institute of Architects is to be congratulated on the wisdom, breadth and value of this volume, and the city planning fraternity owes much to George B. Ford, well known as the landscape architect in charge of the notable zoning and districting recently put in force in New York city, for his successful effort to promote the welfare of American communities.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

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PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN STATE ADMINISTRATION. By John Mabry Mathews, Ph.D. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Pp. 533. $2.50.

The modern trend toward research in public administration is well represented in Dr. Mathews' excellent work. The Columbia University studies have already given us a number of valuable monographs showing the centralization of administrative authority in particular states. The intensive studies made by the various state commissions on economy and efficiency, which reported two years ago, have also added to our knowledge in this field. The present author presents a broader treatment of the state administration as a whole, and in doing so he has produced what is in many respects a model text-book on the subject. After an introductory chapter showing the growth of state duties and powers and a tendency toward centralization, the author divides the book into three parts on "The organization," "The functions" and "The reorganization of state administration" respectively. Under "Organization" the powers of the governor are traced historically to their present status; the position and authority of other state officials and boards are also presented, and the rules governing the state civil service, including the appointment and removal of officers, are considered. Under "Functions" there are two excellent chapters on taxation and finance and an adequate discussion of education, charities, public health and justice. There is also an excellent discussion of the methods and machinery provided to enforce state laws. The author here shows the urgent need for less law making and more law enforcement, and points out the impotence or unwillingness of the state to force local authorities to carry out the law. The only inadequate part of the book is that dealing with recently developed state powers, such as corporation control, public service commissions, labor legislation, agriculture, and the good roads movement. These should be much more fully presented. Local administration is not discussed except in its relation to the central authorities. Under "Reorganization," the author points out the needlessly complicated machinery of state government. He shows from the conclusions of the state efficiency commissions that there is an almost total lack of systematic organization and method. The state's work could be done more effectively without additional cost, by a modern business-like method of organization like that existing in the federal administration. This chapter also contains a strong plea for closer union between the executive and legislative powers.

The book is a description with some critical remarks, rather than a propagandist's argument for any form or system of state administration. Only the concluding chapter presents a series of proposals for reorganization.

It is written in a clear, readable style, the material is well organized and each chapter is accompanied by a well chosen list of references and readings. The volume will be found an admirable text for college use.

James T. Young.

University of Pennsylvania.

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Bolton As It Is and As It Might Be. By Thomas H. Mawson, Lecturer on Landscape Design, Liverpool University. Bolton: Tillotson & Son, Mealhouse Lane.

With a sumptuousness long characteristic of the published work of Thomas H. Mawson, but which in England must now be mainly associated with the days "before the war," there have been issued six lectures on "Bolton As It Is and As It Might Be." These were lately delivered by Mr. Mawson under the auspices of the Bolton housing and town planning society. At first glance the book, with its many photographs, its plans and diagrams, seems practically to constitute what in this country would be called a city plan report. In reality, it is rather more. The first three lectures, though written with special reference to Bolton, are entitled respectively, "What Do we Mean by Town Planning," "The Scope and Influence of Town Planning," and "Does Town Planning Pay?" The remaining lectures have to do especially with Bolton's traffic, recreational, and housing problems.

Already some of the land for the proposed park system has been given. Moreover, in his preface, Mr. Mawson extends particular thanks to Sir William Lever for effective co-operation. What that gentleman's interest in Bolton may mean to the town is suggested by the success of Port Sunlight. Of the quality of Mr. Mawson's own work there is no need to speak. The book is sufficiently recommended in saying that he has taken a particular interest in this study.

Charles Mulford Robinson.

Rochester, N. Y.

Studies in the Cost of Urban Transportation Service. By F. W. Doolittle, Director, Bureau of Fare Research. New York: American Electric Railway Association. 1916.

This book is a loose compilation of technical and semi-technical data relating to the problems of street railway operation so far as they pertain to service. Mr. Doolittle's studies have been made from the point of view of the operating man and will be of primary interest to such. The general student of public utility regulation may get a number of interesting suggestions from the book, and may find a good many facts recorded that would not be readily accessible to him elsewhere. We may, perhaps, illustrate the author's style and attitude by quoting a short paragraph from his chapter on "Psychological aspects of street railway service." "It has long been a matter of common knowledge," says he, "that there are no absolute physical standards of comfort. One individual may find limited standing room quite as comfortable as another finds a spacious seat. The same passenger may have radically different ideas in the morning and in the evening as to what constitutes a reasonable length of time which he should wait for a car." The book gives the impression of a great subject treated in a commonplace way. There certainly is no thrill in the style to lure the reader on, and no imagination in it to interpret the social philosophy of modern transit problems.

Delos F. Wilcox.

New York City.

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Documents on County Government. Collected by the National Short Ballot Organization, 383 Fourth Avenue, New York. $5.

The National Short Ballot Organization has done an admirable piece of work in bringing together in one volume practically all the more important and some of the less important documents bearing upon the subject of county government. It is no new thing to bring together original documents relating to an event or movement in the long distant past, but it is a new thought to do this in connection with current events. For having made that contribution the S. B. O. is entitled to great credit.

There are 27 documents in this volume and others will be added from time to time as they appear. The volume includes the proceedings of the conferences for better county government in New York state; sundry surveys of typical counties; a description of several important county offices, and the proposed charter for San Diego county, California, which unfortunately was defeated. An expert librarian has cross indexed the pamphlets by subject and author so that all the material is immediately and easily available. On the whole it constitutes a most important contribution to this heretofore but indifferently considered subject of county government, and affords an excellent supplement to Mr. Gilbertson's book on "The County" noticed elsewhere.[1] Only one hundred copies of the documents have been published.

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Boston and Its Story, 1630–1915. City of Boston Printing Department. 1916. Pp. 200. $1 net. (To be had through W. B. Clarke Company, 28 Tremont Street, Boston.)

This is a worthy piece of work in which the careful and scholarly city statistician, Dr. Edward M. Hartwell, has had a guiding hand, although we trust that he is not responsible for prefacing such a history with the picture of the present mayor, the Hon. James M. Curley. If other mayors had been included there might perhaps be some justification, but as he is the only mayor pictorially represented, one is compelled to conclude that the fact that he appointed the committee responsible for the book (or "relation" as it is called on the title page) must have had some influence. The book concludes, however, with Emerson's quotation, the final sentence of which is "As with our fathers, so God be with us. Sicut patribus, sit deus nobis!"

There is an abundance of interesting material alike for the student of local history and for the student of the development of political institutions and it is in the latter connection that Dr. Hartwell's hand is most clearly discernible.

Unfortunately the book has neither an index nor a table of contents, which very much diminishes its value.

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State Sanitation: A Review of the Work of the Massachusetts State Board of Health, 1869–1914. By George Chandler Whipple, S. B. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 3 vols. Vol I, 377 pages, with diagrams and plates. $2.50.

Massachusetts has a long and honorable record of state activity in health matters. In many respects it has done pioneer work which has gained it world-wide recognition. This is particularly true as regards water and sewage treatment experiments, the control of water pollution and the reduction of typhoid fever. Dr. Whipple's history of the work which the Massachusetts state board of health has done along these lines during the period 1869–1914, is of value and interest not only to sanitary engineers, health officers and physicians, but also to that increasing group of public-spirited citizens who are co-operating in health protective work.

Besides the historical review, the volume contains an abridgement, running to more than a hundred pages, of the classic "Report of the Massachusetts Sanitary Commission," made in 1850 by Lennel Shattuck and others.

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Women Workers and Society. By Dr. Annie M. MacLean. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. Pp. 134. 50 cents net.

Practically every social question has a municipal phase, so this little book has a general interest to readers of the National Municipal Review. And it has a special interest because of its excellent chapters on health, housing, education, and recreation. It is one of the National Social Science Series.

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[1] See page 525.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

Actual Government in Illinois. By Mary Louise Childs, Teacher of History and Civics, Evanston Township High School. New York: The Century Company. pp. 236.

The Building of Cities. By Harlean James, A.B., formerly executive secretary of the Women's Civic League, Baltimore. New York: The Macmillan Company. pp. 201. Illustrated. 40 cents.

The Children's Library. By Sophy H. Powell, with an introduction by John Cotton Dana. White Plains, N. Y.: The H. W. Wilson Company. pp. 460. $1.75.

The City Workers's World in America. By Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch. New York: The Macmillan Company. American Social Progress Series. pp. 225. $1.25.

Conditions of Labor in American Industries. By W. Jett Lauck and Edgar Sydenstricker. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. pp. 403. $1.75 net.

El Regimen Municipal de la Ciudad Moderna. u Bosquejo del Regimen Local en Espana, Francia, Inglaterra, Estatos Alemanes y Estados Unidos. Por Adolfo Posada, Vatedratico de Derecho en la Universidad de Madrid. Madrid: Libreria General de Victoriano Suarez, Calle de Preciados, num. 48. 1916.

The Financial Administration of Great Britain. By William F. Willoughby, Westel W. Willoughby and Samuel McCune Lindsay. With an introduction by A. Lawrence Lowell. New York: D. Appleton & Company for The Institute of Government Research. pp. 362. $2.75 net.

Government of the City of Jamestown, N. Y. General Municipal Survey and Constructive Recommendations. Prepared for the Jamestown Board of Commerce by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. pp. 412.

A History of the United States. By Edward Channing. Vol. IV. Federalists and Republicans, 1789–1815. New York: The Macmillan Company. pp. 575. $2.75.

The Immigrant and the Community. By Grace Abbott, Director of the Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago, Ill. New York: The Century Company. pp. 303. $1.50.

An Introduction to Educational Sociology. By Walter Robinson Smith, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Economics, Kansas State Normal School, Emporia, Kansas. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. pp. 412. $1.75 net.

Journal of the National Institute of Social Sciences. Vol. III, 1917. The Boston Book Company, Boston, Mass., selling agents. pp. 262. $1.50.

Municipal Ownership. By Carl D. Thompson. New York: B. W. Huebsch. pp. 114. $1.

The New Civics. By Roscoe Lewis Ashley. New York: The Macmillan Company. pp. 420. $1.20.

The Offender and His Relations to Law and Society. By Burdette G. Lewis, Commissioner of Correction, New York City. New York: Harper & Brothers. pp. 382. $2.

Preliminaires d'Art Civique mis en Relation avec le Cas Clinique de la Belgique. By Louis van der Swaelmen. Leyde: Societe d'Editions. A. W. Sijthoff.

Prostitution: The Moral Bearings of the Problem. By M. F. With a Chapter on Venereal Diseases by J. F. (Formerly Resident Medical Officer, London Lock Hospital). Published for the Catholic Social Guild by P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London. pp. 240. 2s. net.

Social Diagnosis. By Mary E. Richmond, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. pp. 511. $2 net.

Standards of American Legislation. By Ernst Freund, Professor of Jurisprudence and Public Law in the University of Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 327. $1.50 net.

Towards a Sane Feminism. By Wilma Meikle. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. pp. 168. $1.25.

Water Purification. By Joseph W. Ellms, member American Society Civil Engineers, American Chemical Society, American Public Health Association and New England Water Works Association. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. pp. 485. $5.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Progress in Municipal Finance.[1]—"The continued increase of public expenditures," writes Professor T. S. Adams in the *Economic World* (December 16, 1916), "is one of the most irritating, fascinating and mysterious of social phenomena." Whether taxes have increased more rapidly than private wealth and income is a problem not readily solved. Professor Adams is inclined to think they have not, yet he comes to the conclusion that the taxpayer is not getting all he should for his money, that there is a vast amount of waste due to the fact that departments overlap, that officers and the electorate are ignorant and that power and responsibility are diffused.

The problem of taxation from the viewpoint of the city is presented in the same magazine for December 30, by J. D. Cloud. Municipalities are unable to finance their current operations and sinking fund requirements out of current available income. The reasons for this are (1) curtailment of revenues, *i.e.*, from restriction of the liquor traffic and the displacement of horse-drawn vehicles by automobiles, for automobile taxes are collected and retained by the state; (2) new and costly activities such as playgrounds, hospitals and municipal universities; (3) bonded indebtedness, that is, the proportion of current revenues required to meet the annual sinking fund and interest is excessively large. Methods of improvement are suggested in these criticisms: curtailment of expenses by eliminating waste, introduction of an efficient bookkeeping system, planning for expenditure by using the budget system and "paying as you go."

In view of these discussions it is interesting to note the steps recently taken by cities to solve their problems. Ohio has been the center of various schemes. For instance, Columbus learned from a group of efficiency experts who made a survey of her situation that she could save $20,000 a year: (1) by centralizing charities; (2) by the establishment of a new system of accounting, and (3) by the abolition of unnecessary offices such as second and third superintendents of the fire department, public defender, and superintendent of markets.

The mayor of this same city in a speech last June proposed a plan of his secretary, Mr. Thatcher, by which a cash basis would be substituted for the present bond basis. Starting with a tax levy slightly higher than that allowed under the state law, but by a gradual decrease to a much smaller rate, the city would be able to operate, allow for increased growth, spend $10,000,000 for improvements within the next twenty-four years and at the end of that period be entirely free of bonded debt, except sinking fund charges to take care of the last bonds which mature in 1952.

A group of mayors of Ohio cities met last December in Cleveland to outline a program of legislation which included a demand for a return of 50 per cent of the automobile license money to the city from which it was paid and a return of 80 per cent of the state liquor license tax to the municipality where paid. They also asked that cities be given more liberty to determine their own tax rate which could not be reviewed by the county budget commission and that sinking fund and interest charges should not be included in the ten mill limit provided by the state law. Philadelphia, too, has awakened and announces an effort to develop a budget system. It is holding open meetings in which the public is expected to become informed as to financial conditions. Toronto has adopted the same plan of publicity in framing its budget.

The problem of municipal finance has been exhaustively studied by at least two commissions this year, one by the city of Pittsburgh, the other by the state of New Jersey. The report of the latter is published in an attractive booklet of about twenty pages which gives suggestions for legislative enactment, results of their investigations having been given in a previous report. Part one discusses the law passed in 1916 as a result of the findings of the commission. This included six recommendations: namely (1) limiting the term of bonds to the life of the improvements; (2) making bonds incontestable after issue; (3) providing for par bids; (4) giving sinking fund preferred right in bond sales; (5) issuing serial or installment bonds; (6) limiting the debt. Part two consists of renewed recommendations, seven in number: (1) penalties upon municipalities for non-payment of county and state taxes to county collectors when due; (2) uniform reports, proper tabulation of all receipts, expenditures and indebtedness separate from comptroller's report; (3) budget system; (4) instruments for borrowing in anticipation of the receipt of taxes not yet due, to be represented by tax anticipation bonds or tax anticipation notes, which shall be retired within the year of their issue; (5) a uniform sinking fund law that shall define the securities for investment and the method of calculating annual requirements; (6) provision that sinking funds below their requirements shall be rehabilitated by an annual tax of not less than one fifth of one mill; (7) a uniform fiscal year. Part three is entitled "New recommendation" which is that certified copies of the proceedings in connection with all future bond issues be filed with some duly constituted state official.

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[1] This is a review of: "The Continual Increase of Public Expenditures and Taxes," by Professor T. S. Adams, *The Economic World*, December 16, 1916; "The Financial Problem of Cities," by J. D. Cloud, *The Economic World*, December 30, 1916; Report of the Pittsburgh Tax Commission; Report of the Commission for the Survey of Municipal Financing; Various articles and pamphlets published by municipalities.

The Report of the Pittsburgh Tax Commission is a careful study of the needs, resources and possibilities of financing the city. Emphasis is laid in the first section on the desirability of retaining the real estate tax, but it is recommended that a more equitable system of assessment be employed, including annual assessments, adoption of section, block and lot system and the absorption of outlying suburbs. New taxes recommended are a direct inheritance tax to accrue wholly to the state; a graduated income tax, on persons at first, later on corporations, to be divided between state, county and city. It was suggested that the automobile tax be increased by 50 per cent, 30 per cent of the proceeds to be returned to the city, the same amount to the county and 40 per cent to the state; that the liquor license tax be paid to the city; that larger revenues be derived from rental and use of city property, such as wharves and markets, and that the water works be self-supporting. The commission recommended the abolition of certain taxes, namely, the mercantile license tax; the occupation tax, which costs more to collect than the revenues collected; and the personal property tax. It was also recommended that a state tax commission be established.

There is a tendency to adopt a tax which has been successful in another city or state without realizing that its success depends as much on the machinery of collection as on the tax itself.

Roy G. Blakey.

University of Minnesota.

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The Columbus, Ohio, Survey.[1]—A general survey of the organization, method and procedures of the various departments of the city government of Columbus, Ohio, was made by the N. Y. bureau of municipal research during the months of November and December, 1916, under the direction of Herbert R. Sands. The more obvious occasion for such a survey was the financial emergency confronting the city government. Officials engaged during the summer in preparing the budget for 1917 foresaw, under a continuance of normal conditions, a deficit of about $285,000 in operating expenses. As under existing laws no substantial increase in revenue seemed available, curtailment in activities or economies in operation or both were imperative. To meet this situation the secretary of the Columbus civic league, the city auditor, and a city councilman, proposed that a comprehensive study of the city's administrative organization and operation should be made to obtain expert guidance in determining what activities could be abandoned with least deprivation to the citizens and at what points savings could most effectively be made. Following this suggestion provision for a survey by the New York bureau was made by unanimous vote of city council, which appropriated $10,000 for the work. Of this sum the bureau was able to return a balance of $1,800 unexpended at the completion of its work. The printing of the report cost about $800. Though the movement was initiated primarily as a measure of pressing economy, its scope as executed, and as intended by the council, was as comprehensive as that of any municipal survey, considering questions of improvement and extension of service as well as of economy and retrenchment.

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[1] Report on a Survey of the City Government of Columbus, Ohio. Prepared by the bureau of municipal research of New York, November and December, 1916.

The report of the survey covers 257 closely-printed quarto pages. The recommendations indicate specific opportunities for direct savings in thirteen branches of the city government, varying in amount from $35,000 in the board of purchase and $30,000 in the division of water supply to $1,500 in the division of parks, and totalling about $125,000 each year on the basis of present expenditures. But the report deals more extensively with methods of more and better service for existing costs. The report covers every branch of the city's activities, and at all points is full, clear and specific in its description and estimation of existing organization and operation and in its proposals for change. It is liberal in commendation and censure, though necessarily freer with the latter than with the former. In connection with each section of the study are presented the recommendations for reorganization, improvement in method, economies, elimination and expansion. It is not practicable in a brief note to indicate specifically the criticisms and proposals. In an introduction of 25 pages there is a brief résumé of the important facts disclosed, followed by a summary list of the 765 changes proposed. Over 700 of the changes can be made effective by action of council, the remaining recommendations requiring charter or statutory amendment.

It is too soon to predict broadly as to the extent to which the recommendations will be put into effect. Some changes are already under way. Officials are now at work codifying ordinances for several departments, preparing standardization of salaries for the departments of public service and public safety, and developing a system of centralized accounting for the former. Ordinances are pending to bring about minor transpositions and eliminations in the police and fire divisions, consolidation in park supervision, and reorganization of the division of engineering and construction. Conditions of commercialized prostitution disclosed by the report have led to the creation and appointment of a vice commission to study the local situation at greater length. The council is expected to submit to the voters at the August primary a charter amendment to substitute a centralized purchasing bureau for the present *ex officio* board of purchase. Further changes will probably be gradually adopted for a considerable time in the future. There has been the usual opposition on the part of incumbents and friends of incumbents where abolishment of existing positions is attempted.

Independently of changes to be effected, the value of the survey and report is fully established by the information which it places at the disposal of the public and the officials. Preoccupation of the minds of citizens generally with international affairs explains in part the lack of any very explicit interest on the part of the public at present. The report seems to be favorably and intelligently received by many officials. Council has placed a copy in the hands of the head of every department, division, bureau and institution, and it is likely that for a long time the report will serve as a text-book for members of council and administrative officers.

The recommendations and criticisms conform generally to present standard opinions of experts in municipal reform, and are approved for the most part by better informed local sentiment. It is inevitable that among so large a number of suggestions there should be honest and intelligent doubt as to the practicability and wisdom of some of them. For example, doubt is expressed as to the validity of certain comments upon important phases of the city's experiences with its lighting plant and garbage reduction plant, and as to the reasonableness of some of the proposals concerning the city health officer and the public defender.

Some day there may be a survey of municipal research bureaus. One of the findings of such a survey would likely be that an investigator loses, in the respect with which his knowledge is regarded and in the practical effectiveness of his recommendations, where, in his dealings with officials whose work he is examining, he maintains a bearing of superiority or omniscience. Opinions generally of local officials indicate that the dozen representatives of the New York bureau in the Columbus survey were for the most part, though not without exception, free from such unskilfulness in their tactics.

F. W. Coker.

✱

Courses of Study in Civics.[1]—"The purpose of this course of study is to give the child such instruction and training as will help to make him a good citizen." Almost any course of civics claims this aim. Not many courses, however, have so broad a meaning for "good citizen"; namely, "the one who habitually conducts his own affairs with proper regard for the welfare of the communities of which he is a member, and who is active and intelligent in his co-operation with his fellow members for the common good." The school should set ideals for the home where training for good citizenship begins before school age. In the home are first received "impressions of co-operation and responsibility."

In school the child should learn more and more to be "conscious of the interdependence of the individuals in a community." "Underlying the teaching of good citizenship, therefore, is moral instruction so given that it results in the right action of the child." Beginning with the third grade, service and co-operation are taught by the story of services rendered by those who supply the necessities of life. Then the services of policemen, firemen, street cleaners, are noted. The child, "as a future producer should have some idea of the various occupations which are open to him and of the conditions under which he is entitled to work." Since the field of civics is comparatively new the teacher unhampered by traditional method has unusual opportunity to help improve the quality of citizenship.

Accordingly in the first year, obedience, cleanliness, courtesy, helpfulness, kindness to animals, are the high points. These are enlarged upon in the second grade where punctuality, truthfulness and care of property, fair play and safety are added. In the third grade, thoroughness, honesty and respect are studied in addition to such topics as "the people who supply us with food, clothing, shelter and fuel." Courage, self-control and perseverance are emphasized in the fourth grade. To be sure, these things are not taught by precept but by example of the teacher and by actual training of the child in the doing of them. For instance, under *thrift*, there are enumerated, care in the use of school supplies; the economical use of paper, books, pencils, crayons, pens; care of clothing; the spending of money; The saving of money and the saving of time. In the fourth grade, furthermore, the policeman, fireman, postman, street cleaner, garbage collector, ash collector and the rubbish collector are studied.

The topics for the fifth grade are: water, gas, electricity, telephone, the neighborhood, the city beautiful, safety first. Philadelphia's industries, occupations and business ethics are given for the sixth grade. Appended are eleven pages of references, by grades, to stories, songs and games illustrative of civic virtues. This course of study certainly is an attractive one.

Compared with the syllabus of Philadelphia this syllabus[1] is less definite and much more formal. It provides for two more years.

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[1] The Course of Study in Civics, 1916, Grades One to Six for the Public Schools of Philadelphia. Pp. 72.

"The work of the first four years is mainly directed to caution to the family, the school, and the neighborhood. Specific civic instruction begins with the fifth year, bearing directly upon the local affairs of the city in the fifth year, and upon state and national affairs in the sixth year. The close of the sixth year completes the first cycle of simple study, so that a pupil who leaves school at the close of the sixth year may have an understanding however elementary, of the forms and procedure of government, and of his duties."

The general aim of the New York city syllabus is about the same as that stated by Philadelphia, and in the earlier grades the course is pretty closely directed to that end. " . . . it becomes evident that the ethical organization of a school is of greater importance than ethical teaching." Example of the teacher is emphasized. The children "should be given some responsibility and some opportunity for self government by allowing them to manage or take an active part in managing the discipline of the school, recitation, their own clubs, games, playgrounds, fire drills, opening exercises, entertainments, excursions, class and school libraries, athletic contests, or class saving banks."

The time for the work of the first three years is to be "included under English as a part of the child's necessary instruction for social membership." Safety in the street and the home are taught, and the children are urged to co-operate in keeping the streets clean. The Four A grade presents the "duties, rights and privileges in the family and in the home"; love, care, and protection of children by the parents, and reciprocal duties of the children in love, obedience and assistance of parents; home beauty and sanitation. The school and the neighborhood are studied in the Four B grade. In the Five A grade, food, water, and housing; and in the Five B grade, fire, street, street-cleaning, disease, child labor, and enjoyments are emphasized. Analysis of the machinery of the public institutions of the city in relation to the citizen is offered for Six A; and state and national institutions for Six B. These are enlarged upon in a still more formal way in the seventh and eighth grades.

A striking feature for each grade is the list of *reciprocal duties;* for example, under *food,* as studied by grade Five A, one reads: "Reciprocal duties, to demand clean service from the milk dealer, grocer, fish man, butcher, and baker; to report careless handling of food, or the selling of spoiled food." In this particular, New York city's plan seems superior to Philadelphia's. On the other hand, whereas Philadelphia emphasizes thrift in the fourth grade and really begins it in the second, New York refers to thrift only indirectly. In these days of motor trucks and automobiles Philadelphia places undue emphasis upon *kindness to animals,* which is given as a main topic in the first four grades, while a relatively small place is given to kindness to parents and to other people. Both syllabi contain much that ought to help train good citizens and foster good municipalities.

GARRY C. MEYER.[2]

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The Citizens Water Supply Company of Newtown[3].—The Citizens Water Supply Company of Newtown was organized and received a franchise in 1893 to furnish water to the town of Newtown, Queens county, New York. This town was incorporated within the city of New York at the time of the consolidation in 1898, and now forms the second ward of the borough of Queens. This company has continued to serve the same territory, and has supplemented the city's supply in the first ward, because its service has really been needed. But its rates have been higher, so that there have been constant complaints, also repeated demands that the property be taken over by the city.

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[1] Syllabus in Civics for the Elementary Schools of the City of New York, 1915.

[2] Brooklyn training school for teachers.

[3] Report of Delos F. Wilcox, deputy commissioner to the commissioner of water supply, gas and electricity, the city of New York. October, 1916.

Several attempts have been made by the city to purchase the property but up to the present have been given up each time as inopportune. Now that the new Catskill system is completed, the city will have a water supply more than sufficient for its entire area and the company's service will no longer be needed. What shall be done must therefore be decided. Moreover, complaints against the rates have become insistent. This report was undertaken for the double purpose of determining reasonable rates and fixing a fair valuation for purchase.

As to rates, the report has only ordinary interest, for the points at issue are not different nor more important than have been determined repeatedly in rate cases. The problem of purchase, however, is exceedingly interesting in that it brings up special features that apply not only to other cases in the city but to many similar cases in other municipalities. The most important point seems to be this: here is a company which has served an important economic function, but whose service is rendered obsolete through large municipal developments. What policy toward the company should the city pursue?

Obviously no private investment should be permitted to stand in the way of public development, even in case of perpetual and exclusive franchises. The company, fortunately, does not possess an exclusive franchise. It owns, however, a complete independent water system, but one scarcely adequate for the present and certainly not for the increasing needs of the next ten years. Moreover, its operating costs are high and will probably increase, so that rates would necessarily continue high. But the city has made comprehensive provisions for supplying its entire territory. If it does not supply the second ward, the water will go to waste; the additional service would be rendered without additional production expenses. Would not the sensible policy be, therefore, to abandon the old private supply and use the new municipal system?

Sooner or later, the city must take over the service, not only on account of costs but for the sake of adequacy, to provide for fire protection and the growth of population. Negotiations for purchase have been started. Of the present property, the city could use only the distribution system; it would have no use for the lands and pumping stations and equipment. The company, however, has refused to sell unless the city takes the entire plant at full valuation. The city is fortunately in a strong bargaining position: it does not absolutely need any of the property in order to take over the service. It could put in a new distribution system, enter into competition with the company, drive it out of business, and cause a complete loss of the existing investment in mains. This policy, however, would mean duplication of plant and loss of revenue during the period of competition. The sensible procedure would, of course, be for the city to purchase the company's mains, enlarge them where necessary, and take over the entire service without competition.

The city faces a twofold problem; first financial, of how much it can afford to pay for the present distribution system rather than build a new one, and second the ethical, of whether it would be treating the company justly in taking only the distribution system on a strict financial basis and requiring it to retain the rest of the property. As to the second and broader problem, the report shows that the company has obtained more than an adequate return on its investment during most of its history, and that the amount that the city can pay for the existing mains is equal to the original investment in the entire property. Whatever the company might realize from the sale of lands, stations and equipment, would constitute clear surplus. There would be no injustice, therefore, if the city would take over the distribution system only, and there would be reason even for forcing the company to sell at actual cost, instead of what it would cost to install a new system.

The report takes a reasonable position. It would be bad policy in general for the city to take over property that is not needed for service, still it must have reasonable regard for the investors. It should not exercise ruthlessly its right to invade private investment whose service has been needed in the past, but it should not exercise a super-sense of justice and defeat the reasonable rights of the community to better service in the future.

The report is an exceedingly valuable document, excellently presented, with unusual importance to everybody interested in public utility matters.

John Bauer.

Princeton University.

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City Planning for Bridgeport.[1]—Mr. Nolen has the faculty of presenting in a very clear manner definite and practicable recommendations for improving existing urban conditions. This faculty is well demonstrated in the report above referred to. While it has been issued in attractive form and contains numerous illustrations, few of the views are taken from either European or other American cities, but most of them illustrate actual conditions in Bridgeport, and suggested improvements. The report itself, besides the introductory section and the conclusion, takes up in order the following specific subjects: Main lines communication, including some references to city transit problems; The downtown district; The subdivision of city land into blocks and lots; Differerent districts for different uses; Parks, playgrounds and other open spaces.

In the preface the city planning commission lays emphasis upon the fact that this is not a final report, "for the planning of a live and rapidly growing city is never final." Mr. Nolen notes the phenomenal growth of the population of Bridgeport of nearly 50 per cent in twenty months. He calls attention to the serious congestion of the downtown district, the lack of main lines of communication and the irrational lot and block system which has resulted from chance or speculative development. He lays emphasis upon the need of continuity in main thoroughfares, although continuity and directness do not mean that such thoroughfares should be absolutely straight. He points out the need of reasonable regulation of the height of buildings which would now cost the city nothing, but would simplify the transportation problem and make it possible to provide better conditions, avoiding increased fire hazard, inadequate light and air and excessive land values in some spots. As a basis for his study of the main traffic system he has prepared a schematic diagram, admittedly theoretical, but indicating clearly the general plan which can be approximated by taking advantage of existing streets and avoiding the prohibitive expense of cutting through new thoroughfares where this can be avoided.

The section of the report relating to subdivision into blocks and lots is of particular interest and abounds with illustrations of existing conditions and of modifications which could readily be made in a great many parts of the city. The manner in which existing buildings have been respected and a rational plan has been worked out with a minimum disturbance of improvements already made is admirably illustrated by the two plans of the same district designated respectively as "Chaos" and "Order" which appear opposite each other on pages 56 and 57.

Mr. Nolen congratulates Bridgeport on its adoption of a new building code in 1915 as the result of agitation by the city planning commission which action was taken at a very opportune time and has operated to decrease the fire hazard which would have resulted had it been possible to build the new industrial establishments under the former building law. Extensive reference is made to the zoning ordinance recently adopted by the city of New York, but it is pointed out that this ordinance was intended to deal with a peculiar situation and its provisions would be entirely too liberal for the city of Bridgeport, which still has an opportunity to control its future development.

Reports on the planning or replanning of cities are frequently made without due consideration of the practicability of carrying out the recommendations under existing statutes and in view of the limitations placed upon the city authorities by their charters. They often fail, likewise, to take into account the financial problems involved. It is refreshing to see that the city planning commission of Bridgeport has taken the precaution to secure a report upon the legal methods which may be adopted to carry out Mr. Nolen's suggestions and the manner in which their cost may be met. This question is covered very fully in the appended report of Mr. Frank Backus Williams, which discusses in considerable detail the city planning agency, specific planning powers, and city planning financing. The two reports constitute one of the best presentations of a city plan and programme which have thus far been made.

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[1] "Better City Planning for Bridgeport," by John Nolen; With a "Report on Legal Methods of Carrying Out Proposed Changes," by Frank Backus Williams. Issued by the city planning commission of Bridgeport (Conn.). 1916.

Nelson P. Lewis.

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Philadelphia Manual of Accounting.[1]—The present work is the second edition of The Manual of Accounting, Reporting and Business Procedure originally published December 29, 1913, effective January 1, 1914.

"While the text of the first edition has been completely revised, no changes have been made in the fundamental accounting principles." This edition contains illustrations of the various forms considered essential to the successful operation of the system, which were formerly contained in a separate volume called the blue book of forms. In addition to the forms mentioned, this edition includes considerable new materials as follows:

Mechanical Tabulation. Bookkeeping has its limitations and the limit was reached some time ago. The new process makes it possible to secure detailed information which is exceedingly costly and difficult to get through bookkeeping.

Definitions of Accounting Terms Used. These have the effect of standardizing accounting terminology for the city and county of Philadelphia.

Classification of Expenditures—describing the general plan of classification and including parts of the "Object of Expenditure Classification," a separate publication.

Classification of Income. The definition of income included in this section is new and wholly at variance with the accepted meaning of the word among business men.

"Income is the amount of funds collectible or receivable in a certain period, whether collected or not."

Included in the classification of income are funds received from the sale of investments, sale of property, bonds, notes, loans, etc.

Budget-making. This interesting and much debated subject includes a definition of a budget and instructions for using the forms and preparing the annual estimates.

Inventories and Transfers of Property. Inventories of property are to be taken at cost at such times as called for by the city controller. Inventories of stores are to be taken as of September 30 and December 31 of each year.

An interesting feature of the inventory forms provides for showing the amount of depreciation and repairs required for each general class of property inventoried.

Rates of Depreciation. The percentage of depreciation for each class of property owned by the city is set forth in considerable detail.

Philadelphia is the only city in the United States, as far as the writer is aware, that has attempted to work out the matter of depreciation of property. The amount of depreciation that occurs annually is not provided for in the annual budget but appears to be offset by the reduction of capital indebtedness each year from current revenues.

The rates established are stated to be the consensus of opinion of the engineering and technical staffs in the city's employ, but some of the rates appear to be rather low, as, for instance, twenty years' life for chairs, stools, desks, cupboards, bookcases, etc.—one hundred years' life for buildings for office purposes, school houses, hospitals, etc.

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[1] Manual of Accounting, Reporting and Business Procedure of the City and County of Philadelphia. John M. Walton, controller. 218 pp. 1917.

The manual is an important document and shows what can be done by an executive who is awake to the possibilities of improvement through administrative action and who realizes the value of accounting as an aid to effective action by operating heads.

Thomas R. Lill, C.P.A.

❖

Kansas Algebra Measurements.—By no means all of the educational research of the country is being conducted in the great eastern private laboratories. Many of the most important advances are coming from publicly supported western institutions. Even when tinctured with eastern and academic points of view our western investigators are apt to go off on a tangent.

In explaining the tests under review, the director of the bureau of educational measurements and standards of the Kansas state normal school, Walter L. Monroe, wrote to reviewer:

> Certainly averages and medians cover up the details which are most essential to improving instruction. The only basis on which the use of tests and scales is justified is that of making instruction for individual pupils more effective. We have been trying to emphasize this point of view, but of course superintendents are interested in general measures of their systems.

The foregoing paragraph was prompted by a letter which deplored the tendency of superintendents to use the standard measurements as justifiers of the Pharisee's prayer rather than as ready aids to pupils. Report after report comes in showing that superintendents are asking not "Where have I gained new light on the weaknesses of teacher or pupil" but rather "How does our town's average or median compare with forty other towns?"

The tests of silent reading and algebra are of special interest because of their convenient form and their detailed instruction. Whether a particular test is helpful or not is less important to students of government than is the purpose and general method of these tests. The layman will gain a quick insight into this new experience of public school boys and girls by applying for sample copies. Then by applying each test to himself the reader can think out intelligently the educational value of this method. It will help us all to keep in mind one of the choicest Irish bulls of the hyperscientific standardizing, namely, the conclusion of the Cleveland survey: "In silent reading Cleveland is ahead of other cities in speed but behind any other city in ability to interpret what is read."

William H. Allen.

❖

United States Bureau of Efficiency.[1]—This report gives a history of the United States bureau of efficiency established as a division of the civil service commission in 1913 but now an independent bureau. Acts of congress relating thereto are printed in full. The bureau has succeeded in making definite savings in governmental expenses through the introduction of efficiency ratings in the post office department and as a result of accomplishments in this department a system of efficiency ratings for employes has been approved for application to the national bank redemption agency and other divisions of the treasurer's office to take effect next January. A similar system has been in operation in the state department for about a year. The paymaster general of the navy has also been using the ratings as a basis for promotions and demotions.

The forms used in deriving and maintaining efficiency ratings are given as well as other exhibits describing the character of the bureau's work. The bureau's organization and payroll cost is also made the subject of one exhibit.

Since the publication of the report additional acts have been passed by congress materially increasing the budget of the bureau and assigning it certain work to do, including an investigation of the methods of examining and auditing claims against the United States; an investigation of the work performed by the subtreasurers to determine what part of the work may be transferred to other offices of the government; an investigation of the civil service commission, and a survey of the rates of pay of employes of the various state and municipal governments and commercial institutions in the United States. The acts require that a report on these studies be submitted to congress at the next regular session and empowers the bureau to obtain all the information necessary in carrying out its investigation and studies. To those who claim that the United States government is making no attempt to increase departmental efficiency this report and subsequent acts of congress will be enlightening.

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[1] Report for the period from March 25, 1913 to October 31, 1916, Washington, 1917.

C. O. Dustin.

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Budget Making for New Hampshire Towns.[1]—Towns have been particularly slack in their fiscal systems, and this report in recommending a procedure for making and presenting budget estimates of revenues and expenditures in conformity with a uniform system of town accounts contributes much to a situation needing serious attention. It points out the shortcomings of present incomplete methods of making up town budgets, explains how a town budget should be made up and provides a standard blank form for presenting estimates in an intelligent way to citizens before and at the town meeting. The committee recognizes the value of the balance sheet, cash statement, detailed estimates, public hearings and a tentative budget as aids to efficient budget making, and recommends the appointment in each town of a committee on finance made up of citizens who should serve for a number of years in order to insure the carrying out of a planned program. The report would have been made more complete by providing for the presentation of an operating statement, by requiring a two year comparison of revenues and expenditures with estimates instead of one and by giving in the report the detailed classification of revenues and expenditures, which it is assumed would support the budget bill.

C. O. D.

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Municipal Accounting.[2]—This document gives in a simple and understandable way the essentials of proper municipal accounting. It has succeeded in making a description of a technical subject interesting reading, and can be highly recommended to the average citizen and to those who have found other reports upon this subject too technical for thorough understanding. It concretely illustrates some of the finer points of proper municipal accounting such as the balance sheet, the revenue and expense statement in contra-distinction to the receipt and expenditure statement, expense and functional classifications and the budget, and explains in very few words the part these adjuncts play in municipal accounting and gives a general explanation of the purposes of municipal accounting, its present status and the history of the movement to improve municipal accounting methods.

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Report on Baltimore Police.—Report No. 7 of the Baltimore bureau of state and municipal research is a pamphlet of 31 pages, which contains a summary of improvements in business methods recommended by the bureau to the Baltimore police department. Improvements in central purchasing and storehouse methods have already been adopted by the police department, and the bureau's recommendations with reference to an improved modern cost accounting system are now being carefully considered.

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[1] New Hampshire tax commission, Concord, N. H., 1917.

[2] University of Iowa extension division bulletin, No. 22, Iowa City, Iowa.

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Partial Contents: Olmsted, F. L., Cleveland's city planning needs: radial thoroughfares and county parks, 3–13; Brunner, Arnold, Cleveland's group plan, 14–24; Purdy, Lawson, Cleveland's achievements in city planning, 25–34; Lewis, N. P., The automobile and the city plan, 35–56; Gillespie, John, The automobile and street traffic, 57–67; Nichols, J. C., Financial effect of good planning in land subdivision, 91–118; Adams, Thomas, State, city and town planning, 119–146; Veiller, Lawrence, Districting by municipal regulation, 147–176; Taylor, A. S., Districting through private effort, 177–183; Nolen, John, Planning problems of smaller cities in the United States, 184–198; Shirley, J. W., Planning the smaller city: street systems including transit problems, 199–214; Comey, A. C., Building heights, 215–218; Adams, Thomas, The beginnings of town planning in Canada, 222–241; Manning, W. H., Park systems and recreation grounds, 242–248.

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St. Louis. City Plan Commission. The Kingshighway: a report. 1917. 8 pp. map.

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Los Angeles. City and County Consolidation Commission. Report, adopted Dec. 19, 1916. 1917. [12 pp.]

Williams (E. W.). Centralized government for counties and cities. (Amer. City, Mch., 1917: 257–262. chart.)

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American Judicature Society. Second draft of a state-wide judicature act. Mch., 1917. 198 pp. (Bull. no. 7a.)

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Hoffman (C. W.). Courts of domestic relations. (Ohio Bull. of Charities and Correction, Feb., 1917: 74–78.)

Hoyt (F. C.). The juvenile court of New York City. (Journ. National Education Assoc., Apr., 1917: 837–840.)

Massachusetts. Commission Appointed to Consider the Question of Abolishing the Trial Justice System. Report, Jan., 1917. 27 pp. (Sen. doc. no. 347.)

New York City. Public Library. Probation officer, children's court: a selected list of references for the use of civil service candidates. (Municip. Ref. Library Notes, Apr. 25, 1917: 262–264.)

Olson (Harry). Efficiency in the administration of criminal justice. 1917. 78 pp. diagr.

Mr. Olson is chief justice of the Municipal Court of Chicago.

Pennsylvania. Legislative Reference Bureau. A compilation of the laws relating to juvenile courts and dependent, neglected, incorrigible and delinquent children. 1916. 111 pp.

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Dance Halls

Bowen (L. de K.). The public dance halls of Chicago. rev. ed. 1917. 13 pp. (Juvenile Protective Assoc. of Chicago.)

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Ford (G. B.). Building zones: a handbook of restrictions on the height, area, and use of buildings, with especial reference to New York City. [1917.] 36 pp. maps. diagr.

Keyes (C. M.). Benefits of the new zoning resolution: some cases cited bearing on the new law—property owners will be the gainers. (Record and Guide, Mch. 3, 1917: 283–284.)

Newark. City Plan Commission. Encouraging proper city growth through building districts. 1917. [14 pp.] illus.

A series of articles reprinted from the *Newark Sunday Call*, setting forth advantages of legislation to enable Newark to control and guide the city's future growth. A zoning bill has since been enacted.

Swan (H. S.). Constitutionality of the zone law. (Record and Guide, May 5, 1917: 620–621.)

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Dallas, Texas. Dallas Wage Commission. Report of the Survey Committee. 1917. 16 pp.

Massachusetts. Commission on the Cost of Living. [Report summarizing its findings in regard to the causes of the present high cost of living and the possibility of remedial legislation.] Feb. 20, 1917. 14 pp. (Senate doc. no. 383.)

Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association. Preliminary report on study of increase of cost of food, submitted to the Council Committee on Commerce and Markets, by the Bureau of Municipal Research. [Nov. 21, 1916.] 11 pp. typewritten. table.

New York City. Board of Estimate and Apportionment. Bureau of Personal Service. Report on the increased cost of living for an unskilled laborer's family in New York City. 1917. 32 pp. tables.

——. Department of Health. Food economies: a series of special bulletins for the housewife. 1917. 22 pp. (Bureau of Public Health Education.)

New York State. Committee on Market Conditions. Foods and markets. New York should safeguard its food supply. Mch. 7, 1917. [4 pp.] (Bull. no. 1.)

Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association. Shortage of food relieved and high food prices reduced. [1917.] 16 pp.

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Stoddard (R. I.). Mobilizing unused land and forces to meet an unprecedented crisis. (Amer. City, May, 1917: 471–481. illus.)

An outline of some of the methods being used in applying the vacant lot and home gardening idea towards solving the problem presented by the present food shortage.

United States. Library of Congress. List of references on government regulation of prices (especially of foods). Jan. 11, 1917. 5 pp. typewritten. (Division of Bibliography.)

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McMillen (J. A.), compiler. The Gary system: a bibliography. 1917. 15 pp. (University of Rochester. The Library, Jan. 31, 1917.)

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Beer (G. F.). Housing experience in Toronto. (Conservation of Life, Mch., 1917: 25–28. illus.)

Davison (R. L.). A check list of the principal housing developments in the United States, alphabetically arranged and prepared . . . from material in the Social Ethics Library and Social Museum, Harvard University. (Architectural Review, Apr., 1917: 83–91. illus.)

Kellor (F. A.). The application of Americanization to housing. (Architectural Review, Jan., 1917: 1–2.)

May (Charles C.). Industrial housing. (Architecture, Apr., 1917: 61–64. illus.)

Mole (J. H.). Some observations on municipal housing [in Great Britain]. Surveyor and Municipal and County Engnr., Mch. 23, 1917: 304–306.)

Rome Brass and Copper Co. (Rome, N. Y.). Riverdale, a village for the employees of the Rome Brass & Copper Co. [1917.] 20 pp.

Contains an English, Hungarian, Italian and Polish version.

Smith (H. A.). Economic open stair communal dwellings for industrial towns. (Architecture, May, 1917: 81–84. illus. charts.)

Veiller (Lawrence). Industrial housing. Pts. 1–4. (American Architect, Jan. 17, 31, Feb. 7, Mch. 7, 1917: 33–35, 75–77, 90–93, 161–163.)

Jitney

McCahill (D. I.). Status of the "jitney." 1916. 42 pp.

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See also Power Plants, Public Utilities.

Anon. Results of 1916 light and power operations; central station income from energy sales more than $415,000,000, output considerably in excess of 23,000,000,000 kw.-hr. (Electrical World, Mch. 3, 1917: 410–412. tables.)

Dickerman (J. C.). The new indeterminate street lighting contracts adopted in Wisconsin cities. A study of the Racine and Wauwatosa contracts. (Utilities Magazine, Mch., 1917: 11–17.)

——. Typical street lighting experiences of a small city. (Utilities Magazine, Mch., 1917: 22–31.)

An account of a survey of lighting finance in Malden, Mass., made by the author at the request of the city officials.

Farwell (S. P.). Actual experience of Illinois [Public Utilities] Commission gas inspectors [in the testing of gas, meters, etc.]. (Gas Age, Apr. 16, 1917: 392–397. forms.)

Keith (W. G.). Group street lighting system for the City of Chicago. (General Electric Review, Feb., 1917: 126–129. diagrs.)

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Eubank (E. E.). Loan sharks and loan shark legislation in Illinois. (Journ. of Criminal Law and Criminology, May, 1917: 69–81.)

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Armstrong (D. B.). The sanitation of public markets. 1917. 7 pp.

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State Bureau of Municipal Information [of the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other City Officials]. Municipal public markets. 1917. [6 pp.] 6 tables.

This report contains data gathered from various sources, including answers to a questionnaire received from 154 cities.

Motor Vehicles

Pollock (Willets). Milwaukee Division of Motor Vehicles. New municipal department for operating, maintaining and purchasing motor vehicles and furnishing motor vehicle service to all departments—straight livery scheme not practicable—results already obtained. (Municip. Journ., Feb. 22, 1917: 265–266. illus.)

Municipal Government and Administration

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Anon. City manager plan. [1917.] 2 pp.

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Fesler (Mayo). The preferential, non-partisan ballot as a suggested partial relief for some of our election ills. (Proceedings, Ill. Municip. League. 1916: 25–42. tables.)

Hoag (C. G.). True representation for a city council. (Chicago City Club Bull., Mch. 15, 1917: 85–87.)

Advocates proportional representation.

Hunt (Henry J.). Obstacles to municipal progress. (Am. Pol. Sci. Quart., Feb., 1917: 76–87.)

Illinois. Statutes. A bill for an act to consolidate in the government of the City of Chicago the powers and functions vested in local governments and authorities within the territory of said city and to make provisions concerning the same. 1917. 34 pp. (50. Gen. Assy. Senate bill no. 141.)

James (H. G.). Municipal functions. 1917. 369 pp. (National Municipal League series.)

McBain (H. L.). Progress in the government of cities. 1917. [3 pp.]

Manning (W. Harold). A summary of municipal activities. Various data of cities of over 100,000 population. (Amer. City, Apr., 1917: 333–339. charts. tables.)

Mitchel (J. P.). City problems—and a word for preparedness. (Real Estate Bull., Mch., 1917: 341–345.)

Address at the 21st annual dinner of the Real Estate Board of New York, Feb. 3, 1917.

Riddle (Kenyon). The city manager and city engineer-manager. Plans of government. [1917.] 32 pp.

United States. Library of Congress. List of references on federal, state and municipal public works departments in the United States and foreign countries. Oct. 13, 1916. 1917. 15 sheets. typewritten. (Division of Bibliography.)

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Anon. Palo Alto's public service plants. Current for municipal lighting and water works furnished by municipal power plant—finances and economies. (Municip. Journ., Mch. 15, 1917: 374–375. illus.)

——. Municipal electric light plant at Columbus, O., a loser. (Public Service, Mch., 1917: 70–71.)

——. Municipal garage at Grand Rapids, Mich. (Municip. Engrng., May, 1917: 234–235. illus.)

——. A municipal savings bank [Birmingham, England]. (Canadian Municip. Engr., May, 1917: 164–165.)

Cleveland. Council. Audit of municipal electric light plant for 1915. Report of Council Committee on Lighting and Heating. (City Record, Mch. 7, 1917: 3–28.)

Gordon (F. G. R.). The case against municipal ownership. 1916. 56 pp.

Mavor (James). Public ownership and the Hydro-Electric Commission of Ontario. 1917. 72 pp.

Nash (L. R.). The truth about the Cleveland municipal electric plant. (Stone and Webster Journ., Feb., 1917: 103–125.)

Naumburg (Carl J.). Investment side of municipal ownership. (Public Service, Apr., 1917: 1000 words.)

Portland, Ore. Commissioner of Public Utilities. [Report embracing information and estimates gathered as to costs of construction and revenues from a municipal hydro-electric plant.] Feb. 16, 1917. 12 sheets. typewritten.

Thompson (C. D.). Municipal ownership. A brief survey of the extent, rapid growth and the success of municipal ownership throughout the world, presenting the arguments against private ownership, the failure of regulation and the advantages of municipal ownership. 1917. 114 pp.

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Bureau of Municipal Research, New York. Report of Division of Field Work for the year ended Dec. 31, 1916. (Record and Guide, Feb. 17, 1917: 218.)

——. "B. M. R. Service." An informational and advisory service for American cities at a fixed annual fee per city, based on population. Preliminary bulls. 1–4. 1917.

San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research. The City. no. 1. Feb. 21, 1917.

The first publication of this recently-established bureau of research. In form it is a postcard folder, resembling those issued by similar organizations.

Western Reserve University. School of Applied Social Sciences. Municipal administration and public service. [1917.] 14 pp.

The announcement of courses of study, etc., for 1917–1918.

Wright (Joseph). The classification scheme of the Library for Municipal Research at Harvard University. [1917.] 26 pp.

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American Association of Park Superintendents. Proceedings of the eighteenth annual convention, New Orleans, Louisiana, Oct. 10–12, 1916. [1917.] 91 pp.

Connecticut. State Park Commission. Connecticut state parks. A reprint of the report of the . . . Commission to the Governor. 1917. 32 pp.

Olmsted (F. L.). Playgrounds in parks from the designer's standpoint. (Landscape Architecture, Apr., 1917: 122–127.)

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Andrews (Horace). Report of the Committee on Street Paving, on present practice regarding replacement of cuts in pavements [in the principal American cities]. (Proceedings, American Society of Municipal Improvements, 1916: 9–25.)

Anon. Pavement statistics. Supplementary data concerning paving in American cities, received since the publication of the tables in the February 1 issue. (Municip. Journ., Mch. 29, 1917: 443–446.)

——. Brick pavements laid in 1916 and proposed for 1917. Descriptions of pavements as laid, cost per square yard and total cost. Design, cost and quantity are shown. (Municip. Engrng., Mch., 1917: 128–131.)

——. Statistics of pavement construction in 1916 in the United States. Amounts, unit prices and details of asphalt, bithulithic, bituminous concrete, brick, concrete, stone block and wood block paving laid last year in various cities, also prices of labor and materials. (Engrng. and Contracting, Apr. 4, 1917: 329–340. tables.)

Brown (C. C.). The construction of asphalt pavements. (Municip. Engrng., Apr., 1917: 164–170.)

Connell (W. H.). Recent practice in granite block pavements. (Good Roads, Feb. 24, 1917: 133–137.)

Dunham (W. R., Jr.). Highway paving by street railways; the paving burden laid upon electric railways by municipalities is both unreasonable and inequitable. (Electric Ry. Journ., Feb. 24, 1917: 342–343.)

Dutton (E. R.). Recent practice in

wood block pavements. (Good Roads, Feb. 24, 1917: 129–131.)

Mandigo (C. R.). A text-book on brick pavements. 1917. 126 pp. illus. diagrs.

Mullen (C. A.). Paving economy; road and street. 1917. 98 pp. illus. table.

Written especially for the use of city officials and others who come into direct contact with pavement questions.

Owens (James M.). New pavement ordinance helps San Francisco's development. (Engrng. News-Record, May 3, 1917: 263–264. chart. table.)

Small yearly payments make possible the use of more permanent types; checkerboard streets eliminated.

Teesdale (C. H.). The treatment of wood paving blocks. (Municip. Engrng., Apr., 1917: 171–173. illus.)

Warren (G. C.). History of guarantees of pavement. (Amer. Municipalities, Mch., 1917: 142–145.)

Pensions

See also Health Insurance.

Illinois. Pension Laws Commission. Report. 1917. 310 pp.

Pt. I is historical and descriptive of pension systems for public employes in foreign countries, and in the various states of the United States. Pt. II is concerned with the solution of the problem in Illinois and makes specific recommendations.

Mortimer (J. D.) and others. Pensions and minimum wage laws; survey presented to American Railway Association to show present pension practice, with analysis of cost factors—terms and conditions of industrial pensions—corporation support of pensions—types of minimum wage laws, with results and future tendencies. (Electric Ry. Journ., Feb. 17, 1917: 282–288. tables.)

Studensky (Paul). The pension problem and the philosophy of contributions. 1917. 20 pp. table.

Playgrounds

Haynes (Rowland). How much playground space does a city need? (Amer. City, Mch., 1917: 241–247. illus.)

Playground and Recreation Association of America. Year book, 1916. (Playground, Mch., 1917: 492–529.)

Contains tabulated statistics of playground and recreation work in 371 cities.

Rogers (J. E.). Report of the recreation conditions and problems of Galesburg [Ill.], with recommendations and suggested system. 1916. 28 pp.

Police

Bureau of State and Municipal Research, Baltimore. Business methods of the Baltimore Police Department. Pt. 1. Mch. 15, 1917. (Report no. 7, Pt. I revised.)

This report discusses improvements which resulted, or failed to result, from its unpublished report on the same subject in 1913.

Kates (A. R.). New York's auxiliary police force. (Policeman's Monthly, Apr., 1917: 13, 41.)

Lefèvre (Edwin). Police preparedness [in New York City]. (Saturday Evening Post, Apr. 21, 1917: 11, 106–109–110.)

New York City. Board of City Magistrates. Finger-prints, by Hon. Joseph M. Deuel, City Magistrate. 1917. 22 pp.

Schneider (Albert). Police microanalysis. (Policeman's Monthly, May, 1917: 15–17, 37–39.)

Taylor (Graham). The community's police. (Policeman's Monthly, Apr., 1917: 19–20.)

Vollmer (August) and Schneider (Albert). The school for police as planned at Berkeley. (Journ. of Criminal Law and Criminology, Mch., 1917: 877–898.)

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Anon. Los Angeles' hydro-electric power plant; first installation of municipal plants for utilizing fall in aqueduct—total of two hundred thousand horse power available, of which 37,500 horse power can be developed by the plant just completed. (Municip. Journ., Mch. 1, 1917: 301–303. illus.)

Anon. Results of 1916 light and power operations; central station income from energy sales more than $415,000,000, output considerably in excess of 23,000,000,000 kw.-hr. (Electrical World, Mch. 3, 1917: 410–412. tables.)

Prison Labor

Missouri. Library Commission. Digest of the laws of other states on prison labor bearing on House Bill 543, forty-ninth General Assembly of Missouri, 1917. Compiled by the Legislative Reference Department of the . . . Commission. Jan., 1917. 17 pp.

Public Comfort Stations

Public Comfort Station Bureau. The American plan for public comfort stations, approved by the . . . National Committee of Confederated Supply Associations. 1917. [6 pp.]

——. Standards for public comfort stations approved by the . . . National Committee of Confederated Supply Associations. 1917. [7 pp.]

Public Service

Gruenberg (B. C.). What are the opportunities before the high schools of the country in training men for public service and for efficient citizenship? (School and Society, May 19, 1917: 577–582.)

Hollis (I. N.). Efficiency and democracy. [Stone and Webster Journ., Apr., 1917: 280–290.)

Institute for Public Service, New York. First year's work, Nov., 1915, through Dec., 1916. 1917. 64 pp.

Kellor (Frances A.). Engineering methods must replace paternalism in the handling of labor. (Engrng. News-Record, Apr. 12, 1917: 82–84.)

Urges the application of scientific planning to industrial-relations management and to the whole field of employment, promotion and housing.

Minnesota. Commission on Reorganization of Civil Administration. Report. Inaugural address, Governor, Minnesota. 1917: 21–27.)

Public Utilities

See also Accounting, Lighting, Power Plants, etc.

American Society of Municipal Improvements. Proceedings of the twenty-third annual convention, held at Newark, N. J., Oct. 10, 11, 12, 13, 1916. 739 pp. tables.

Partial contents: Report of Committee on street and sidewalk design, 157–161; Sheridan, L. V., American park systems, 162–180; Richards, H. S., Care of birds in public parks, 181–184; Millar, P. S., Recent development in the theory and practice of street lighting, 185–200; A proposed standard for making traffic counts (report of the Traffic Committee), 213–218; Stern, E. W., Necessity for limiting the loads, speed and size of vehicles, 219–243; Tuska, G. R., The new garbage reduction plant of New York, 265–277; Richards, H. S., Problems and methods of snow removal and disposal, 289–296; Hammond, J. T., Sewage treatment by aeration and activation [with discussion], 327–403, 439–463; Requardt, G. J., A few figures on the building and operation of the Baltimore sewage disposal plant, and notes on the activated sludge experiments [with discussion], 417–428, 439–463; Fuller, G. W., The nuisance aspect of municipal plants for the disposal of solid and liquid wastes, 474–481; Potter, Alexander, The scientific cleaning of settling basins, 498–511; Mercier, P. E., My experience with cost data in municipal works, 556–561.

Barker (Harry). Public utility rates. A discussion of the principles and practice underlying charges for water, gas, electricity, communication and transportation services. 1917. 387 pp. tables.

Contents: Development of utility regulation; utility privileges and obligations; rights of the public; Product and service companies; some definitions of rates and services; Various bases for rates; Details of the cost-of-service study of rates; test for fixed and operating charges; Fair value of utility property; Valuation as an engineering task; appraisal of land and water rights; Reasonable return; interest; compensation for risk and attention; extra profits; Depreciation as it affects utility rates; Miscellaneous problems indirectly related to rate-making; Problems of railway rates; Problems of express transportation rates; Rate problem of street and interurban railway transportation; Problems of water rates; Rate problems of gas utilities; Rate problems of electricity supply works; Problems of telephone rate-making.

Carhart (A. H.). The tree versus the public utility wire. (Amer. City, town and county ed., May, 1917: 464–470. illus.)

The story of the invasion of a small town by an electric developing company.

Green (C. W.). State *vs.* municipal regulation of municipal public utilities. (Proceedings, Okla. Municip. League. 1916: 21–36.)

Illinois. Special Committee on Public Utilities. Majority and minority report . . . together with a draft of a bill to provide local control of public utilities in the City of Chicago. Jan. 20, 1917. 68 pp. 2 charts.

The majority report (5 pp.) recommends legislation granting to Chicago home rule in public-utility matters; the minority report (29 pp.) represents the dissenting opinion of one member of the committee. Included also is a "Statement in favor of home rule for public utilities," by Alderman Charles E. Merriam.

Spiller (H. C.). Value of state public utility commissions to the investor in public utilities securities. (Public Service, Apr., 1917. 1100 words.)

Wilcox (Delos F.). Shall the interstate commerce commission and the state public utility commissions fix wages on the railroads and on local public utilities? [1917.] 10 pp.

Reprinted from Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Political and Social Science, Jan., 1917.

Refuse and Garbage Disposal

Anon. What a city planning a garbage piggery should know. (Engrng. News-Record, Apr. 27, 1917: 210–211.)

Based on data secured by the city of Rockford, Ill.

Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. Collection and disposal of Cleveland's waste. Report of the Committee on Housing and Sanitation. Jan. 5, 1917. 14 pp.

Miller (B. F., Jr.). Horse vs. motor for garbage collection. (Proceedings, Amer. Soc. of Municip. Improvements, 1916: 261–264.)

Schroeder (P. J.). The fertilizer value of city wastes. Pt. 2: Garbage tankage; its composition, the availability of its nitrogen, and its use as a fertilizer. (Journ. of Indust. and Engrng. Chemistry, May, 1917: 513–518. tables.)

Part 1, by W. J. O'Brien and J. R. Lindemuth.

Tuska (G. R.). A new method of garbage reduction. (Amer. City, Mch., 1917: 237–240. illus.)

Roads and Highways

American Society of Civil Engineers. Progress report of the Special Committee on Materials for Road Construction and on Standards for Their Test and Use; discussion. (Proceedings, Apr., 1917: 715–798. tables.)

Anon. Roads and road-making; a synopsis of the most recent road construction methods and materials. (Empire Municipal Directory and Year Book, 1917: sec. 2, 141–159.)

Byrne (Austin T.). Modern road construction. A practical treatise on the engineering problems of road building, with carefully compiled specifications for modern highways, and city streets and boulevards. 1917. 187 pp. diagrs. illus.

Contents: Resistance to movement of vehicles; Location of roads; Preliminary road construction methods; Maintenance and improvement of roads; Foundations; Stoneblock pavements; Brick pavements; Woodblock pavements; Asphalt pavements; Miscellaneous pavements; Miscellaneous street work; Curbstones and gutters; Street cleaning; Selecting the pavement.

Bureau of Municipal Research, New York. Highway laws of the United States. A topical discussion, by A. N. Johnson. 1917. 163 pp. tables. (Municip. Research, no. 82. Feb., 1917.)

Contents: Author's introduction [with references to literature on roads]. Highway law revision: some conditions that make it necessary; Recommended procedure and suggested outline for highway law; General provisions of a highway law; Provisions relating to the establishment of roads; Control over highways by the public: provisions relating to organization and administration; provisions relating to road work; provisions relating to bridge work; general labor and contract provisions; Control of highways by toll companies; Use of highways by the general public; Use of highways by corporations and public utilities; Saving and repeal provisions in road laws.

Cox (J. J.). A duty of highway commissioners and highway engineers as public officials. (Good Roads, Mch. 24, 1917: 189–192.)

Lay (C. D.). Highways and country planning. (Landscape Architecture, Apr., 1917: 133–137.)

Lucas (Frank). The operation of the [Wisconsin] state highway law with respect to cities. (Municipality, Jan.–Feb., 1917: 11–21.)

Massachusetts. Special Commission for the Revision and Codification of the Laws Relating to Highways and Bridges. Report, Jan., 1917. 115 pp. (House doc., 1917, no. 1653.)

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See also Charities.

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NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. VI, No. 5 SEPTEMBER, 1917 TOTAL No. 25

ENGLISH CITIES IN WAR TIMES

BY HARLEAN JAMES[1]
New York City

RELIEF

THE questions of relief administered for civilians because of distress occasioned by war conditions, of relief administered for the dependents of soldiers and sailors, and the administration of war pensions and separation allowances are so closely connected that it seems wise to treat all these subjects under the head of relief. There are many who believe that the families of soldiers and sailors should be cared for by war pensions and separation allowances administered solely by the government from government funds. Those who, in this country, have advocated a similar administration of widow mothers' pensions will probably agree with this group. From motives of national economy and to prevent the disbursement of funds except where they are actually needed, however, there has been in England a group who believed voluntary associations could supplement government funds and conduct the necessary investigations more efficiently than local government officials whose training is generally for business and not for social service. Both groups have recognized the need for local committees for the administration of relief. The burning question has been whether payments should be determined and made by the local officials duly elected by the ratepayers or by the local committees of the soldiers' and sailors' families association in cooperation with local committees appointed by councils designated by the statutory committee to coincide with the administrative districts of the association. These were often county districts and the municipalities and urban boroughs within such county units fought bitterly for the right to administer the funds through their elected officials.

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[1] Formerly secretary, Baltimore women's civic league.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OF RELIEF AND THE GOVERNMENT

There are two vital points of view to be considered in the local administration of pensions, separation allowances and relief. The most important, of course, is the family itself, its human need, its human sorrow, its human self respect. Unfortunately, we have only the most indirect means of judging how far the local committees have met these needs for food, clothing, shelter, sympathy and respect. Administration, whether in voluntary or official hands, is subject to the human limitations of each person in the field. The controversy which has centered around this question of the machinery of local administration is of secondary importance to the family social unit. But the family need, in the last analysis, must be met by some kind of machinery. The readers may judge for themselves whether the records of the councils and the claims of the local officials are justified in whole or in part on their own showing. From the soldiers' and sailors' families association we have little data; from the families themselves, we have none.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND

Before proceeding to the story of the local administration of relief in war time, it may be recalled that in England, local administration is coordinated under a central local government board. The local communities are subject, in many respects, to the control of this board, but they also profit by the advice of the specialists in town planning, housing, accounting and engineering which the board has at its command. It may also be recalled that England and Wales, for purposes of local government, are divided into sixty-two administrative counties, including the county of London. In these counties there are popularly elected councils who co-opt a prescribed number of aldermen, either from their own body or from outside of it. The counties are divided into urban and rural districts, and, though the schools are generally under the control of the counties, any urban district with a population of 20,000 or over may be a local educational authority. Rural district councils may exercise any urban powers conferred by the local government board. By the local government act of 1888 London county was given considerable powers in regard to public health, housing, bridges, ferries, asylums, street improvements, education, etc., though the city corporation has powers respecting sanitation, police, bridges and justice in the city of London. By the local government act of 1899 London was divided into twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs, each with a mayor, aldermen and councillors. In all the great towns, including county boroughs, local business is administered by a municipal corporation which derives its authority from a charter granted by the crown. In England and Wales there are some seventy-five county boroughs, many of which are also incorporated cities, which are outside the jurisdiction of the county councils, though in other municipal boroughs, these councils have certain powers and duties.[2]

These facts are recalled at the risk of tediousness, because the administration of war relief has involved a confused four-square struggle between the counties, the boroughs, the central authority and voluntary bodies.

At the outbreak of the war, most of the councils, county and borough, met to pass resolutions of loyalty. Indeed, the community of local government interests and the consciousness of local personality were exhibited in courtesy telegrams exchanged between London county and Paris in the early days of August, 1914. In some instances the local authorities proposed plans for relief before the central plans were promulgated, and many of the local councils petitioned the government to make adequate provision for the families of soldiers and sailors.[3]

ORGANIZATION FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

The story of the distress organization during the early days of the war discloses that the government sought to provide an elaborate local machinery to meet a situation that never developed and failed utterly to meet the serious crisis that confronted the country from the very first. Distress committees were appointed by nearly all of the local councils, usually as local representative committees to administer the Prince of Wales National Relief Fund.

It may be recalled that the war broke out during a period of great unemployment and business depression, so that the government may be commended for its good intentions and may even be pardoned for failing to predict just how soon the colossal struggle would absorb civil labor and wipe out unemployment.[4]

At the request of the local government board most of the local councils and mayor's committees considered plans for providing for the unemployed, though few of the councils embarked on new enterprises. The report to the county council of Surrey on this matter may, perhaps, be taken as typical. On September 9, 1914, the committee on finance of the county council of Surrey reported:

> The committee have given consideration to a scheme published by the county committee for the prevention and relief of war distress which has been established under the authority of the cabinet committee and the local government board. . . . The committee have further taken note of the statement made by the chancellor of the exchequer to the municipal corporations association that, while ordinary and necessary public expenditure productive of labour employment should not be stopped

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[2] This outline of English local government is taken from the Statesmens' Year Book for 1916.

[3] Manchester petitioned for a specified minimum scale of allowances, also Lanark.

[4] A census of homeless persons made by the London county council in 1915 showed a marked decrease in London.

> or diminished, the time is not opportune for embarking on new and substantial expenditure, especially where the cost will have to be defrayed out of loan, and that the contingencies for which special provision may be more likely to be required will arise during the winter and when those who are now serving in the field will return and be disbanded after the close of the war. In these circumstances, the committee think it neither necessary or prudent to propose or to make provision for any undue or abnormal increase of expenditure on public works at the present time.[5]

In order, however, to demonstrate a spirit of co-operation, the council did, on November 10, make an appropriation of £1,000 to the highways and bridge committee for road widening and other highway improvements, "if found to be necessary to relieve unemployment and distress." In January it was reported that it had not been necessary to use any of the money, but that it was thought desirable to continue the authority in case the need should arise.

There were, of course, some readjustments. The education committee reported to the London county council on February 23, 1915:

> We are informed that as a result of a consultation between the board of education and the local labour exchanges and the local distress committees, it has been established that there are a number of unemployed girls in Shoreditch, Bethnal-green, and Whitechapel who are suitable for training in leather machining, an industry in which there is not only a scarcity of labour, but a safe prospect of future employment.
>
> It has accordingly been suggested that provision for the necessary training should be made at the Cordwainers' Technical College (Bethnal-green S. W.). The proposed curriculum which provides for forty hours' instruction a week for a period of twelve weeks, makes provision for training in all processes of leather machining used in upper making, including machining, and fitting and the application of these methods to various forms of leather accoutrement making.[6]

A grant of £141 was, therefore, made to reimburse the school for actual out-of-pocket expenditure and the committee on queen's work for women fund provided for the maintenance of the girls. On June 22, it was reported that the course had been entirely successful and voted that the instruction should be continued for another twelve weeks. The appropriation was £151 this time, to include £10 for a caretaker to prevent risks from fire.[7]

It was also reported to the London county council on the 30th of March, 1915, that there was some unemployment in the "dress-making bespoke" trade, and an adjustment to prepare these workers for the "wholesale ready-made" trade was suggested. To meet this contingency instruction was proposed to be offered at the Barrett-street school for two classes, each consisting of twenty, for a full-time course of six months. In course 1, it was proposed to offer classes in mantle work (coats, skirts and

[5] Reports to county council, Surrey, 1914, p. 1330-e, ff.

[6] Minutes London county council, 1915, p. 283.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 921.

mantles), heavy work and tailoring methods, 35 hours per week, and in course 2 instruction in blouse, robe and dressmaking, light work for 35 hours per week.[8]

A writer in the *Charity Organization Review* for September, 1915, summarized the unemployment situation thus:

> They [the government] expected an early industrial crisis. . . . As a matter of fact it did not come, and this was the first surprise of the war. . . . For a time short hours were worked in many industries, and numbers of women workers were discharged. While it lasted the distress of these women was acute, and the National Committee took no steps to meet it. Eventually a new unofficial committee was formed to deal with it, and Queen Mary issued an appeal on its behalf. The women's committee, thus . . . secured a free hand. They . . . at once got into touch with the local authorities. They opened workshops and training schools in many places, and large numbers of women and girls passed through these.[9]

CONGESTION IN THE WAR OFFICE

But the government, evidently, formed no conception of the problems which would arise for the families of the "new army," to say nothing of the families of the Reserves and Territorial forces called to the "colors."

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1917, explained that in peace allowances to soldiers' families are paid through the paymaster's department, but, he wrote:

> That was quite unsuited to the new problems which the outbreak of the war created. Thus we had a centralised under-staffed office attempting to make financial arrangements by correspondence with women who probably never had written a business letter in their lives. . . . Meanwhile many soldiers' families were in a condition of the utmost distress. The question of relief was urgent, and the organisers of the National Relief Fund turned to the soldiers' and sailors' families association as the only body in existence with *experience* in ministering to the needs of the families of our soldiers and sailors. But this association was only on a peace basis. As the arrears of payment accumulated, the muddle in the paymaster's department grew steadily worse. In this emergency, the War Office, which had usually looked upon all civilian efforts with jealousy or contempt, now adopted a very friendly attitude towards the soldiers' and sailors' families relief association. That organization, acting on behalf of the National Relief Fund, made advances to the women to enable them to carry on until the separation allowances came through. But the delays in the paymaster's department were so great that the burden of these advances began seriously to deplete the National Relief Fund. To meet this difficulty the War Office towards the end of 1914, agreed that the soldiers' and sailors' families association was also to act as the official agent of the War Office in making weekly loans to the soldiers' wives until their allowances were ready to be paid. Whereever such loans were made, the War Office undertook to recover the money

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[8] Minutes London county council, 1915, p. 489–90.

[9] Article on War Relief Agencies in *Charity Organization Review*, vol. 38, p. 281.

from the arrears of payment due to the women. In this way the same money was used again and again, and the great drain upon the National Relief Fund was checked. At the same time the women were protected from any inconvenience by the delays of paymasters.[10]

And so it appears that the only acute distress was actually brought on by the inadequacy of the government itself! It appears also that many of the divisions of the soldiers' and sailors' families association also undertook the distribution of other funds, "such as the royal patriotic fund, grants to widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers have been killed in the war, employers' grants to dependents of their employes, thrift funds, dental funds, coal and clothing funds and also the distribution of miscellaneous gifts. Some divisions have also kept an employment register."

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE STATUTORY COMMITTEE

The story of the administration of pensions and separation allowances has been told at some length in order that the protests registered by the local government authorities might be followed in all their bearings. Beginning in May of 1916, nearly six months after the authorization of the statutory committee, but before it had succeeded in forming many of its local committees, the *Municipal Journal* launched a campaign against the methods of the statutory committee and against the voluntary associations. For weeks the leading editorial comment was devoted to the pensions bill and to the pensions administration. The first protest came in an inoffensive little item headed, "War Pensions Administration":

> At Monday's meeting of the Shrewsbury town council resentment was expressed that the borough is not given a separate committee under the naval and military pensions act. By the scheme Shrewsbury is merged in the county, which treatment the mayor (Alderman Deakin) said was, for a town like Shrewsbury, with its own member, recorder and police, and with its old traditions monstrously unfair. . . . It was resolved . . . at once to take the matter up, to get for Shrewsbury its undoubted right to a separate committee under the act.

On June 2, 1916, the *Journal* quoted from the circular issued by the statutory committee urging that the existing local committees be appointed the sub-committees under the new order, explaining that thus "all their previous experience and existing knowledge of the individuals, as well as their papers, would be available." The *Municipal Journal* made the following comment on this action:

> The circular clearly contemplates the appointment of soldiers' and sailors' families committees for the purposes of the supplementary allowances during the time such allowances are given. We hope the local committees will not fall into the trap. The nation would resent the introduction of charity organization methods into the work of distributing

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[10] The Work of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1917.

> soldiers' and sailors' allowances. Supplementary grants should be made through public agencies, and not by private organizations and busybodies. This statutory committee will have to be carefully watched, and one of the best ways to curb its enthusiasm for unpopular methods of administration will be for Parliament to insist that copies of its circulars shall be sent to the newspapers.

More to the same effect on June 23 and a direct question to the Right Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P., who had defended the statutory committee as to "whether he thinks that local bodies with a direct responsibility to the public are not likely to prove more satisfactory administrators of such funds than outside voluntary organizations with methods of their own?" On June 23 there was published a record of objections from local councils that had not been allowed separate committees. On the 30th there was given an account of the conference of mayors convened by the lord mayor of Liverpool. The lord mayors and mayors, it seemed, were not disposed to make public appeals for voluntary subscriptions for war pensions. The *Journal* was convinced that soldiers' pensions should not be administered by "society ladies and sometimes good-natured busybodies."

The statutory committee, like its predecessor, the War Office, most unwillingly forced into the hands of the only organization with *experience* in dealing with soldiers' and sailors' families, was evidently worried by the criticism of the local government officials. At any rate the comittee sent for a representative of the *Municipal Journal,* and according to the *Journal,* "the notes that follow are notes of the interview, without any comment of ours:"

> With regard to the delay in the formation of committees, our representative was informed that the delay was not of the committee's own making. Delay had been caused by some county councils postponing from one quarterly meeting to another quarterly meeting their decision with regard to the constitution of committees. Delay has been caused also in like manner by labour organizations. As to local administrative expenses, the committee felt that Swansea corporation had set a very good example in voting £1,000 for this purpose, and it hoped that other local authorities would follow suit. The committee regarded it as not unreasonable that if the government found the money for the pensions and grants to beneficiaries, the expense of local administration should be locally provided.

On July 14 the *Journal* voiced a protest from two cities against being merged in the counties. Said the *Journal:*

> Both places have reputations for sound and efficient local government administration; both have sent thousands of men to the forces; both have contributed largely to the war funds; both are self-contained communities, with their own distinguishing characteristics.

Manchester, it seems, had made an estimate of administration expenses for nine months at £5,000, an amount, it may be assumed, never dreamed of by the original committees, and the *Journal* was strong in its condemnation of the government for trying to fasten these large sums upon the local communities.

On July 21 the *Journal* was still on the trail of the harassed statutory committee.

> The committee is now saying that the present, or proposed committees arrangements are only temporary. In six months' time, we are told, they can be overhauled. Separate committees may be appointed for London and elsewhere as soon as the period of transition is passed. We say advisedly that if the county and society interests represented by the soldiers' and sailors' families association and other bodies get hold of these funds for six months they will never relinquish that hold. The evil will have been wrought. War pensions will have assumed the guise of charitable doles, distributed by "county people"—squires, parsons and ladies who have done this kind of thing before and who know what it means for their class. This is the really insidious design that has got to be parried.

By July 28 the *Journal* was able to announce that

> The chancellor has been forced from the position he defended when the pensions bill was before Parliament—that the supplementary allowances must be found by the charitable public. The government then insisted that payments to soldiers and sailors "broke in our wars" must be calculated, like separation allowances, upon a flat rate. It was admitted that the amount paid would be too high in some cases, and too low in others, in relation to previous earnings, and that it would often be necessary to supplement the standardised War Office allowances. But the government insisted that the whole of the money disbursed upon these supplementary allowances should be voluntarily provided by the community, and the local committees were made responsible for collecting it. Controversy raged in both Houses of Parliament in regard to this question, and from first to last the Treasury stuck to its point—supplementary allowances must be provided out of voluntary contributions, not out of funds provided by the state. Thanks to municipal pressure, the government has now substantially receded from that position and it is clear . . . that it will not be necessary to appeal for voluntary contributions towards this national object.

On August 4 the *Journal* came out with the caption:

> *War Pensions Victory*
>
> Thanks to the energy and persistence which have been put into the movement by the lord mayor of Liverpool and his colleagues, the war pensions fight has been won so far as the main issues are concerned.

By the next week the *Journal* was not so sure that the fight had been won after all. The local committees might use funds raised or contributed for the purpose. Undaunted, however, the *Journal* asserted that the municipalities would continue hammering at this and other questions involved until they obtained a definite policy that reflected public opinion and removed war pensions from the "double taint of charity and society patronage."

By September 22 the *Journal* thought that

> The statutory committee should be abolished, lock, stock and barrel, and its place should be taken by a new pensions department, responsible for *all* war pensions and allowances, with a minister in Parliament.
>
> On Tuesday the local government board, the lord mayor of Liverpool's conference, and the Parliamentary pensions committee are going to meet in order to try and find a means of evading the statutory committee's regulations! Was there ever such an administrative farce? The statutory committee promulgates a certain regulation respecting the use of voluntary funds for pensions purposes, and that regulation is vigorously opposed in the House of Commons. The minister in charge refuses to withdraw the regulation, and even defends it, and a dead-lock is created. The chancellor of the exchequer thereupon suggests a conference "to find means of meeting both points of view."

The conference duly took place and on September 29 the *Journal* reported that the following resolution was passed:

> *Resolved,* That any borough or urban district with a population exceeding 20,000 be granted a local committee if the local authority so desires.

On October 6, the borough of Walsall voiced a demand, apparent for some time, "that there be a thorough co-ordination and centralization of the numerous authorities now dealing with war pensions, grants and allowances and a simplification of procedure."

But the *Journal* evidently did not trust too confidently that the fight was won, for on October 13 there were more arguments for local administration.

> The statutory committee's policy of working through the county areas and excluding the smaller boroughs and districts from effective participation in war pensions administration is a deadly blow against local government. . . . We hear on good authority that in certain of the northern counties the statutory committee has actually sent out lecturers as special pleaders for its anti-local government, pro-society system of administering war pensions.

THE MINISTRY OF PENSIONS

On November 3, according to the *Journal,* the Prime Minister's secretary announced in a letter to a local town clerk that

> It has been decided to appoint a pensions board with a cabinet minister at its head.

On November 8 it was announced in the House of Commons that Mr. Arthur Henderson, leader of the Labor party in the House of Commons, had been appointed minister of pensions. Mr. Henderson had on August 8 resigned his portfolio as president of the board of education in the British Cabinet, because, it was said, he had been strongly criticized in Parliament and by the newspapers.

But the campaign of the *Municipal Journal* to assert the claims of local government officials was seemingly swamped in the great national reorganization which culminated in the announcement on December 7 that Lloyd George with the co-operation of Bonar Law would form a coalition cabinet.

On December 8 the *Municipal Journal*, in discouragement, cried out:

> It is a piece of sheer bad luck that this reshuffling of political positions should take place at this moment—just as we had secured our pensions bill and our pensions minister. We cannot forget, too, that the government's handling of the pensions problem was one of the causes that contributed to the final disaster.

On December 10 it was announced that Mr. Arthur Henderson would be minister without portfolio and that Mr. George N. Barnes, a former spokesman for the statutory committee, would be minister of pensions.

THE NEW WAR PENSIONS BILL

For the first time in months the subject of pensions failed to appear on the first page of the *Municipal Journal*, but on February 10, 1917, the *Journal* began its discussions of the new war pensions bill, "to make provision with respect to the administrative expenses of the statutory committee and all local and district committees under the naval and military war pensions, etc., act of 1915; and for certain other purposes connected with pensions and allowances."

After long debate over the appropriation of expenses to be shared with the local committees, the *Journal*, on April 6, announced that the "war pensions bill was recommitted in order to enable Mr. Barnes to move an amendment increasing the contribution of the Treasury towards administrative expenses from one-half to two-thirds."

On May 4, 1917, the *Journal* recorded receipt of the first number of the *War Pensions Gazette*, issued from the office of the statutory committee and self-described as "a municipal journal for war pensions local committees, and for all interested in their work."

On May 11 the *Journal* quoted from the *War Pension Gazette* a paragraph showing the method of procedure which is significant as it evidently voices the policy of the present pension authorities.

> The first home visit is always made by an experienced worker. A careful, leisurely home visit is the soundest method of obtaining a solid and reliable basis for the case. The right sort of visitor gets an accurate impression of the home and the family, and even if it is not found possible to grant what is applied for a favorable impression is created, and the person is led to look upon the office of the local committee as a refuge in time of trouble.
>
> It frequently occurs that although the particular grant asked for cannot be made, yet the home visit discovers needs that may be met under some other regulation. The person visited is urged to call at the office if she should find herself in any kind of difficulty.

But the *Journal* made comment as follows:

> Procedure of this kind provides abundant opportunities for the exercise of social and political pressure, and those who are acquainted with county and rural conditions will realize at once the kind of influence that can be brought to bear by irresponsible and sometimes unscrupulous persons of the charity organization type.

The war pensions act received the royal assent late in May. By it any urban district with a population of 20,000 or over may have a separate committee on due application.

It was announced in June that the statutory committee would be dissolved. The ministry of pensions now has the field. but according to the *Municipal Journal* of July 6 the pensions minister "retains a sentimental feeling towards charitable organizations," as he proposes "to endow the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation with a quarter of a million sterling for the purpose of dealing with special cases."

In the face of opposition, however, Mr. Barnes substituted a proposal for a special grants committee of ten members, to be allocated half a million pounds.

THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION VIEW-POINT

In the *Charity Organization Review* for October, 1916, "a man who has been taking the heaviest burden of the work in one of the metropolitan boroughs" was quoted to the effect that,

> It would have made little difference if we had had borough council committees instead of sub-committees nominated by the county committee: the borough councils discovered in dispensing the National Relief Fund that people existed who could do this sort of work, and the best plan was to get them to do it; it is the same with this act [the war pensions act of 1915].

Editorially the *Review* commented on the attitude of the *Municipal Journal* to the following effect:

> The *Municipal Journal* and the *Local Government Gazette* continue to denounce the arrangement. To those who feel strongly upon the constitutional question of local government the arrangement appears as a defeat of the borough councils, and therefore either as a triumph or a disaster according to their sympathies. The constitutional question may well be a serious one. . . . It is not difficult to surmise what the motives of the statutory committee were in choosing the sub-committee arrangement and not the district committee one. They were surely two, (1) economy: the comparative working expenses of the soldiers' and sailors' families association of the National Relief Fund proved to demonstration which was the cheaper method, and, provided the work is done, every additional penny spent on administration is taken from the soldier or his widow, for it all comes from the same very limited source; (2) efficiency: it is no doubt true that had the metropolitan boroughs had the appointment of the committees they would in most cases have en-

deavored to get the benefit of the knowledge and experience acquired by the volunteers who had been doing the work, but at least there was the risk that they might not do so. . . . The sub-committees were to consist of representatives (1) of political interests, the borough and "labour"; (2) of persons versed in the work—members of societies already doing the work. It still remained for these sub-committees to delegate the actual work to persons familiar with it and competent to do it.

This plan has been successfully carried out all over London. A whip went round to the borough councils on the constitutional issue. A number of them refused at first to appoint their three representatives on the local sub-committee, but most of them have now done it, though a few are suspected of having selected them with a view of making the sub-committees sorry when they saw them. "Labour" has accepted the arrangement from the start, and some of its representatives have taken a leading part in trying to make it a success. The proviso for the representation of women, which might well have been necessary had the borough councils appointed the committees, has proved otiose since almost the whole of the work of the voluntary associations was being done by them. The statutory committee has already produced voluminous regulations, and more are promised. The local (county) committee is busy interpreting and the sub-committees in applying them.

A long story, this, but one that might be marked "continued in our next," and one which does not promise a happy ending. It is also a tale with a moral which does not need to be pointed out to the discriminating readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

It will be seen, however, that local government authorities have rendered yeoman's service to the government and the common cause of the war in actual action. The organized opposition to the government plan of civil relief and pension administration was undoubtedly carried on in a sincere belief in the high function of local government. In the light of the increased financial burden which the struggle has put upon the government, one could wish that the local government authorities had saved the energies which went into this Parliamentary fight for the really fine cooperation which they displayed in business matters. The point of view, it must be remembered, was an inheritance from times of peace and was primarily due to a failure to discriminate between administration based on friendly visiting and a business disbursement of funds. In short, social welfare administration has not yet become a recognized part of municipal government, either in England or America, nor can it become so until appointing officials and community electorates value social welfare training as they have come to value engineering and medical training for posts in engineering and public health departments. There is the more excuse for this, because social service is only in process of becoming standardized and may always depend to some extent on organized volunteer efforts rendered chiefly by women of education and ability who have been released from many of their domestic duties by the development of modern industry and the public education of their children.

THE PART OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN RAISING FUNDS

If the local governments may be accused of jealousy in the maintenance of their rights to disburse relief funds they have met the government call for aid in fine spirit. When the appeal was made for contributions to the Prince of Wales National Relief Fund, the civil officers and employes of most of the local government authorities met and unanimously decided to contribute some portion of their salaries, in amount varying from 1 to 10 per cent, with an average of 3 per cent. The employes of the Belfast Gas Works made it from 3 to 15 per cent a week on a graduated scale. Up to May, 1915, the officers and employes of Manchester had contributed some £21,000, though at that time, they expressed themselves as being somewhat grieved that they were "denied any share of representation on the distributing body, or any liberty to earmark any portion of their contributions for specific purposes." During the first six months of the war £44,000 was contributed by the officers of only 93 authorities. "In the case of a large northern city, when the total contributions of the city amounted to £80,000, £20,000 of that had been given by municipal officers and employes." In another town 43 per cent of the total contributions from the town were given from the municipal employes.

The reports and accounts of the far-away city of St. John in Canada disclosed a municipal contribution of $24,000 to the patriotic fund. Richmond and Sydney, Australia, collected funds, and in Africa, besides furnishing troops, it was recorded that "the people of Durban send congratulations and £13,000 collected in Natal for the dependents of men in the navy killed in action," that the council of Johannesburg voted £500 to the governor-general's fund and that Capetown was busy collecting relief funds. These are probably indicative of the activities in every city under the British flag. Undoubtedly, too, the cities did their share in helping to make the enormous gifts in kind that came from Canada which amounted to over a million bags of flour, four million pounds of cheese from the province of Quebec, 100,000 bushels of potatoes from New Brunswick, 25,000 cases of canned salmon from British Columbia. These came in the early days of the war and, at the suggestion of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the flour bags, marked "Canada's gift," were many of them sold for 5s. for Christmas gifts and a substantial sum was thus raised for the Belgian Relief and the National Relief funds.

From the beginning of the war the local authorities in nearly all of the cities were glad to suspend regulations or "cut red tape" in order to promote the raising of funds. In many of the municipal trams, boxes were placed for the collection of relief funds. Of more doubtful wisdom is the establishment of tramway lotteries in Glasgow, which is described in the *Municipal Journal* for April 27, 1917. By this scheme conductors are supplied with special tickets, resembling ordinary tram tickets, and these are sold at a penny each. The prizes amount to over £200 a week. Prizes are given to the conductors who sell the winning tickets. At that time it was reported that during the past month £5,752 had been realized, of which £4,399 had been given to war charities. It is not clear whether the above amount is net or gross, but even if it is gross it means that nearly a million and a half pennies (2 cents) were spent in Glasgow in one month, many, doubtless, by persons who could ill-afford even that expenditure, but who were lured on by the hope of drawing a prize.

In June when information of the scheme came to the House of Commons, great surprise was expressed. The lord-advocate expressed the opinion that the lottery was illegal and up to June 8 had refused to reconsider his decision or to receive a deputation which desired to urge an extension of the art union act of 1846 which allows certain associations to distribute works of art by lot or to offer money prizes for the purchase of works of art.[11]

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR CIVIC ACTIVITIES DURING WAR TIMES

BY BESSIE LEACH PRIDDY

Ypsilanti, Michigan

THE evolution of social institutions is always a fascinating study. The change in the viewpoint of women's organizations within a generation has been remarkable. Women's clubs started as efforts for individual culture, but they soon received the baptism of the twentieth century spirit of service.

It is a very natural thing that woman's interest in public affairs tends to center in local problems. From domestic house-keeping and house-cleaning to Municipal house-keeping and house-cleaning is not a far cry. The welfare of a woman's household and municipal problems have a most intimate connection.

Women's efforts for the betterment of municipal conditions were at first somewhat timorous, fragmentary and tentative. Sanitation, beauty and morality appealed to woman, but she felt her restrictions in finance and influence. She discreetly began by attempting small things. Clean-up campaigns, shrubbery planting on public grounds, removal of some specific nuisances and simple health ordinances were at first attempted. With experience women began working for large things, for parks, bridges, public comfort stations, hospitals, fire-prevention, sewer and water systems, play grounds, clean amusements and elimination of licensed vice. As soon as the larger projects were undertaken, they began to have opinions on systems of city government, they learned of community surveys and city planning and they found that even state legislation and state administration were involved in the problems of civic conditions.

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[11] *Municipal Journal*, June 1 and 8, 1917, pp. 518 and 542.

The woman's club movement was waking wonderfully to the opportunity for civic service when the war crisis came. The message that our nation had plunged into the maelstrom of the world war came while the council of the general federation of women's clubs was in session at New Orleans. For a moment all was consternation. Duty was the watchward of every heart, patriotic service the desire on every tongue. Back of each eager offer was the aching heart of the woman whose son or brother or husband was of military age. At first there was an impulse to put all else but preparation for war away, to treat former interests as undone by the emergency of the present. Gradually, however, vision cleared. It was soon perceived that the present emergency had not destroyed, but had intensified all civic and social problems. The realization came that patriotic service can only be rendered by efficient, co-operating, healthful communities, that war duties add to, instead of obliterating civic responsibility. Before the council adjourned, it was voted that each department of the club organization should devote itself first to the special war service to which its machinery was best suited and that it should answer to the fullest possible extent all requests of the nation for patriotic effort, but that it should also continue in its accustomed lines of work in the field of civic and social betterment. Consequently each individual club woman will be found signing the conservation pledge, working with the Red Cross or aiding in patriotic league work and each club as an organization will co-operate in all possible community war service, its committees assisting in the sale of Liberty bonds, in garden movements, in Americanization campaigns, in the care of soldiers' dependents, or in the guarding of the moral conditions surrounding the soldiers' camps. These special services will take precedence of all other interests, but as before, many projects for civic and social betterment will receive earnest attention, perhaps increased attention because the women fully realize that the responsibilities of good citizenship have increased in war and that after war will come peace and reconstruction.

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON SCHOOLS

BY DR. P. P. CLAXTON[1]
Washington, D. C.

IT IS quite impossible to say just what effect our entrance into the war will have on schools either in city or country next year. It is more easy to say what the effect should be.

There should be no lowering of the efficiency of any of our schools of whatever grade, and everything possible should be done to increase their

[1] Federal commissioner of education.

efficiency and to extend their service. The work of education in the schools is chiefly for the future. When the war is over there will for many reasons be need in this country for a much higher standard of universal intelligence and civic and social virtue than we have ever yet had. Our industrial, social, civic and political life will demand it; and for men and women equipped with the scientific knowledge and technical skill of the colleges, universities and technical schools there will be demands in excess of the ability of all these schools to supply even if they should run at their full capacity. Therefore, appropriations for schools should be increased. Competent teachers should be employed for all the legitimate work of the schools. Salary schedules should be maintained. There should be a closer and more intelligent co-operation between the school and the home. Attendance in high schools and industrial and extension schools should be largely increased. In most cities the high school year should be made to consist of four terms of twelve weeks each, a total of forty-eight weeks, and an understanding should be worked out between the schools on the one side and industries and society on the other, by which all boys and girls for whom it may be necessary—the more the better—may attend school half the time and work the other half at some suitable productive wage-earning occupation. The way for this has already been shown, on a small scale at least, in several cities and towns. With this should come a reorganization of the schools on the basis of six years of elementary school and six years of high school, and a readjustment and enrichment of courses of study to meet the new conditions of modern life. This should include more of vocational education and better preparation for the duties of citizenship.

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT

BY CHARLES CARROLL BROWN[1]

Indianapolis

MUNICIPAL improvements, with which I am most familiar, are interfered with, at least temporarily, by two things.

First: The higher cost of improvements. There is a feeling that this is a temporary condition, at least as far as the excess in cost of materials is concerned, and therefore there is a tendency to actually begin the construction of as little work as possible. Some projects are brought to the point of letting, even to the point of receiving bids, and are then held up until more favorable prices come, when bids can again be called for. Some specially necessary improvements are carried through and in a few cases the people who pay the bills are progressive enough and recognize clearly enough the necessity for high prices for a good while in the future to go ahead with the work. This is of course more evident in the case of boards who control lettings and are not directly governed by the ideas of the taxpayers or property owners who pay the bills. Except for the temporary conditions of prices referred to, I believe that it is not good policy to hold up improvements for lower prices. They are not coming soon and the work will all come at once a little later and be much harder to carry.

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[1] Secretary, American Society of Municipal Improvements.

Second: The higher cost of money. As long as Liberty bonds can be bought at 3½ per cent with a chance of exchanging them for similar bonds at a higher rate, the bonds of improvement districts will not sell readily even at 4 or 4½ per cent, though in states where they are non-taxable and there is plenty of local money to absorb them there is some sale at these rates. The fact remains, however, that cities and municipalities generally must make up their minds to pay higher rates of interest for borrowed money, whether raised on the municipality's bonds or on bonds or certificates having the property assessed as security. A common rate for improvement bonds on the property benefited is 6 per cent and these bonds will probably not be interfered with immediately except that the market for them will be limited somewhat by the other demands for money.

There is plenty of money, and if the governmental financing is carried on in such way as not to concentrate it in places or times there will be enough for reasonable calls for money for public improvements.

The conclusion is that public improvements will go on at a reduced rate as rapidly as officials and the public awake to the necessities of paying higher prices for them and for the money to pay for them.

WAR AND PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS

BY A. PRESCOTT FOLWELL
Editor of the Municipal Journal

THE effect of the war upon public improvements is difficult to estimate as yet, but indications are that it will not be so great as many at first thought would be the case. The price of materials used and of labor has advanced considerably, but it does not seem probable that, for the present at least, there will be any further advance. The cost of cast iron pipe is now several times what it was before the war and it can hardly be expected that cities will lay any more water mains of this material than are required for the health and immediate well-being of the city. In spite of this, however, a number of cities have found that war industries have occasioned an increase in their population and in area covered which requires extension of the water mains, and the purchase of cast iron pipe has by no means been entirely discontinued.

The largest sums spent of recent years on any class of public works are those devoted to the extending and improving of streets and roads. The state highway commissioner of Pennsylvania has estimated that the cost of road construction in that state will be about 20 per cent higher this year than it was last, and this estimate seems to be confirmed by an examination of the costs of the several materials entering into the construction and of labor employed thereon. Concrete in general has advanced about 20 per cent in cost. Bituminous materials used in road work have not generally increased by as great a percentage; and, generally speaking, I believe it may be said that the cost of paving work this year will be less than 25 per cent greater than in 1916.

While this increase in cost is by no means insignificant, it is no greater than the advance along practically every other line, including those of the wages and incomes of the taxpayers. There undoubtedly have been a number of cases of postponement or abandonment of public work which had been proposed for this year; but on the other hand it appears that some has been done which had not been intended but which has been made necessary by war activities. The *Municipal Journal* collects daily, through its clipping bureau, notices of public work in all sections of the country, and it is significant that the number of such notices that it has found in the daily papers has been greater during the first six months of 1917 than during the corresponding period of 1916.

One feature that should not be overlooked is the considerable increase in the use of mechanical appliances as a substitute for labor. There have apparently been three principal inducements to this substitution: (1) The fact that labor has been scarce and that, if the work is to be done at all, some appliances must be employed which will permit it to be done with a less amount of hand labor. (2) The fact that the higher price of labor renders economical the use of machinery which might not have been so when wages were lower. (3) The fact that there is less opposition by politicians to the use by cities of machinery which displaces voters on the public works, for the reason that most of the voters who would be employed on such work have no difficulty in finding other work at very satisfactory wages. The result will undoubtedly be that by the end of this season the advantages of the use of labor-saving machinery will have been made known to many contractors who have not heretofore considered adopting these more modern appliances, and that in the future their plans for public work and their bids for the same will be modified by the knowledge so gained. It is therefore quite possible that bids next year will be lower than they were this, provided prices for materials do not advance materially.

In addition to the above influences, there has undoubtedly been an appreciable result from the campaign directed to keeping going as intensively as possible all business enterprises of all kinds which do not interfere with the preparations for war, on the basis that a continuance of prosperity in all lines is necessary for the financing of the war and its successful prosecution. The hysteria and uncertainty which were natural at first have, I believe, been largely dissipated, and I anticipate that from now on we will find public work of all kinds continuing very much as usual so far as amount is concerned, but carried on by methods calculated to secure greater economy and efficiency and to prevent any material increase in cost over that obtaining at the present time.

THE PITTSBURGH CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

BY KARL DE SCHWEINITZ
New York City

The decrease in expenditure for educational work, the withdrawal of doctors and nurses from ordinary public health service, and of social workers from their ordinary tasks, the abnormal demands for food and munitions, the temptations of training camps, the exposures and irregularities of life at the front, supply all the material that is needed to prove that the very measures which we have advocated are indeed indispensable.

THIS sentence, taken from a report upon the social problems of the war delivered by Edward T. Devine at the National Conference of Charities and Correction (now the National Conference of Social Work), might be said to summarize the conclusions reached by the 4,300 social workers who met in Pittsburgh, June 6 to 13.

The burden of all the discussions was that the war was a large scale illustration of the importance of social work. It was agreed that such industrial standards as the eight-hour day, the six-day week, no night work for women must be maintained and extended and that national prohibition must be adopted, certainly for the period of the war, and permanently if possible.

THE NEGRO MIGRATION

Reports made about the migration of negroes from the south showed that this was perhaps the greatest of all the social problems which have developed in this country as byproducts of the war.

"The movement and settlement of negroes in Northern cities is not a temporary migration, but a movement likely to continue for an indefinite period," was the opinion of Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes. He, with other speakers, regarded the migration, despite all the problems it is bringing with it, as a step toward a better place for the negro in the life of the nation. Professor George W. Cook, of Howard University, compared the present movement with the one in 1862. The former migration he described as one of poverty, but he declared that now of the hundreds of southern negroes whom he had interviewed at Washington on their way north, he had not found one who needed financial assistance.

No one underestimated the difficulties which this movement of negroes is causing. On the other hand the work which is being done in many cities by negroes and interested white people to meet the newcomers and to find homes and jobs for them is most encouraging.

In Detroit in six months 1,000 negroes were placed in skilled occupations by the local branch of the National Urban League, and 1,500 in unskilled employment. "Only by the development of industrial efficiency, individually and collectively," said Forrester B. Washington, secretary of the league, "can we convince the captains of industry that the negro will be just as much a necessity to production after the war as now."

In pursuance of this idea the league has been holding meetings in the various factories of the city during the noon hour, at which the importance of punctuality, efficiency, ambition, and steady hard work has been emphasized. Effort is also being made to place the negroes in as wide a variety of occupations as possible so that after the war there will be greater opportunity for employment and less chance that the negro will be restricted to any one field of industry. The league has also been active in providing houses for the migrants and in developing recreational opportunities for them. Reports from other cities showed that while the work in Detroit was perhaps more extensive than that done in many cities it was typical of the way in which the problem of negro migration is being met in many parts of the country.

INCREASE IN ILLEGITIMACY RATE

Another byproduct of the war feared by many of the social workers is an increase in the illegitimacy rate. J. Prentice Murphy, general secretary of the children's aid society of Boston warned the members of the conference against being stampeded into an hysterical movement for the establishment of large congregate maternity homes.

"I hope," he said, "that the progressive institutions giving maternity care to unmarried mothers will provide for many of these women by placing them in well selected families. Is it not wrong for us to group too many mothers together just because they happen to be the mothers of illegitimate children? In only too many instances maternity homes will mean the pooling and over-emphasis of the experiences which have brought the girls there."

It is significant that during the great war that is being fought for democracy the conference should have changed its name from National Conference of Charities and Correction to National Conference of Social Work. For forty-four years the conference had been growing away from the old idea that charity was something given to people and into the newer idea that social work is designed to train people to take their part in democratic life and government. Indeed one of the most interesting things about the conference was the variety of ways shown in which the effort to develop leaders and to organize democracy is being made.

COMMUNITY CENTERS

It was from this point of view that John Collier, of the people's institute, New York, described the manner in which community centers are being established in school buildings, libraries, and park buildings. The community centers, Mr. Collier said, are giving the people of city neighborhoods an interest in government and an ability to share therein. "In the community center," he explained, "the organized common people pay the bills and make the policies. The community center is a tenant of the city and depends for its success on the expertness which can be had only through co-operating with government and with organized social service."

Similarly James Ford, assistant professor of social ethics at Harvard, argued in favor of co-operative unions because they would teach labor big business. At present labor loses many potential leaders because as they develop executive and business ability they are graduated into the capitalist classes. He declared that it was most significant that the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist party should be considering the question of co-operative unions.

"The co-operative union," said Professor Ford, "discovers what Professor Marshall calls 'our greatest waste product,' namely, the latent abilities of workingmen and utilizes those latent abilities not only in the fields of business and citizenship but throughout the whole range of social conduct. It not only increases the income of individual members but creates a collective capital which can be used on occasion to free the working classes from any form of exploitation."

CO-OPERATIVE GROCERIES

Professor Ford added that no form of co-operation is so little needed as the co-operative grocery stores. The grocery business is highly competitive and prices are kept low. He suggested co-operation in the plowing and planting of vacant suburban lands, in buying fertilizer and tools, in the canning and evaporating of food products and in recreational enterprises.

THE SCHOOL MANSE

In the meetings devoted to rural work the discussion turned largely to ways of developing rural community leadership and of enabling the farmer to take part in government. Professor Arthur J. Todd, of the

University of Minnesota, emphasized the importance of extending the school center idea to the country. He cited the school "manse" as a means of holding the teacher to a longer term of residence and thereby making it possible for him to become a social factor.

"Most rural teachers," he said, "are paid simply for the school term and never return a second year to the same community. Their average residence is less than two years of 140 days each. Why by contrast are 83 per cent of Swiss teachers permanent? Largely, it seems, because they are employed the year round, and are provided with homes and other inducements to strike root. The teacher's home or school manse idea is spreading rapidly not only abroad but also in the United States. North Dakota, for example, has over a score; Washington had 108 last year. In Hawaii one third of the schools have such cottages built at public expense.

"House the teacher at least as decently as a good Holstein cow, engage him by the year, allow him vacations on pay, give him land for his own use and as a demonstration garden, utilize him during the summer for social center meetings, institutes, surveys, pay him a living wage and he will cease to be a casual migrant. Where these things have been done the teachers' cottages become not only homes for new solid members of the community, but also genuine community centers in the fullest sense of the word."

ONE SOCIAL UNIT ORGANIZATION

One of the most interesting experiments described at the conference was that of the National Social Unit Organization. This organization has selected a district of Cincinnati as a laboratory for achieving real democracy by enabling the rank and file of the people to obtain a clear idea of their needs and of how to meet them. The wellbeing of the children of the district has been taken as the starting point. In order to safeguard their health a citizens' council has been established in each block with a woman as organizer. She visits not merely the mothers of the poor but all mothers with small children. Wilbur C. Phillips, executive secretary of the Social Unit Organization, showed how as the citizens' council followed the ramifications involved in securing health for 100 per cent of the children of the block it would find itself touching government from a score of different angles. Thus the local citizenship would be organized for democracy.

Many other illustrations might be cited of the different ways in which this theme of training people for democracy showed itself. Aside from the fact of the change of name the Pittsburgh meeting of the National Conference marks a notable advance toward the democratization of social work.

RECENT FINANCIAL LEGISLATION IN NEW JERSEY[1]

BY RALPH E. GEORGE
Whitman College

IN the last two years, the legislature of New Jersey has passed a series of laws regulating the management of municipal finances which make possible a marked advance in the financial administration of the cities of that state. This legislation was initiated and supported by the commission for the survey of municipal financing, appointed by the speaker of the house of assembly. Perhaps the commission is more commonly known as the Pierson commission, in honor of its energetic chairman, the Hon. Arthur N. Pierson. Under his leadership, the 1916 legislature passed a law regulating the management of debts; while the 1917 legislature added to this several statutes regulating floating debt, the payment of permanent debt, the form and procedure of budget legislation, and also established the state department of municipal accounts.

This legislation falls roughly into four parts: That concerned with the management of city debt, that establishing a budget system; that determining the procedure for the attainment of uniform accounts and reports, and provision for the enforcement of the other regulations imposed. Under these heads the laws passed by the 1916 and 1917 legislature will be briefly described.

MUNICIPAL INDEBTEDNESS

Legislation with regard to municipal indebtedness is of interest in all states at the present time, since there is probably no branch of municipal finance so mishandled. New Jersey cities have erred in common with other cities. As a result of its investigations, the commission in 1916 made the following report:

> The survey has revealed that many of the municipalities and counties have not been meeting the cost of the conduct of their affairs out of the revenues applicable to current year. There have been employed a multitude of schemes and expedients to conceal such unbusinesslike practices, too numerous and too complicated to recite in this report. This has brought to many communities floating debts which have been periodically funded into long term bonds, and the process repeated in some instances by refunding floating debt bonds. It is evident that these practices have been employed for the most part to avoid an increase in tax rate. Such a policy is too dangerous to be further sanctioned by the statutes.

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[1] This summary of the recent New Jersey legislation is based upon Laws of New Jersey, 1916, 1917, particularly chapter 252 of the Laws of 1916, and chapters 110, 192, 155, 212, 154, and 155 of the Laws of 1917. Additional information of interest is contained in the reports of the commission for the survey of municipal financing for 1916 and 1917.

Your commission earnestly contends that all expenditures for the maintenance, upkeep and repair of all departments of municipal activities should be met by current revenues. This is the pay as you go policy.

The floating indebtedness now present in any municipality, which is not supported by corresponding live and dependable assets, should be immediately refunded, that this overshadowing burden may not complicate nor hinder the proper financing of future municipal needs.

The adoption of a more businesslike system is now required by the legislation of 1916 which limits the term of bonds to the life of the improvement, prohibits refunding of bonds, specifies the purposes for which the debt may be incurred, requires the use of installment bonds, sets a limit beyond which debts may not go, governs the method of selling bonds, and prescribes the method of raising money in anticipation of tax revenues and in cases of emergency.

In the first place, bonds can not be issued for a period longer than the life of the improvement and this requirement is made specific by the insertion in the law of limits beyond which bonds issued for different purposes may not run, as follows:

Acquisition, construction, and reconstruction of sewer systems	40 years
“ “ “ “ “ gas “	40 “
“ “ “ “ “ water supply systems	30 “
“ “ “ “ “ electric light “	20 “
“ “ “ “ “ crematory plants	10 “
Acquiring public parks	50 “
“ playgrounds	30 “
“ other lands	40 “
“ buildings	
frame	20 “
nonfireproof	30 “
fireproof	40 “
Construction or reconstruction of bridges, stone, iron or cement	30 “
“ “ “ “ streets	
Land and gravel	5 “
Water bound macadam	10 “
Bituminous concrete	15 “
Asphalt	20 “
Concrete six inches thick	30 “
Construction of curbs, sidewalks, gutters	10 “
Installation municipal telephones, police and fire alarms, etc.	30 “
Purchase of vehicles	10 “
Land for cemeteries	30 “
Construction of sewer, water, and gas connection to property line	55 “
Elimination of grade crossings	50 “
Equipment, etc., not included above	10 “

That the debts incurred for the above purpose may not overrun the allotted time, is secured by the provisions that such bonds can not be refunded and that all these bonds must be in serial form. The serial form of a bond is required by the following provision:

> All bonds hereafter issued by any such municipality shall mature in annual installments commencing not more than two years from their date, and no installment shall be more than fifty per centum in excess of the amount of the smallest prior installment.

Yet another limitation imposed upon municipal debts is the provision that the net debts may not exceed seven per cent of the assessed value average for the three preceding years with certain special exceptions which might raise the limit to nine per cent. The net debt is defined in the law in detailed form, but roughly the method for computing the legally permissible debt is as follows: In the first place the gross debt is secured by adding the bonded debt, special assessment issues, utility, schools, parks,[2] and the other obligations; from the sum of these classes of debt to find the net debt the following are dedicated: special assessments levied and uncollected, special assessments to be collected and applied to present debt, debt not over three per cent of the assessed valuation where this debt has been incurred for utilities which are paying the interest and redeeming the principal from current revenues, debts incurred for water supply systems, funds and sinking funds, taxes levied for the retirement of the debt, unpaid taxes for the last three years, debts incurred for protection from the seas, and amounts otherwise due the city. This definition would seem to be more elastic and at the same time more easily understood and applied than the regulations now used in many states.

CHANGE IN THE METHODS OF SELLING BONDS

In the new laws an interesting change is made in the method of selling bonds. At present most cities sell their bonds at a considerable premium and thus often more money is received than is actually needed. This premium is generally used to pay current bills instead of being retained for the ultimate liquidation of the loan. In order to prevent the cities from securing money in this fashion for current expenses, the New Jersey legislation provides that the municipality shall determine what money it needs and what kinds of bonds it will issue and that it shall then call for bids, awarding the bonds to the bidder who will offer to take the least number of bonds in return for the money advanced. In this way practically no premium exists and the city gets exactly what money it needs.

SHORT TERM LOANS

The regulations so far given apply only to long time loans, but nearly every city borrows money occasionally for short time periods only. Of this class of loans the anticipation of taxes is probably the most common example, since taxes are not usually paid until well on in the local fiscal year and since the city must raise funds at the beginning of the year to meet the current expenses. The New Jersey statutes provide that the cities may borrow up to 95 per cent of the taxes voted in the budget. In case these taxes are not paid promptly, tax revenue notes can be issued to the amount of delinquent taxes. But here again, provision is made that these shall not be permanent charges, for all tax revenue notes unpaid at the end of three years must be raised in the tax levy of the fourth year.

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[2] If these debts are incurred by other political bodies, such for example, as the county, they are counted only for that governmental unit, not for the city.—R. E. G.

Yet another short-period debt is provided for in the case of emergency notes, which can be issued only upon vote of two-thirds of the local legislative body. Such notes, however, must be included in the next tax unless inclusion would raise the tax rate by more than one-third of one mill, when the sum needed to retire them can be raised in annual installments of not less than one-third mill.

The provisions for future debt management thus cover two classes of debt: long time and temporary. The first class is restricted as to purpose and as to time, it must be paid in annual installments, and it must be sold in such a way that no substantial premium can be secured for current use. The tax revenue notes issued in anticipation of delinquent taxes can under no circumstances run longer than three years, while the emergency notes must be paid off at the rate of at least one-third mill tax per year. In these regulations little opportunity apparently exists for the development of large debts representing vanished values.

TRANSITION FROM OLD TO NEW SYSTEM

The provisions so far considered deal only with the future debt management of the cities and leave untouched the very difficult problem of making the transition from the old method, or lack of method, to the new system. In connection with the latter problem, some of the greatest obstacles to reform are to be found, but the New Jersey legislature has provided a fairly easy method of making the change, in the case both of the bonded debt and of the floating debt. In the first place, the present bonded debt must be retired gradually by means of the sinking fund, which must be maintained on an interest basis of three and one-half, per cent, that is, the money annually turned over to the sinking fund must be sufficient when invested at three and one-half per cent to meet the bonds in full at maturity. If, however, the sinking funds earns more in any one year than the rate of interest specified, the excess earnings may be deducted from the amount paid the sinking fund from the tax rate during the following year. Moreover, where there is at present a deficit in the sinking fund, a somewhat common condition, this shortage must be made up by a levy of at least one-fifth of a mill tax per year.

In addition to these requirements for repaying the funded debt, careful provisions have been adopted for the retirement of the floating debt. Two classes of floating debt have been considered by the legislature: obligations representing money advanced to the cities on account of delinquent taxes, and general floating debt. The cities are required to refund all delinquent taxes by means of the following classes of debt: tax revenue notes of 1916, representing that year's delinquent taxes, which notes must be redeemed in 1919, tax revenue notes of 1915, to be paid by 1918, and tax revenue notes of 1914, to be paid in 1917. In case it is discovered by the time these notes are due that the taxes represented have been remitted or for other reasons are uncollectible, the deficiency must be paid in five equal installments from the tax levy.

So far as other floating debt is concerned bonds or notes must be issued to redeem the same, such bonds to be payable in equal annual installments, each of which can not be less than one-fifth of one mill tax, to run not longer than 20 years. In these ways, the transition from the old to the new method is rendered relatively easy both for permanent and short time debts, spread out as it is over a considerable period of time, and should not cause the cities any great hardships.

THE BUDGET

The second general feature of the municipal finances covered by this series of laws is the budget. Here the commission recommended and the legislature permitted a choice by the city between the department and the segregated budget, on the ground that the former where feasible allowed greater administrative efficiency. In the words of the commission:

> The object sought in the budget law is to have the definite program of administration clearly set forth, both as to sources of revenue and purposes of expenditure, giving the taxpayers opportunity for analyzing and discussing the budget provisions prior to its adoption and operation.

To secure these ends, a uniform plan is adopted, requiring the approval of the budget by the 25th day of the fiscal year and its final adoption by the 40th day, providing for public hearings on the budget prior to its approval and adoption, prohibiting changes from this budget of more than 10 per cent on any item unless a new public hearing is first held, and specifying what shall be included in the budget proposals. With regard to the latter specifications, the budget must include statements of total anticipated revenues, of total expenditures according to purposes, compared with the same items for previous years, of the surplus in the surplus revenue account, and of the amount which must be raised by taxation. Changes in the appropriations after adoption may not vary more than 10 per cent on any item, or more than five per cent of the total appropriation, nor may the amount set aside for contingent expenses exceed three per cent of the total. These requirements are slightly modified by the permission to make transfers in the last two weeks of the year upon vote of the governing body.

An interesting part of this law is the provision of a surplus revenue account, which can be used for financing purposes, thus avoiding the periodical loans needed by so many cities before the taxes are paid. To this surplus revenue account must be carried all unexpended balances. If there develops any shortage in the municipal receipts, the city can borrow from this account but no appropriation can be made from it after the budget has been adopted. (It may serve as a basis for appropriations, however, prior to passage of the budget.)

DEPARTMENT OF MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTS

The third and fourth objects of this legislation, namely, the attainment of uniform municipal accounts and provision for enforcement of the acts already outlined are largely secured through the establishment of a new state administrative body, the department of municipal accounts. A commissioner of municipal accounts is to be appointed by the state treasurer, to receive a salary of $3,600 per annum. While he is given power to require the adoption of uniform accounting and reporting and to enforce all state laws dealing with local finances his main duties are apparently concerned with the enforcement of debt legislation. He is given power to determine the adequacy of the municipal sinking funds and to require the levy of additional taxes to make good any deficiency in these funds. To make this power effective he must through his staff audit the accounts of the various sinking funds and he receives annual reports from cities of all debt transactions in accordance with forms he prescribes. Not only does he have control over all sinking funds, but he is charged with the supervision of the procedure for any incurrence of debt, determining whether the debts can or can not be legally incurred.

In summary, this series of laws may be said to embody many of the most successful features of sound municipal financing. For the solution of the troublesome debt problem, the legislature has practically adopted the view that the most important need is the assurance that the debts will be paid within the lifetime of the improvements to pay for which they were issued. More emphasis is placed upon repayment than upon the amount of the debt. Then, New Jersey has worked out a fairly easy method of making the change to the new system, since while the old debts must be paid off, ample time is allowed the cities to do this without seriously disarranging their financial plans.

The budget legislation is fortunate in that it insures the fundamental essentials of a definite yearly program, of ample publicity and of fairly good means for insuring that the plan will be carried out in practice, at the same time that it leaves the cities free to adopt the type of budget best suited to their various conditions and management. By this series of laws, furthermore, New Jersey has joined the group of states which believe in uniform accounting, at least uniform reporting, methods and has organized a state department to assure the success of this feature of the legislation. The power of the commissioner of municipal accounts, while adequate, so far as the law is concerned, can not prove very offensive to city officials since the latter are not limited greatly in the determination of policy so long as the sound financial methods prescribed are followed.

Finally, the provisions that bonds shall be sold on what is practically an interest basis and the establishment of surplus revenue account for financing purposes are distinct advances. The execution of these laws deserves the closest attention by students of municipal finance and by city officials throughout the country. Not so rigid and far-reaching as some state legislation, the New Jersey laws are designed to attain the end of good municipal financing without impairing the essential powers of the cities.

EFFICIENCY IN STATE SCHOOL SYSTEMS

BY WILFORD E. TALBERT[1]
San Francisco

THE world war, the high cost of living, the general improvements in methods of conducting private business—these and many other factors have led to a recent widespread interest in the matter of efficiency and economy in the administration of public affairs, and particularly in the management of the public schools which are responsible for approximately one-third of all governmental costs.

THE MEANING OF EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY

In the sense in which we shall use it in this article, efficiency simply means "the one best way of doing things." It implies the application of scientific methods to the solution of administrative problems, the substitution of facts for mere popular opinions or prevailing traditions, the discarding of "main strength and awkwardness" for intelligent and well-directed activity, and the elimination of whatever of time, or effort, or expense, or misery may be found to be unnecessary.

Economy, too, is subject to so many different interpretations that it may be well to state our own definition at the outset. By economy we do not mean subtraction, but we do mean the elimination of unnecessary waste. True economy makes for efficiency; false or "poor" economy does not. Efficiency always promotes true economy.

THE SCHOOL PROBLEM STATED

The public schools now call for approximately one-third of all governmental revenues, and statistics show that, despite the enlargement of other governmental functions, the cost of education still continues to advance more rapidly than that of other departments. In California, the cost of the lower schools has doubled every seven years since 1900. *This means that by 1931 the schools will cost four times what they do now!*

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[1] Assistant in charge, bureau of educational investigation, taxpayers' association of California; consulting director of the department of reference and research in the Oakland schools for three years in active charge.

With the wholesale destruction of life and property which has been going on in the world for the past three years, and which promises to continue for as much longer, it is hard to see how the material wealth of the country will warrant the continued setting aside of larger and larger proportions of the revenues of any state for the promotion of a more or less non-productive enterprise such as the public schools of to-day are thought by some to be.

On the other hand, when we study the causes of increasing school costs, we are compelled to admit that all of the *chief* causes, at least, are justified, and if we honestly face the present needs of the schools we are forced to the conclusion that it is not desirable to try to avoid the difficulty by merely limiting the expenditures.

Hence, the school problem, briefly stated, is, "*How shall we maintain the schools at their present, or better than present, efficiency without unduly increasing present expenditures?*

In facing this problem fairly and squarely, there are two main premises upon which to work.

In the first place, we must know all of the conditions involved. This implies the making of a survey.

In the second place, we must attack the things about the school system which are *fundamentally* wrong. This implies emphasis upon the *cause* of existing evils rather than upon the evils themselves.

HISTORY OF SCHOOL SURVEYS

The school survey as a guide to the intelligent solution of school problems is a comparatively recent development in the administration of public affairs. Perhaps the earliest notable fore-runners of the present movement were the investigations ordered in Chicago in 1897 and in Cleveland in 1906. In each case a special commission of experts was appointed to study the needs of the schools and their reports were given the widest publicity.

Following these two isolated cases, a long list of cities have ordered investigations of one sort or another, the number increasing so rapidly that it is no longer possible to keep track of all of them. The most notable of these surveys were conducted in the following cities: Boise, Idaho (1910), the first of the more recent surveys; Baltimore (1911), the first of a long list of surveys by the United States Bureau of Education; New York City (begun 1911), the most expensive survey; Portland, Oregon (1913), whose report has since become a popular university text-book on school administration; Richmond (1914), the first of the comprehensive surveys of the society for the promotion of industrial education; Chicago (1914), an extensive auto-survey; Salt Lake City (1915), noted for its scientific study of educational products; and Cleveland (1915) whose unique form and methods of publication have attracted wide attention.[2]

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[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. vi, page 407.

The school survey movement has not been confined to cities. In 1905, the legislature of Massachusetts appointed a commission of nine members to study for the entire state the need for vocational training, how far this need was met by the existing school system, and what new steps ought to be taken. Since that time a large number of states each year have resorted to similar methods of solving important school problems.

EARLY STATE SCHOOL SURVEYS

Among the earliest state school surveys were those made of typical counties in various states by the board of home missions of the Presbyterian church. In general, they resulted in recommendations for the adoption of the county unit of school administration; better supervision of rural schools; more attention to agriculture, manual arts, home economics, music, and drawing; and the consolidation of small schools.

Most of the other early state surveys and many of the more recent surveys dealt only with limited portions of the state school problem. For example, we might cite the study of secondary schools in Vermont (1912) where it was recommended that the whole secondary school system be completely reorganized along the lines of the better high schools of other states; a study of rural schools in Wisconsin (1912), in which it was recommended that expenditures be better controlled, that better supervision be provided by both state and county, that the course of study be enriched and made more practical, and that wider publicity be given school facts; Upper Peninsula, Michigan (1913) in which were suggested higher standards for teachers, elimination of non-essentials from the curriculum, and wider use of the school plant; Orange County, Virginia (1913); four counties, Georgia (1914); three counties, Alabama (1914); five counties, Texas (1914); and San Mateo County, California (1914) in all of which similar recommendations were made.

Still more recently, and largely through the influence of the federal Bureau of Education, another type of partial state survey has come into prominence, namely, the survey of higher educational institutions. In 1915 the University of Oregon was surveyed; in 1916, the State University, the State College, and the State Teachers' College of Iowa; and, in the same year, the university, college, and normal schools of the state of Washington, and the higher educational institutions of North Dakota. In all of these surveys, which have been largely made under the immediate direction of Dr. Samuel P. Capen, specialist in higher education for the United States bureau of education, the recommendations have favored the better adaptation of the institutions to the needs of the state, the adoption of a unified and consistent educational program, and ample provision for carrying on the functions of these institutions in an efficient manner.

COMPLETE STATE SCHOOL SURVEYS

In 1913, the legislature of Ohio inaugurated a new type of survey when it authorized the governor to appoint a commission which should study all of the schools in the state and their administration. On account of the size of the undertaking, and the small appropriation (only $10,000) much of the work was voluntary and consisted largely of the filling out of extensive blanks, the replies to which were later tabulated. The report, covering 352 pages, contains a generous number of "constructive suggestions" concerning administration, supervision, the teaching body, instruction, the school plant, pupils, and co-operation of educational agencies.

During the same year an equally thorough survey was made of the Vermont school system by the Carnegie foundation for the advancement of teaching and a large staff of experts from outside the state. The survey closed with recommendations for the reorganization of both elementary and secondary education so as to provide for vocational training, the centralization of the state administrative force under a competent commissioner and staff of experts who should be selected by a small unpaid board of education having only legislative functions, the revision of courses of study on the basis of scientific experiment, and the better training of teachers.

In 1914 also were published the results of a survey of rural and village schools in Colorado covering statistics gathered for the eight years from 1906 to 1913 inclusive. Assuming the reliability of the official reports, it was shown that there was poor attendance and inefficiency everywhere and that the only remedy would be the consolidation of schools and the abolishment of the district system. In 1916, the federal bureau corroborated these findings, and in addition recommended professional superintendents of schools for both the state and the various counties.

One of the most successful state surveys was that conducted in Maryland in 1915 by the general education board. The findings of the survey were embodied in bills, nearly all of which became laws on June 1, 1916 so that, as one reviewer says, "By one bound the state leaped into a truly professional status in matters relating to public education." State and county officers are given greater power and provided with staffs of expert assistants, the system of apportioning funds is greatly improved, and a good compulsory attendance law goes into immediate effect.

In the latter part of 1916 the federal bureau was asked to survey the entire school system of Wyoming. The final recommendations include a strong central board of control with non-political executive officers, the county unit of administration and supervision of rural schools, a better method of distributing school moneys, better trained teachers, and provision for vocational education. Many of these proposals have already become laws.

Among the latest state educational surveys to be completed was that made in Nevada during the past two years. In February of the present year, the survey commission of that state recommended to the legislature the adoption of constitutional amendments providing for an appointive state board of education and an appointive state superintendent of public instruction, the adoption of the county unit of organization, and the improvement of rural school conditions.

BUREAUS OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Such, in brief, has been the history of the noteworthy attempts to improve school systems by means of the survey. During the same time, however, there has sprung up another movement of equal or even greater promise, namely, the establishment of departments of educational research whose chief function is to carry on within the system itself a "perpetual survey."

Like most other educational improvements, this idea first took root in the cities of the country. In 1914 there were such bureaus in Rochester, Baltimore, New Orleans, Boston, New York City, and Oakland. At the present time, one hears of a new city department of research almost every few days.

Like the survey, the research bureau is not confined to cities. The following states are among those having some agency which is constantly at work on state-wide investigations of the survey type: Wisconsin, New Hampshire, New York, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Nebraska, and perhaps many others.

PLAN OF THE TAXPAYERS' ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA

The writer has no disparaging criticism to offer with respect to any of the foregoing methods of solving the problem of efficiency in the public schools. He offers the details of his own plans largely because he is more familiar with them and because he wishes the suggestions or criticisms of his readers, as to the feasibility of the proposed undertaking.

At the outset of this discussion it was stated that we believed the solution of the problem before us lay not in curtailing expenses on the one hand or in expanding educational activities on the other hand, but in first securing adequate information and secondly attacking those things which are the prime causes of existing evils. Furthermore, public education in America is a *state* function and the most important problems of school administration are mostly state problems.

Believing in these principles as fundamental, the taxpayers' association of California proposes to begin on the first of July a perpetual survey of conditions in the state, lasting as many years as may be necessary to bring about the desired results. A central bureau of educational investigation for the state has already been created, and it is proposed to establish from time to time as many branch offices, either temporary or permanent, as may be necessary to secure all of the desired information. Wherever coöperation can be secured, existing educational offices will be drafted into the service. The writer has been asked to direct the bureau, and Professor Ellwood P. Cubberley of Stanford University has kindly consented to act as consulting expert. The president of the association is Vanderlynn Stow, financial manager of Leland Stanford Jr. University, and the director is Herbert W. Clark, formerly of the New Mexico state tax commission.

The association has no preconceived notions of what ought to be (except as already proven by other surveys), and intends to arrive at conclusions in a purely scientific and unbiased manner. However, it has a very definite program of possible solutions to the problem of efficiency, and it proposes to study these possible solutions with extreme care to see whether or not they are the right ones. Briefly stated, our assumption as to what may be the best means of bringing about educational efficiency follows:

1. A state controlled efficiency bureau.
2. A state organization for efficiency, based on functions rather than the ordinary "lines of authority."
3. The application of scientific management to the conduct of the state's school business.
4. The adoption of separate units of administration for separate functions. Thus the state may be a single unit for the certification of teachers; it may be divided into five sections for the purchasing and distribution of standard supplies and equipment; and it may utilize city and county subdivisions for the supervision of instruction or strictly local affairs.

These and other possible solutions are now being discussed in the association's official organ, the *California Taxpayers' Journal*, whose editorial offices are in the American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, California.

The paramount task of the new bureau will be to convince citizens and lawmakers of the validity of its findings; hence it is conducting a constant campaign of education not only through its official journal, but through the public press, through educational periodicals, and through conferences with educators, statesmen, and taxpayers so that by the time the investigations are all completed, the public will be ready to act upon the findings submitted.

The writer will gladly welcome any suggestions or criticisms, and will be especially interested in getting in touch with any who may be working along similar lines.

Address: Wilford E. Talbert, care Taxpayers' association of California, Insurance Exchange Bldg., San Francisco, Cal.

PITTSBURGH SMOKE INVESTIGATION

BY C. H. BENJAMIN[1]
Purdue University

SO FAR as I have means of knowing, this is the most comprehensive report on the various aspects of the smoke problem that has appeared in this country. The study made by the Chicago commission under the auspices of the various railroad companies is more voluminous, but not so comprehensive since it is concerned principally with the problem as it affects the railroad terminals and the possibilities of electrification.[2]

CLASSIFICATION

It is interesting to note that of these bulletins[3] only one, no. 8, is concerned with the prevention of smoke by mechanical means and that the other six are devoted to the various ills inherent on atmospheric smoke pollution. In other words, six are devoted to a discussion of the disease and but one to the problem of its cure or abatement. Perhaps this is well since it has usually been found more difficult to convince people in general of the evils of smoke than to effect its abatement when once convinced of danger.

It is comparatively easy by various mechanical appliances to prevent most of the smoke coming from factory chimneys, but it is very difficult to interest the community in this problem and to get a healthy public sentiment.

A review of the staff which has conducted these investigations also shows an interesting grouping. There are eight physicians, five architects, four engineers, two chemists and one, each, botanist, meteorologist, bacteriologist, physicist, psychologist, economist, lawyer, and librarian; that is, about one-third are physicians, another third, natural scientists, and the remaining third made up mainly of architects and engineers. Naturally all except the engineers are more concerned with the question as to what smoke is and what it does, leaving only the engineers and possibly to some extent the architects, to answer the question of how effective means may be devised for its abatement.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

Very properly, the first bulletin is concerned with the broader aspects as affecting the general energy and happiness of the community. Although this is a factor which cannot be expressed in any material system of measures, it is undoubtedly the most important of all. If it can be proved that smoky atmosphere has a depressing and deleterious influence upon the bulk of the people in the community, a serious indictment has been established at once. It is difficult to establish such facts by statistics, but the bulletin shows clearly that people coming from a clear to a smoky atmosphere are affected unfavorably and lose a certain vital efficiency. That smoke has a tendency not only to diminish the life-giving effect of the sun's rays but also to promote cloudiness, fog and rain, the smoky dust forming nuclei for the rain drops, is another count in the indictment. Most of us are aware of the exhilaration and tonic effect due to a high barometer and bright sunshine and the corresponding depression due to a low barometer accompanied by rain or fog. That this is perhaps psychological rather than physiological makes no difference; the effect being the same. A depressing mental condition is just as inimical to efficiency as a physical one.

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[1] Dean of the schools of engineering, Purdue University.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 331.

[3] 3. Psychological Aspects of the Problem of Atmospheric Smoke Pollution; 4. The Economic Cost of the Smoke Nuisance to Pittsburgh; 5. The Meteorological Aspect of the Smoke Problem; 6. Papers on the Effect of Smoke on Building Materials; 7. The Effect of the Soot in Smoke on Vegetation; 8. Some Engineering Phases of Pittsburgh's Smoke Problem; 9. Influence of Smoke on Health.

On the other hand, it is a peculiar fact that offences against order and decency are more apt to occur on clear, dry days, there being more energy and vitality at such times.

Indirectly smoke has an injurious effect on the mental fitness of the people in a community, first, by its tendency to aggravate diseases of the various membranes especially those connected with the respiratory functions; and second, because of its destructive influence on æsthetic and artistic objects such as pictures, draperies and mural decorations. One who will go from the business district of a city like Pittsburgh, Chicago or Cleveland to a similar location in a city which is comparatively free from smoke, like Portland, Oregon, or Los Angeles, could hardly fail to notice an entire change in his mental attitude and his feeling towards life in general and his environment in particular.

ECONOMIC COST

The fourth bulletin deals with the economic cost of smoke in the Pittsburgh district. It quotes various data obtained in other cities and states that the report of the Cleveland chamber of commerce is perhaps the most accurate estimate. This report fixes the *per capita* loss in Cleveland at from $10 to $12 per annum and suggests that the total amount including indirect losses is nearly double this. The reports from other cities are based largely on the Cleveland figures, assuming a greater or less density of smoke for the particular locality studied.

The bulletin then discusses the probable losses in Pittsburgh, classifying these as direct fuel loss, cost of personal laundry and dry cleaning, expense of repairs and renewals in the household, injury to stocks and fixtures in stores, office buildings and hotels and, finally, the rather indefinite loss due to the general disagreeableness of environment. An average loss of about 20 per cent of fuel due to smoky conditions is estimated. This is in agreement with experimental data which have been obtained in various plants. It is not at all unusual to realize a saving of from 15 to 25 per cent by the introduction of approved methods of firing. The loss is not due to the escape of carbon in the smoke, since this is very small, but rather to the dirty condition of the flues and other heating surfaces which reduces their conducting power.

In making a study of the extra cost of cleaning clothes, draperies, wall papers, paints, etc., the general method has been to obtain from census statistics or other sources, figures as to the total cost of such work and then to assume that a certain per cent of this was due to the smoke nuisance. The ratio assumed in the bulletin is one-third plus. Any such assumption is more or less gratuitous and cannot be supported by argument but it seems to be the only way of getting at the probable cost.

In my own experience, I have found that my personal laundry bill was nearly if not quite doubled by a sojourn in Cleveland during its worst days. Assuming 30 cents per week for the smokeless locality and 60 cents for Cleveland, would mean $1.20 cents a month or $14.40 a year as an increase on one item. This would dispose of my share of the $12 per capita and a little over. A rough calculation like this leads me to believe that the figures of $12 *per capita* per year are conservative. Furthermore, it may be said that the Pittsburgher or the Clevelander never really knows what clean linen is. During a summer vacation in the east after living for some years in Cleveland, my family were shocked at the grimy appearance of the family linen as it appeared on the line in close proximity to the spotless habiliments of the eastern people. Add to this direct expense, the inevitable deterioration and wear caused by repeated launderings and cleanings and we have a further loss in the value of the clothing itself.

Too much importance should not be accorded to statistics like those in Table I which show the value of the laundry business in various cities. The table shows large expense for laundry work in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis. On the other hand, Cleveland, which has been quoted as a rival to Pittsburgh in its smokiness, has with the exception of Philadelphia, the smallest laundry expense of any of the eleven cities quoted. Now either Cleveland has been maligned as a smoky city or its inhabitants are not so careful of their personal appearance. Statistics of this kind are influenced by so many local conditions that it is difficult to draw accurate conclusions from them.

In the matter of renewing wall paper, paint, etc., the comparison is more easily made. Nearly every householder knows about how often it is necessary to perform these operations and their cost is easily ascertained. The bulletin shows that repairs and renewals of this sort are required about twice as often as in cleaner cities and that approximately the same is true of sheet metal work.

The total cost to the householders of Pittsburgh for direct expense due to its smoky conditions are shown approximately to be $2,400,000 per year or about $4 *per capita.* The relative cost in wholesale and retail stores is greater than in the household since the goods suffer a depreciation in selling value greater than the actual damage done. The stores which suffer most conspicuously from smoke and soot are those where delicate fabrics (silks and muslins) are sold and the bookstores and picture shops whose wares are dependent largely on their appearance for their market value. The hotels suffer in the same way since their business depends to a large extent upon the attractive conditions of the surroundings.

What after all impresses the reader most in studying this subject is that large, but inestimable loss due to the general disagreeableness of the situation. The fact that everything is dirty and grimy and in perpetual need of cleaning or renewing has a depressing effect upon business and upon the spirits of the people which is economically as serious as any of the direct losses enumerated. This bulletin constitutes the second serious attempt to determine the economical waste due to the smoke nuisance and goes to confirm previous statistics.

A summary of losses for Pittsburgh approximates $10,000,000 a year and assuming the population of the city at that time to have been 600,000, would give an annual cost *per capita* of between $16 and $17 which corresponds with the Cleveland estimate, assuming that Pittsburgh is smokier than the other city.

METEOROLOGICAL ASPECT

A study of the effect of smoke on the weather is given in bulletin no. 5 and its conclusions are deduced more or less directly from the recorded statistics of the U. S. weather bureau. It is shown with a fair degree of certainty that the effect of smoke is to increase the density of fogs and to diminish the amount of sunshine received. It is also shown that smoke has a particularly destructive effect on the blue rays of the spectrum. There is no doubt but what this might have an unfavorable effect upon the health of the community, especially of those individuals who are not in a normal healthy condition. The effect on temperature is slight, but the general tendency of smoke is to diminish the range, increasing the minimum and decreasing the maximum temperatures.

Careful experiments have shown that the limit of visibility in Pittsburgh ranges from 1 mile to 1.6 miles, according to the time of day. In the country 10 miles is quite a usual limit and under good conditions, 30 or 40 miles is not unusual. To me it would seem that the meteorological effect of smoke is to produce a climatic condition which, while it might not be in a marked degree injurious to physical health, would have the depressing mental effect to which I have alluded.

The data in this bulletin are a distinct contribution to the literature on the subject.

EFFECT ON BUILDING MATERIALS

The sixth bulletin deals with the effect of smoke on the various materials used in building and with definite materials and costs.

There are two quite distinct effects due to the deposition of soot. One is the discoloration due to the carbon and tar; the other, the corrosion produced by the sulphuric acid present. If it were not for the presence of coal tar, little damage would result as the carbon dust and the acid would neither of them be brought in such close contact with the material. The tar acts as a cement to fasten the dust to the surface and to hold the sulphuric acid in contact with the material.

Most of the data given in this bulletin are the results of actual tests made by public authorities and by manufacturers. The principal damage done to exterior and interior painted surfaces is due to discoloration and the need of frequent cleaning and repainting. In a clear atmosphere, exterior paint will last five or six years before repainting is necessary and interior paint perhaps twice as long. In a smoky city like Pittsburgh, repainting is necessary at intervals of from one to three years. The same ratio probably obtains for interior work so that it is safe to estimate the cost of painting as from two to three times that in a clean atmosphere. Furthermore, the certainty of discoloration by smoke leads to the practice of using darker colors and this in itself makes the buildings gloomy.

The effect of soft coal smoke on stone is shown to be quite serious on account of the combination of the sulphuric acid in the soot with the lime in the building stone, making the surface more porous and liable to disintegration. The discoloration due to the soot is also serious since it penetrates the surface to a certain extent and is difficult to remove. The author quotes some data from English experiments which show the corrosion of unprotected iron work to be six times as great in a smoky district as in the open country. Zinc, tin and copper are less affected, especially the two latter, but their cost is in some cases prohibitive. Under conditions in Pittsburgh, it is assumed that galvanized sheet iron and steel will last only half as long as they would in a pure atmosphere.

The damage done to interior decorations receives a more detailed treatment in this bulletin. In general it may be said that from two to three times the expense of papering, painting, renewing draperies, etc. is entailed by the smoke-laden atmosphere.

In conclusion the bulletin speaks of the limitations on architectural expression due to smoky conditions, the impracticability of using light and bright colors in decoration and the tendency to use dull colors and materials easily cleaned.

EFFECT ON VEGETATION

Bulletin no. 7 is specific in character and is substantiated by direct experiments. Direct observation has shown the difference in vegetation in the neighborhood of manufacturing plants. The injuries caused by soot seem to be due partly to a mechanical clogging of pores and consequent reduction of vitality combined with the bad effects of sulphur and other acids when present. A superficial examination of the foliage shows the leaves dying from the tip in and the plants from the top down, while cross sections of the limbs show a narrowing of the rings of growth as compared with those in country districts. The data given in this bulletin are not sufficient to justify any very definite conclusion. It seems to me that the field experiments under existing conditions are those which are most likely to furnish useful data. A continuation of this work in various localities and covering a period of years would be desirable. Perhaps more attention should be paid to the effects of sulphuric acid as investigations made under my direction in the neighborhood of Philadelphia showed a comparatively large quantity of this present on the surfaces of the leaves.

ENGINEERING PHASES OF THE PROBLEM

Bulletin no. 8 deals primarily with the causes of the production of black smoke and, secondarily, with means for its abatement. It is very fully illustrated, the pictures showing the contrast between clear and smoky days in different parts of Pittsburgh.

The first half is concerned mainly with the smoke conditions in and around Pittsburgh. Credit is given the various buildings and other structures in the business section for a large amount of smoke due to poor draft and careless methods of firing. Central heating plants supplying groups of buildings and provided with proper stacks and mechanical stokers are recommended as the most obvious solution. The bulk of the smoke is shown to come, however, from the manufacturing furnaces, boiler and heating plants being the greatest offenders. The metallurgical furnaces are not particularly smoky except those used in connection with reheating and in so-called soaking pits. The replacing of hand fired furnaces by mechanical stokers and the old-fashioned coke ovens by the more modern by-product coke ovens will undoubtedly reduce the smoke from these sources. Naturally the locomotives and steamboats are great offenders. The case is not so hopeless with the locomotives as the firemen are intelligent and the railroad organization is in a position to enforce reasonable rules for firing. The more general use of brick arches and combustion tubes and the introduction of the so-called one shovel system of firing will reduce the smoke materially. The steamboat, however, is a different proposition. The furnaces are designed merely for burning the greatest amount of coal without regard to its efficiency.

and the firemen as a rule are not of the better class. As far as I know, no solution of the difficulty in regard to steamboats has been arrived at in Pittsburgh or elsewhere.

The smoke from domestic furnaces, while comparatively slight, causes considerable local annoyance and is becoming a more serious problem with the more general use of soft coal in them. It would seem as if inventors might profitably concern themselves with developing a type of domestic furnace or heater which would burn soft coal successfully with medium draft.

The great bulk of the smoke causing disagreeable atmospheric conditions comes from manufacturing rather than domestic furnaces.

It is not saying too much to state that the engineer has solved the problem as far as smoke abatement in large furnaces is concerned since most of the stokers illustrated will either entirely eliminate the smoke or will reduce it to the point where it is not especially objectionable. This is especially true of the chain grate and underfeed stokers.

This bulletin is a very creditable presentation of the subject of smoke production and smoke abatement.

EFFECTS OF SMOKE ON HEALTH

The last bulletin deals more particularly with the physiological effects rather than the psychological. It is difficult for a layman to review understandingly bulletins written by medical men in language which is more or less unfamiliar to the average man. A rather cursory reading of this bulletin gives me the impression that the case of smoke *versus* health is summed up in the Scotch verdict "Not proven." It is at least an open question whether the smoke from soft coal has a good or bad effect on those subject to tuberculosis. There is no doubt that the dust from smoke is absorbed more or less into the tissues, but it is difficult to show that this has any particular effect on the health of the individual other than to cause some irritation. To compare this with the effect of smoke upon the health of firemen is hardly fair. The smoke from a burning building is frequently so dense as to cause partial suffocation and to induce severe inflammation of the respiratory organ and even nausea. It is doubtful whether breathing the atmosphere of a city like Pittsburgh would cause any such troubles. It seems to me that the indirect effect upon the health of the community due to the dark and gloomy condition of the atmosphere and buildings is perhaps more serious than any direct effect. The writers of this bulletin seem to indicate that inhaled smoke is more apt to cause pneumonia or other acute lung diseases than tuberculosis. The comparisons made of different cities showing some relation between the soot deposit and the prevalence of lung diseases are not very convincing. The difficulty of isolating the smoke condition which it is desired to study from the other varying conditions which affect the life and health of the city renders comparisons of this sort rather misleading. Possibly a comparison of different districts in the same city where climatic conditions are essentially the same except as effected by smoke, would be more conclusive, but when we attempt to compare the death rate of Boston, Chicago, St. Louis and Philadelphia, we have too many diverse influences to consider.

It is not too much to say that this bulletin represents a careful and conscientious review of an exceedingly difficult subject, and forms a fitting close to the series. I suppose no one ever doubts that a smoke-laden atmosphere is unhealthy in many ways and that it is a physical and mental burden.

CONCLUSION

I wish to emphasize the difficulty of making a review of this interesting series of bulletins in the space available for that purpose. This investigation and its results are eminently praiseworthy. The work deals largely with facts and experiments, many of them original, and has brought together, arranged, classified and indexed a valuable amount of information on the problem of smoke, its effects and its possible abatement. I wish that these facts and conclusions could be brought to the attention of every householder in our larger cities. I believe that the work of the Mellon institute has been a distinct contribution to this and hope that its facts and conclusions may be read and appreciated by many people.

RECENT CITY PLAN REPORTS

BY CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON[1]
Rochester, N. Y.

A GOOD many people, no doubt, have been surprised that war, instead of proving a check to the planning and improvement of cities, has provided an impetus. But this is only as it should be. War reveals the realities of life. It sifts the luxuries, leaving necessities; it puts a premium on the prevention of waste; it exalts efficiency; "preparedness" is its fetich. So city planning, which does all of these things, emerges from the test of war with better popular appreciation and higher esteem than ever before, and the output of American city planning studies, which this annual review attempts each year to appraise, maintains its volume and content.

To the reviewer's table there have come in published form, during the last twelve months, six comprehensive and elaborate city plan reports, and a dozen or more partial reports devoted to special subjects, besides ten annual reports of city plan commissions. The six first named are for the cities of East Boston, Bridgeport, Conn., Evanston and Elgin, Ill., Milwaukee and Sacramento.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, pp. 388 and 638; vol. iv, p. 383: vol. iii, p, 539: vol ii, p. 160.

SOME GENERAL PLAN REPORTS

The East Boston report[2] was prepared by George Gibbs, Jr. With that modesty of exterior characteristic of officially published reports, the report is divided into two parts. The first gives the results of the survey, recording those peculiarities of location, history and evident requirements which the plan must meet and attempt to satisfy. The second contains the recommendations, at once for specific improvements and for the comprehensive plan. In part one there are thirteen subheads, these including existing plans for improvements, main thoroughfares, freight transportation, passenger lines and terminals, housing conditions, financial, legal, etc. Part two, which opens with a large colored map, contains a brief reference to zoning, and an outline of more than fifty specific improvements. These include such matters as parks, playgrounds, street widenings, extensions, etc. The plan, taken as a whole, contemplates "first, the development of the entire waterfront; second, the improvement of approaches on all sides; third, a complete system of thoroughfares; fourth, the public ownership of all spaces that may be needed by the public; and fifth, the public control, so far as required for the general and individual welfare of the people, of all property not publicly owned." Could there be better argument than presented by this list for the value of city planning studies?

The Bridgeport Study,[3] by John Nolen, is a large, sumptuous looking volume, in which a great deal of space is taken up by photographs, maps and plans; and in which, one may add, the comparatively scanty text of the main report, excellent in its matter, has been marred by poor proof reading.

The report is one of three which has been prepared for Bridgeport by Dr. Nolen. The first, which was preliminary, was reviewed in an earlier article;[4] the third, which is devoted to the housing question, has mention further on. The situation which has necessitated such intensiveness of study for a single city is graphically put by Dr. Nolen in these words: "It has been said that a new man is employed in Bridgeport every ten minutes, and one is tempted to inquire what is being done every ten minutes to provide this new citizen with the essentials of city life."

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[2] East Boston: A Survey and a Comprehensive Plan. Report of the city planning board, Boston, Mass. Prepared by George Gibbs, Jr., February, 1915. City of Boston Printing Department, 1916.

[3] Better City Planning for Bridgeport. Some Fundamental Proposals to the City Plan Commission. By John Nolen. With a Report on Legal Methods of Carrying out the Changes Proposed in the City Plan for Bridgeport. By Frank Backus Williams of the New York bar. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 540.

[4] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 386.

The text opens with an admirable preface by the city plan commission, which asks citizens who may think the proposals radical to remember "that we are not planning for the past, but for Bridgeport as it will develop for the ensuing fifty years," and it describes the consultant's work as "most thorough, patient and able." Noting that Dr. Nolen has "recommended the general lines of new street development," the preface points out that "the exact route to be followed, the cost, the order in which the various features should be taken up, *are all local questions which he cannot and ought not to settle*, and which are properly the concern of a city planning commission." It adds that the commission should be a continuous, permanent body established as a constituent part of the city government. Dr. Nolen's report is divided into chapters which consider briefly, though with many plans, main lines of communication, the down town district, the subdivision of land into blocks and lots, different districts for different uses, parks and playgrounds. At the end, with a separate introduction and its own chapter headings, there is published a long, carefully written, and very valuable report on "legal methods for carrying out the changes proposed in the city plan for Bridgeport," by Frank B. Williams.

The Evanston Plan,[5] with its attractive board covers, its several colored plates, its maps and photographs, worthily maintains the tradition of American city planning publications. It is brought out by the small parks and playgrounds association, whose president in 1916 was authorized to appoint a city plan committee. The editor of the report is Henry Kitchell Webster, and the architects of the committee are D. H. Burnham, Jr., who acted as chairman, Dwight H. Perkins, Thomas E. Tallmadge and Hubert Burnham. Most of the drawings were made, under direction of the plan committee, by Warren Hamilton. The scope of the report, which is a concrete study of the problems of Evanston without much general discussion, is well indicated by the chapter headings: Streets and highways, the city center, parks, recreation system, districting and zoning regulations, the trees, miscellaneous, suggestions for realizing the plan.

ELGIN AND MILWAUKEE

Elgin's plan report[6] was presented to citizens and officials, as so many have been in other cities, through the enterprise of the commercial club. Its frontispiece is a photograph of Charles H. Hulburd, who paid the bills. "No attempt is made," declares the text of the report, "to paint a future of extraordinary development, but to present a picture of normal conditions of growth, governed by considerations of fineness and real worth rather than mere size." The reorganization and amplification of the railroad lines and the treatment of the riverbanks are the dominant features of the plan; and when it is said that E. H. Bennett was consulting architect, it will be realized that the latter feature especially was handled in a strong, bold and interesting manner. The following description of the aim of the Elgin plan might be applied to any city plan study: "To create conditions of living such that the maximum of health, happiness and efficiency may be attained by the citizens; to create in the minds of the people that sense of the entity of the city, and of the interdependent relationship of its various elements as will promote a true spirit of co-operation." One of the best things in the report is the following unusual analysis of statistics of population density:

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[5] Plan of Evanston. Printed by Bowman Publishing Company, Evanston, Ill. 1917.

[6] Plan of Elgin. Prepared for the Elgin commercial club by E. H. Bennett, consulting architect. January, 1917.

Average over gross area, 6.3 people per acre.

Average over the housing area, 8.6 people per acre.

Average for that part of the housing area which is well built up (this probably housing 4.5 of the people), 15 people per acre.

Dr. Hegemann's discussion of city planning for Milwaukee[7] is strictly preliminary. It is educational, even in a measure propagandist, rather than such a thoroughgoing study as that, for example, which was recently made by him for Berkeley and Oakland, Calif.[8] But so eminent a student of city planning as is Dr. Hegemann could not prepare even such a report as his Milwaukee study without drawing upon stores of knowledge and depths of theory that make it interesting and valuable. The report also takes up concretely several of Milwaukee's most pressing problems, such as the riverfront, housing, and civic center, and the illustrations—both photographs and diagrams—are well chosen and pertinent.

Sacramento has been a much studied town from a city planning standpoint. All that the modest little report of the state capitol planning commission[9]—cheaply printed and without illustrations—attempts to do, is to chronicle the history of the several studies made respectively by Messrs. Robinson, Hegemann and Nolen, giving in appendices brief extracts from their reports. But to the student of city planning the comparison of these reports is very interesting.

SPECIAL PLAN REPORTS

Although this completes the list of general city plan reports, published during the last twelve months, some of the partial reports, dealing with special subjects, are as extensive, and in presentation as elaborate, as those of more pretentious scope.

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[7] City Planning for Milwaukee: What it Means and Why it Must be Secured. Report submitted to the Wisconsin chapter A. I. A., the city club, the Milwaukee real estate association, Westminster league, south side civic association. February, 1916.

[8] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 388–389.

[9] Report of the State Capitol Planning Commission upon its Investigation of the Planning of the Capitol of California. State Printing Office, Sacramento, 1916.

The one which undoubtedly will loom largest in the history of American city planning is the "final report" of the commission on building districts and restrictions of the city of New York.[10] This makes a closely printed pamphlet of a hundred pages, illustrated with numerous diagrams. Many of its chapters offer the most thorough discussion of their subject that has yet been printed. Such chapters include those entitled use districts, appropriate intensity of the use of land, height districts and area districts. In referring, however, to this discussion, a word of caution is necessary. Residents of cities less congested than New York should remember that physical conditions are there unusual and extreme, so that the standard permissible for New York would be inappropriate in most other cities.

From Boston there is an interesting report on public markets.[11] Comprising with its several appendices a pamphlet of nearly 200 pages, this offers an unusually thorough discussion of a subject now exceedingly pertinent and on which not much has been printed from the city planning point of view. A great deal of interesting data is presented, together with a report by a market advisory committee made up of members of the faculties of Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, of the women's municipal league, united improvement association, and chamber of commerce.

On the housing phase of city planning there are several reports. Of these the most elaborate is entitled "More Houses for Bridgeport."[12] The housing committee of the chamber of commerce says in presenting this study, which is by John Nolen, "Your committee believes that the continued success and efficiency of the present manufacturing establishments of the city, as well as the future development of Bridgeport as an industrial city, are seriously menaced by the comparatively higher rental values of real estate and general inadequacy of housing conditions as compared with other and competing manufacturing cities." Dr. Nolen's proposals for Bridgeport, as he declares, "are not essentially new, and not in any sense radical." They are "cheap land, broad planning of the neighborhood, low density of houses per acre, wholesale modern building operations, a moderate but adequate dividend on capital, and the participation of the residents in the ownership and management of the property." Because these are universal essentials of better housing, and because the discussion of the Bridgeport problem is reinforced by data and illustrations from many other housing enterprises, this report is of much general interest and value. The report of similar nature which Dr. Nolen has prepared for Waterbury, Conn.[13] is as yet available in only newspaper form.

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[10] Commission on Building Districts and Restrictions: Final Report, June 2, 1916. City of New York, board of estimate and apportionment.

[11] A Summary of the Market Situation in Boston. The city planning board, Boston, Mass., 1916.

[12] More Houses for Bridgeport. Report to the chamber of commerce, Bridgeport, Conn., by John Nolen., 1916.

A "model" industrial village, created at Marcus Hook, Pa., for the Viscose company, by Ballinger and Perrot of New York and Philadelphia, forms the subject of an attractive brochure.[14] From California, in the illustrated annual report of the state commission of immigration and housing,[15] there comes much interesting and valuable material. A report of housing investigations in the leading cities of the state, "an A-B-C of housing" (in which the "B" stands for city planning), a plan for a housing survey, and constructive housing are headings which well indicate the scope of the report.

Street traffic conditions are among the other subjects of special, or more properly partial, city plan reports. "The Thoroughfare System of Fitchburgh, Mass.,"[16] is the title of one of these, made by Arthur C. Comey. Its half dozen pages of text are supplemented by a series of folded-in maps, explained by the text. As Mr. Comey says, in his foreword, "No exhaustive treatise has been attempted. The eight maps and diagrams submitted constitute the most important portion of the report, the written portion being designed simply to point out the significance of the facts shown on them." A rather informal looking report by a citizens' committee to the mayor and aldermen of New Haven, dealing not only with traffic conditions but with street lighting,[17] contains a good many valuable suggestions. It is interesting as representing,—to quote the words of the committee—"in the unselfish desire to be of service to our home town, the results of a painstaking investigation, made by us voluntarily, into the traffic problem which has been developed here." From the St. Louis city plan commission comes a pamphlet on the "Kingshighway"[18]—a very important crosstown thoroughfare which it is proposed to extend, and where necessary to widen, that it may be a valuable connecting boulevard. Also from the St. Louis commission,—very active under the leadership of its efficient engineer, Harland Bartholomew,—there comes the "River Des Peres Plan,"[19] which is a scheme to substitute for a river and the large area it annually overflows and pollutes, a channel and sewer, a railroad to develop and serve new industrial sites, a driveway, and an industrial section of approximately 950 acres, with a complete major street plan for it. The report is adequately illustrated with maps and plans, and if not comprehensive city planning, is at least very real and complete as far as it goes.

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[13] Housing Needs of Working Men and Proposed Methods of Providing for Them. Report and recommendations made to the Waterbury, Conn., housing committee by John Nolen. 1916.

[14] An Industrial Village. Ballinger and Perrot.

[15] Second Annual Report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California. 1916. State Printing Office.

[16] Fitchburg: A Preliminary Study of the Thoroughfare System and the Conditions Underlying its Development. Report to the municipal development commission, by Arthur Coleman Comey. November, 1915.

[17] Report on Traffic Conditions and Street Lighting in New Haven. By a citizens' committee, through the civic federation. July 24, 1916.

[18] The Kingshighway: A Report by the City Plan Commission. January, 1917.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

Several publications from the Chicago plan commission are of a wholly different type. They include a revised edition of Wacker's well known "Manual of the Plan of Chicago,"[20] a remarkable book prepared for study in the Chicago schools; a compilation of indorsements, under the title, "Chicago's World-Wide Influence in City Planning"; and a skillfully presented argument for the use of the city's waste to reclaim land under water for the south shore lakefront parks.[21] There is data in the latter report of considerable general interest and suggestion.

A number of reports (*e.g.*, one from the citizens' union) take up, from more or less of a city planning standpoint, the problems created by the proposed relocation of the tracks of the New York Central Railroad on the west side of New York city. From Bion J. Arnold there comes a characteristically detailed and careful study of street railroad routing and operation in Rochester.[22]

Finally, the year's output includes a list, too long for detailed mention, of annual reports from city planning commissions and like bodies—that of the Massachusetts homestead commission[23] and that of the Massachusetts federation of planning boards being state-wide in scope. The annual report of the bureau of surveys of Philadelphia is also of its usual especial interest. In fact, a feature commending all these annual reports, which year by year are growing in number, is that they deal not with dreams and hopes, but with the slow and practical local working out of the vision. In each case, of course, the vision had to come first. Without it, annual reports would be without interest and barren.

[19] River Des Peres Plan. Concerning largely the industrial and residential expansion and economic welfare of St. Louis. Prepared by the city plan commission in conjunction with the department of public utilities, 1916.

[20] Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago. Municipal Economy. Especially prepared for study in the schools of Chicago. Auspices of the Chicago plan commission. By Walter D. Moody, managing director, Chicago plan commission. Second edition. 1916.

[21] Chicago Can Get Fifty Million Dollars for Nothing. How it can be done by building the south shore lakefront park lands. Chicago plan commission. December, 1916.

[22] Report on Car Operation and Routing, New York State Railways, Rochester Lines, to the Rochester chamber of commerce. By Bion J. Arnold. October, 1916.

[23] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 142–145.

SELECTING A CITY MANAGER FOR GOLDSBORO, N. C.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE[1]

BEFORE beginning our labors it was necessary to form some conception of the qualifications desired. First it was the desire of the committee to obtain a man trained by study and experience in municipal administration; in addition to this our local problem necessitated the services of an experienced engineer and if we could secure this combination supplemented by a pleasing personality, good judgment and broad vision, we felt reasonably sure of our position.

The board had fixed no salary, but the committee tried a tentative plan by stating that salary would probably range from $200 to $250 per month. This did not mean, however, that the maximum would not be slightly exceeded in case we found the proper person. A few hundred dollars more or less should not be a deterrent in selecting the proper administrator for a city which disburses annually nearly $100,000. The advantage of this tentative salary over a fixed one was that it attracted desirable applications from persons who would otherwise have been debarred, besides offering to the committee a more correct gauge of the applicant's ability and his viewpoint, a noteworthy and encouraging fact being that the position was largely sought on account of the opportunity it offered rather than for the compensation.

Our method of developing applications was employed in three ways:

(1) Periodicals and newspaper advertising.

(2) Personal letters to present city managers.

(3) Letters written to secretaries, organizations, and institutions working in municipal administration.

ADVERTISING

The advertisement on page 606 was inserted in the following periodicals and newspapers: *Engineering News-Record* (New York); *Municipal Journal* (New York); *American City* (New York); *Municipal Engineering* (Chicago, Ill.); *News & Observer* (Raleigh, N. C.), and the Goldsboro *Argus.*

LETTERS TO CITY MANAGERS

The committee, thoroughly impressed with their problem, showed some temerity in writing over eighty personal letters to present city managers in cities and towns ranging in size from 3,000 to 140,000 population. The letter set forth our local condition, our requirements, including information and data, and finally asked the manager to whom it was

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[1] To the board of aldermen of Goldsboro.

City Manager Wanted

Goldsboro, North Carolina, invites applications for the position of City Manager. Goldsboro is a progressive city of over 11,000 inhabitants with healthful climate and good trade conditions—located on three railroads in the heart of the most fertile section of eastern North Carolina.

Applicant must have pleasing personality, good business judgment and broad vision. One possessing qualifications of Sanitary Engineer preferred, though this is not absolutely essential. Excellent opportunity for energetic man of ability to produce results.

Salary will probably range from $200 to $250 per month. Applications will be received up to July 1, 1917. Information and data furnished upon request.

CITY MANAGER COMMITTEE,
P. O. Box 461, Goldsboro, N. C.

addressed if interested to make application or otherwise kindly to recommend someone suitable. The committee received 41 answers; 23 made application; 18 respectfully declined, but in a good many instances those declining recommended suitable candidates. One of the best applications was secured through this source.

A manager of recognized ability, wrote as follows:

> I congratulate your city in the step it has taken. I believe most heartily in the manager plan. It will show results directly in proportion to the support and honest efforts expended under the plan, not only by your hired manager but by yourselves and the representative citizens.
>
> If I may be pardoned a suggestion, don't be reluctant in the matter of a salary. You will have a difficult time getting the man big enough to handle the affairs of a city such as yours for a salary you suggest. Even our little town paid me $350 per month at the cost of considerable criticism of the counsel and my successor when he is found will probably receive as much as $250. Our population is under 6,000. On the other hand during the eight months of my service we made direct savings of more than three times the total salary paid me and other savings almost as important will continue to accrue for some years to come.

OTHER ASSISTANCE

Directors of bureaus of municipal research in New York, Dayton, Detroit, Secretary of National Short Ballot Association, and schools of administration all contributed their quota of information.

The thanks of the committee are especially due to Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary of the National Municipal League, for his valuable assistance.

As a result of the above methods, the committee received 522 applications from 41 states and territories, Cuba, Canada, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Honduras and Cristobel. These applications may be classified as follows:

Three hundred and ninety-eight from civil, sanitary and mechanical engineers, including over 40 from city and county engineers of many of our larger cities and towns; 28 from commissioners of public works, superintendents of lights and superintendents of waterworks of cities and towns; 24 from city managers; 4 from municipal administrators; 5 from professors of engineering colleges, including 2 deans; 32 from business men; 29 from contractors, and 2 from lawyers.

The large number of applications not only points to the ever broadening field of opportunity for the city manager profession, but it makes its strongest appeal to the trained mind of an engineer.

In addition to the above applications the committee received nearly 400 letters asking for data and information and these together with various letters, telegrams following up applicant's references and making engagements for personal interviews, consumed considerable time, but the task has been willingly and cheerfully performed.

CANDIDATES INTERVIEWED

Twelve candidates for the position were interviewed, 8 of whom came of their own initiative and 5 came at the invitation of the committee. These five represent the committee's choice after eliminating all the other applicants and in a sense each candidate embodies to a large degree the qualifications sought by the committee. It might be of some interest to know that the applications of two of the candidates came to the board through method No. 2, 2 through method No. 3 and the remaining successful one mentioned through method No. 1 in answer to our advertisement. The committee enjoyed their presence and profited by their point of view and in justice to all concerned we submit a short sketch of their training and experience.

H. G. Otis. Mr. Otis is city manager of Beaufort, S. C. Has given Beaufort a very successful administration under trying local conditions at the beginning. A graduate of the University of Michigan school of municipal administration, also of the New York bureau of municipal research.

W. M. Cotton. Mr. Cotton is a municipal trained engineer. A graduate of the University of Michigan school of municipal administration. Served with credit in Dayton bureau of municipal research.

C. O. Dustin. Mr. Dustin is a graduate engineer of Yale; thoroughly trained in municipal administration. He was assistant director of Dayton bureau of municipal research; for three years director of Springfield bureau of municipal research, Mass.; assistant secretary of National Municipal League and at present engaged as chief of the statistical bureau of the Red Cross War Council, Washington, D. C., therefore not available.

J. H. Moore. Mr. Moore is a graduate civil engineer. For 16 years was commissioner of public works of Evanston, Ill., a city of approximately 30,000, adjacent to Chicago; served with much ability through a period of great progress in local improvement and civic betterment.

Edward A. Beck. Mr. Beck, manager of the boroughs of Sewickly and Edgeworth, towns of about 8,000 population, assessed valuation of property about $12,000,000. These are suburban towns to Pittsburgh. Edgeworth was the first borough in Pennsylvania to operate under a city manager. Mr. Beck is a graduate engineer of Purdue University and was employed by the Wabash Railroad while at college, so he secured his theoretical and practical training at almost the same time. Later he studied municipal administration and his 3½ years' tenure as city manager of Edgeworth has proven an excellent record of actual achievement. The work that he began and planned over three years ago is now practically complete, he is, therefore, willing to accept our position owing to its greater opportunities at the same salary, $275 per month, which he now obtains. The committee has investigated his character and ability and they are of a high order. We have reached the conclusion that Mr. Beck more nearly represents all of those qualifications desired than any of the other candidates available.

Your committee therefore unanimously recommend Mr. E. A. Beck as their choice, at the same time asking both for your timely endorsement and your full and hearty co-operation to insure a successful administration.

Respectfully submitted,
Lionel Weil,
A. H. Edgerton,
W. D. Creech,
City Manager Committee.

THE RIGHT OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

BY RAYMOND GARFIELD GETTELL
Amherst College

AT THE present time when the principle of municipal home rule is receiving considerable attention, it is of interest to note the two theories concerning the relation of city to state that have been held by writers on municipal government and by American courts. One theory holds that, even in the absence of constitutional restrictions, municipal corporations may be protected against legislative interference because of an inherent right of local self-government. This point of view was elaborated some years ago by the late Amasa M. Eaton,[1] has been stated more recently in the work of Judge Eugene McQuillin,[2] and has been followed in court decisions in several American commonwealths.[3] The arguments upon which the inherent right of local self-government is based are drawn largely from historical sources. Eaton showed that many English cities and their rights antedated charters, that charters often acknowledged or guaranteed liberties already established by custom, that many cities were chartered by feudal lords, and that the later charters issued to them by the central government merely confirmed their existence and privileges. He therefore argued that the later theory, enunciated by Coke in 1613, that only the king can incorporate and that municipalities are subordinate governments, was both bad law and contrary to the facts of English history, and held the influence of Latin literature and Roman law responsible for fostering the fallacious idea that local powers are derived from the state rather than the Teutonic principle that central power is derived from the union of local powers. He implied, further, that American municipal corporations, being a continuous development from English institutions, and in some cases existing previous to the formation of commonwealth governments, were acknowledged, rather than created, by commonwealth legislatures, and urged that the principle of an inherent Anglo-Saxon right of local self-government should be applied by the courts in protecting cities against legislative interference.

The more recent study by Professor McBain[4] of both the theoretical and legal aspects of this question reaches a different conclusion. He makes first an elaborate analysis of the American cases in which traces of the doctrine of inherent right of local self-government are said to be found. Such cases, as cited by McQuillin, include one supreme court and eleven commonwealth decisions. Careful reading of these cases, however, shows that some have been set aside by superior courts; most have been mere *dicta,* the decision proper resting on express or implied constitutional provisions. In only three commonwealths,[5] are unquestionable cases found whose decision rests upon the principle in question. So few, therefore, are the cases in which clearcut judicial expression of the right of local self-government is found, that the doctrine is distinctly exceptional in American law and contrary to the legal nature of the American constitutional system, however popular it may be as a political ideal.

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[1] "The Origin of Municipal Incorporation in England and in the United States," in Proceedings of the Amer. Bar Association, August, 1902.

[2] Municipal Corporations, vol. i, pp. 156, 254, 384, 388.

[3] Notably in Michigan, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Texas.

[4] "The Doctrine of an Inherent Right of Local Self-Government," in *Columbia Law Review*, March and April, 1916. The same ground is covered in condensed form in the same author's "The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule," pp. 12–17.

McBain examines further the arguments upon which the theory rests. He shows that the statement that American cities, having developed from English institutions, whose charters were of common law origin, are therefore of similar origin and not the creatures of legislative bodies, is legally unsound. Only a few municipal corporations in the United States existed previous to the establishment of state constitutions, and even in these the common law, unless rendered static by constitutional provisions, is subject to legislative modification. Law-making power within the state is distributed by the state Constitution, and the legislature possesses all powers not specifically or impliedly prohibited. The author further points out the great diversity in local institutions in the American colonies, and the frequent lack of local self-government in refutation of the argument that the right of self-government should be read into state constitutions by implication, as an intention of their framers. Finally, in answer to the argument that the right of self-government is one of the rights retained by the people under the various "bills of rights" provisions, McBain points out that these clauses were not included in the earlier state constitutions, that such clauses unquestionably referred to personal and property rights, not to political rights, and that such clauses have received practically no judicial application. He therefore agrees with Judge Dillon[6] that "the great weight of authority denies *in toto* the existence, in the absence of special constitutional provisions, of any inherent right of local self-government which is beyond legislative control."

To one who examines impartially the evidence and the reasoning in this controversy, several conclusions seem fairly clear. Historical data establish the fact that, to a considerable extent in England and to a very limited extent in America, self-constituted cities arose, whose polit-

[5] Indiana, Iowa and Kentucky.

[6] Municipal Corporations (5th ed.), vol. i, p. 154.

ical existence was not originally derived from a superior authority. Such a condition, however, was bound to disappear with the growth of modern centralized states, and political theory properly changes to accord with the new facts of state supremacy. While from the point of view of political expediency and of general democratic policy it is desirable that municipal corporations should have a considerable degree of self-government, the theory of an inherent right of local self-government is a survival of the discarded theory of natural rights and social contract, and has no proper place in American law. A municipal corporation is but a department of the state, exercising delegated powers; and constitutional provisions alone, either specific or implied, can place legal bounds to the authority of legislatures in municipal affairs.

THE MOVEMENT FOR INCREASED STREET RAILWAY FARES

BY STILES P. JONES[1]
Minneapolis

THE traditional five-cent fare on urban street railway systems of the United States is in danger of going the way of many other established institutions in these times of rapid changes of front.

The campaign inaugurated some months ago by prominent street railway companies for a higher rate of fare is gathering momentum steadily. The facts seem to point to a comprehensive movement by the street railway interests of the country to secure a substantial increase of their revenues through some measure of fare increase. In the case of the New York city companies the movement takes the form of a demand for a two-cent charge for transfers. In other cases a straight increase in fare to six cents is asked for. In one instance, Albany, New York, the company asks for both. In some of the cities, notably St. Louis, Tacoma and Seattle, the effort is being directed to secure relief through release from present burdens of taxation or of other kinds imposed by present contract obligations.

The movement starting in New York and Massachusetts is spreading rapidly through the country, stimulated by all the arts of the publicity agent and reinforced by upstanding statements from the utility officials showing the urgent needs of their situation. Twenty-eight street railway companies in New York state, outside of the metropolitan district, on June 25 joined in a petition to the public service commission of the second district asking for an increase in fare to six cents. Frequent conferences with the commission have been held during the subsequent weeks. The companies insist that prompt action is imperative to protect their investments, to save their credit and assure their communities of adequate service. In Massachusetts the Holyoke and Springfield companies and the Middlesex & Boston company have formally petitioned the public service commission for authority to raise the fare to six cents. The big Bay state company, operating in and between a large number of cities radiating from Boston, bas already been granted a six-cent fare for a trial period of six months. The Boston elevated railway company has appealed to the legislature for relief from some of its present burdens and has obtained it in some measure, but without recourse for the present to an advance in rates. The affairs of the Providence street railway company are being investigated by a special commission under legislative authority to find a remedy for its impoverished financial condition and its inability to furnish proper service. The United railways company of St. Louis is ready to yield some of its present contract privileges in return for concessions from the city as a means to help the company out of a bad financial hole. City and company are seriously discussing a proposal that includes the granting of a new franchise based on the cost of service principle, with a capital valuation representing a notable reduction below the company's present capitalization.

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[1] Secretary, Public franchise league.

The movement for higher fares is also under way in California. The San Francisco-Oakland terminal railways, operating in Oakland and adjoining cities, has appealed to the railway commission for authority to increase rates, while the San Diego company has asked the commission to allow it to both increase rates and to reduce service. The United railways company of San Francisco is seeking through a financial reorganization which will cut its present capitalization in half to get on a basis where it can give service and pay dividends. Companies in other states serving metropolitan communities are flying the distress signal and looking to an increase in fare as the logical way out of their difficulties.

The present condition is not due alone to conditions made by the war, the companies allege, but is the result of a steady late year tendency in the direction of increased cost in every department of conducting transportation. The appeals coming from the companies recite practically the same story, the increased expense of operation through the abnormal advance in the price of everything entering into the transportation business—construction and maintenance (average about 100 per cent according to the official facts compiled by the companies), striking wage advances, steadily increasing tax burdens, persistent demands from the public for higher standards of service, longer hauls, extension of the transfer privilege, in some cases, increased cost of capital, also the diminished efficiency of labor in the construction field—making in combination a situation that the companies insist they cannot meet from the revenues accruing from the present five-cent fare. And on top of all this, the quite general large loss of revenue through the expanding use of the private automobile, and, with many companies, the still greater loss from the keen competition of the irrepressible jitneys. The company officials declare that unless relief is granted in some shape their properties face inevitable bankruptcy and the public serious curtailment of service, with the final result that many communities will be compelled to take over the transportation utility as a municipal enterprise. Deterioration in physical condition of the properties through the necessity of scrimping maintenance and depreciation is another of the dangers of the situation shown by the companies.

The popular recourse of the public utilities to reduce wages in situations like this cannot be resorted to in these times of labor scarcity; and again, communities do not so obediently accept restricted service to meet dividend demands as in times past. The only course the companies can see open to them is the one they are now pursuing—to put the burden directly upon the public in a higher charge for service.

It is significant that those companies which are operating under modern franchise settlements—Chicago, Cleveland, Kansas City and Des Moines—are not enlisted in the movement for the six-cent fare. In these cities street railway capital is secure in its investment and a fair rate of return thereon, while the public is receiving reasonably adequate service within the limitations of a surface system to give it. Apparently the remedy so effective in the above cities of making common cause with the public through enlightened franchise settlements has not appealed to the companies enlisted in this present campaign. At least it has been ignored up to this time. This course would involve the surrender of their present long term, and, in some cases, perpetual privilege to occupy the public streets, with only meagre local control of their affairs, in return for a contract limiting profits and providing for quite comprehensive public regulation. Naturally this plan does not appeal to the public utility mind and we may expect will not be invoked except as a last resort.

It is also significant that with one notable exception, the United railways of San Francisco, street railway companies have not turned to a reorganization of their finances as a means of relief. Under a scheme of reorganization that makes capitalization represent closely capital investment the results might show no such urgent necessity for rate increases as the companies are now claiming.

It will be interesting to note the revenue results where the desired rate increases are granted,—whether the facts actually bear out the companies' present estimate of the increased receipts that will follow the increase in fare. There are those who prophesy that the companies are due to keen disappointment in this respect, that the reduction in the riding habit of the public and the increased patronage of the public automobile following an advance in rates, will offset any increase that might accrue from a higher rate of fare, leaving the companies' present revenue conditions practically unchanged. Especially may this be true at this time when due to war conditions the public is not riding as freely as usual.

YOUR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND YOUR CITY GOVERNMENT

BY HARRY A. TOULMIN, JR.[1]

Dayton, Ohio

WHY should business men be concerned with city government? The answer is that the purpose of enlightened municipal government is to make a city a safe place in which to do business.

No farsighted executive cares or dares risk his concern or mercantile establishment to the attention of an indifferent and mismanaged city administration. The failure or success of a city in the discharge of its duties has so intimate a relationship to the prosperity of the community and its business interests that the modern executive has been compelled, from self interest at least, to take a vigorous stand on urban problems.

The logical place for business men to express themselves on the subject of city government is through their local chamber of commerce. Commercial and industrial interests largely pay the bills, directly or indirectly, for the municipal government, and they have the right to look for commensurate results.

Four hundred thousand business men of the leading commercial organizations of the western world have evidenced to the chamber of commerce of the United States an urgent, present interest in municipal affairs during the last year. And why? Because the new business-like forms of city government do these things:

The new city government puts the municipality on a sound financial basis. Proper methods of accounting, auditing and purchasing are practised. It provides honest payrolls and full-time work of the least number of useful employes. It provides a sound budget and a sane financial program of bonding and borrowing. Reduced taxes result.

The new city government provides enough water at a low cost to protect factories, stores, and buildings as well as to care for the industrial and commercial needs of a vigorous community. It motorizes its fire department and thereby reduces its insurance rates to the lowest point. This reduction is helped by the establishment of an improved building code.

A modern municipality provides adequate police for strikes, disasters, and fires. Transportation in the city is controlled in order to give workmen an opportunity to travel readily in reasonable comfort and safety to and from work. This type of transportation takes adequate care of the suburban shopping population.

Health of labor is insured by proper housing regulations, sanitation, sewerage, health rules against epidemics, etc.

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[1] Author, "The City Manager," in the National Municipal League Series.

Welfare departments of the new city governments insure the proper kind of amusements, provide for the education of the population on matters of health and crime, and take care of the delinquents with the least burden to the public.

Consequently, low taxes, low insurance rates, a healthy environment, efficient transportation, police and fire protection, community welfare, and best of all a splendid community spirit of co-operation flow from this type of advanced municipal administration.

Publicity for public acts, concentrated responsibility, and economy of operation have met the approval of the nation's business men, and municipal affairs as a result are the chiefest activities of commercial organizations.

Yet the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the leading commercial organization of the world, has provided no way for co-ordinating in one great central committee this desire and need for business practice in city government.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Sacramento County Charter.—The grand jury of Sacramento County, in its final report submitted July 23, again recommends that steps be taken to secure a charter for Sacramento County. Earlier in the year a committee of fifteen citizens appointed by the grand jury investigated the subject and reported in favor of the plan. The report was transmitted to the board of supervisors with the recommendation that an election be called to select freeholders to make the draft. No official action was taken by that body, the report, states the grand jury, being referred to a committee which seldom reports. The chairman of the board of supervisors in a newspaper interview declared that the experience of other counties did not warrant the move and that an election would be a needless expense.

In its July report, the grand jury states its belief that many needed reforms in the government of the county would be effected by a charter and again urges that fifteen leading citizens be entrusted with the preparation of the document.

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Street Railway Notes.—*Duluth, Minnesota,* has again proved its ability to deal vigorously and effectively with its public utility problems without any assistance from outside sources. On previous occasions the city brought to a successful conclusion serious controversies between the city and the gas and water and the electric light companies—by municipal ownership of the gas and light utility in 1898, and by a compromise agreement with the electric concern a few years ago which gave the consumers in lieu of municipal ownership one of the lowest maximum rates in the country. This time it was the street railway company which was involved. The city demanded from the company a more liberal policy of extension construction, and a universal five-cent fare over all lines and extensions.

The company stood pat. The city commission thereupon on May 28 passed a resolution directing the condemnation of the street railway system for municipal ownership and appointed special counsel to carry out this purpose. Three weeks later the company, apparently impressed by the commission's belligerent attitude, asked for a conference with the city looking to an amicable settlement of the controversy. At this conference the company and the city came together on a program which concedes practically all the city's demands, and the condemnation proceedings were accordingly dismissed.

Oakland and Berkeley, Cal. Distinct progress has been made lately in the movement for resettlement of the franchises of the San Francisco-Oakland Terminal Railways Company, which serves the Alameda county communities, including Oakland and Berkeley. The legislature has approved the amendments to the charters of the cities concerned. These charter changes enable the common councils of the respective cities served by the company to negotiate for new franchises. The mayors of Oakland and Berkeley have appointed committees to prepare the franchise contracts and they have organized and are at work. Any agreement between the company and the city authorities must be submitted to a public referendum for ratification.

The gist of the proposed resettlement is contained in the charter amendments adopted by the voters of Oakland in November, 1916. In brief, it is proposed to grant a new franchise embodying the essential principles of the so-called cost of service franchise. The basic terms of the proposed franchise for Oakland are as follows: A 6 per cent return upon the value of the property as found by the

California railway commission, with a division of the profits on the basis of 55 per cent to the city and 45 per cent to the company; an indeterminate term grant subject to the right of the city to purchase at any time, or to designate a purchaser; control of operation, service, etc., vested in a double headed board of control representing the city and company. The plan of resettlement is patterned closely after the Kansas City franchise of 1914.

Stiles P. Jones.

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Los Angeles County Faces Serious Deficit.—Bringing to a head rumors of a deficit in the finances of Los Angeles county which had been current since the taking of office by two new members of the board of supervisors, the grand jury upon May 19 filed formal charges against three members of the county board and the auditor and treasurer. These charges indicate that there is a deficit of about $1,183,000.

This condition arose from operations on the part of the board which, while probably not criminal in intent, were so careless and illegal as to be highly reprehensible. The general procedure was to transfer money from one fund to another, or to make payments from the wrong funds, and in this way serious inroads were made upon certain trust funds, particularly those of the schools and of certain road districts.

That this condition must have been known to the supervisors was pointed out by the Los Angeles municipal league which in a statement issued March 9 showed that the treasurer's monthly reports had at all times in the past year indicated that several of the funds were overdrawn.

The accusations of the grand jury may be summarized as follows:

1. That claims were allowed and paid to the *Daily Journal* Company in July, 1916, when the supervisors knew that the county treasurer had not money in the general fund with which to meet the bill. That the general fund for the fiscal year of 1916 was $6,273,395, and the supervisors spent and issued warrants for $6,618,826.

2. That the supervisors spent more than 70 per cent of the total revenues of 1916 before the end of the first six months, the law holding that not over 70 per cent shall be expended during the first half of the year.

3. This count covers the mileage charges collected by Supervisor Norton, and asserts that the money was paid without submitting the bills to the district attorney's office for approval as the law requires.

4. That the supervisors illegally purchased Los Angeles high school district bonds to the amount of $120,000 and city school district bonds to the amount of $480,000, a total of $600,000, and paid for them out of the "surplus fund." The law does not provide for a "surplus fund," and it is asserted the supervisors provided such a fund by taking the general fund balance.

5. That from July to December, 1916, the supervisors drew warrants from the general fund totaling $994,670 more than there was in the fund, again using the general fund as a surplus fund.

6. That an attempt was made in 1916 to levy a tax of three cents to pay for the deficit of the previous year amounting to $239,000.

7. That claims for services and materials purchased previous to June 1, 1916, were ordered paid by the supervisors when the supervisors "knew the treasurer did not have money in the general fund and without providing revenue with which he was to pay them."

8. That additional claims were ordered paid in August, 1916, with the same knowledge that the general fund was depleted, the supervisors doing so with "the understanding that the treasurer would pay the warrants with money he had" in other funds.

9. That the supervisors failed to supervise the conduct of transactions of the auditor and treasurer, and that the treasurer and auditor failed to file statistical reports for the fiscal year 1916; that they

did not require the auditor to file statements of the receipts and disbursements.

10. That the supervisors did not cause the treasurer to register warrants allowed by him, and that they never took steps to stop him from paying warrants when they knew there was not money in the general fund for such purposes. That by allowing the acts of the treasurer and auditor, the treasurer was short $1,183,583.

District Attorney Thomas Lee Woolwine is quoted with reference to the matter as saying, "Although the statutes pronounce the misconduct a felony, it did not appear to the district attorney or to the grand jury that the conduct of these officers merited so severe a penalty, inasmuch as it appears that though the funds were juggled and diverted from their proper uses, none of the supervisors profited directly from any such misconduct. It may be said, however, that by reason of the negligence and mismanagement of the county finances a condition has arisen that is deplorable and unprecedented in the history of the county. Many of the departments are now being handicapped by reason of lack of funds. Money intended to be used for charitable purposes and for the relief of the sick and needy has been squandered, employes of the county who are actually in need of their salaries for their daily necessities can neither obtain money from the county, nor from banks nor loan sharks."

The supervisors under attack are John J. Hamilton, chairman, Richard H. Norton and F. E. Woodley. The county treasurer is John H. Hunt, and the county auditor Walter A. Lewis.

A much improved form of budget and of accounting method is being installed by the state board of control, and it is thought that in the future the provision that before a contract is entered into the auditor must certify that money is available in the proper fund to pay the costs arising out of the contract will form a safeguard against such a recurrence in the future.

Seward C. Simons.[1]

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[1] Secretary, Los Angeles municipal league.

The Health Department as a Neighbor.—In the old days public health work was regarded very much as a matter of public safety; the exercise of the police power to quarantine was its most conspicuous expression. For this somewhat negative aim one central organization did fairly well. Compulsory vaccination, for instance, needed only one central office and the schools. The abatement of such nuisances as were reported by citizens could be carried on from a central office in a fairly satisfactory way. The place to eliminate typhoid was at the water works and the dairy farms; the process was impersonal and detached.

Gradually it was seen that coercion would accomplish only certain results, that more emphasis would have to be placed upon education in personal hygiene and persuasion toward temperate living, and that a genuine appreciation and a widespread enthusiasm for health would have to be created, if resistance to all disease and a high degree of physical vigor were to be attained generally throughout the population. To accomplish these ends we have had school medical inspectors calling the attention of parents to the physical defects and the unhygienic habits of their children, field nurses teaching infant hygiene, baby saving shows, milk stations, milk shows, housing exhibits, anti-alcohol campaigns, fresh air campaigns, clean-up weeks, publicity bureaus and other educational propaganda measures as strong rivals in health departments of the control of contagious diseases, food inspection, nuisance abatement, housing regulation and the other conventional activities now found in almost every city. It may be noted parenthetically that there is, among American municipalities, no standardized group of activities accepted as proper and necessary to every health department.

With the new activities has come a new slant in viewing the old functions. In performing them coercion which descended upon individuals from some remote and little understood authority wa not wholly effective. There was need of "close-up" friendly contact with families and with neighborhoods.

The addition of new activities had also brought complexity. It was formerly the practice to add to the organization a new corps for highly specialized service each time a new activity was taken up. In some cities there were, and still are, separate groups of school nurses, infant welfare nurses, tuberculosis nurses, physicians for outdoor medical relief, for schools, for contagious diseases, inspectors for various aspects of sanitation and housing and officers checking up birth registration. Where a single family came in contact with several of these at the same time, and this frequently occurred, there was overlapping of duties and considerable friction resulted. It used to be said that "the poor would be compelled to have office hours" if they were to reserve any time for themselves.

The first official experiment with a form of organization which substituted for the long range attack of the highly specialized functional units, the close, concentrated attack upon general neighborhood conditions, was made in New York city in the latter part of 1914 and in 1915. Health District No. 1 was organized in a Russian-Austrian neighborhood on the lower East Side. It comprised twenty-one blocks, an area of some 63 acres on which are living about 35,000 people. Three nurses and one nurses' assistant gave full time to the district work, a health officer gave part time to direct the force, a medical inspector, a food inspector and a sanitary inspector gave part time to this district. The nurses have performed "all-around, public health, nursing service" under the immediate control of the health officer. During the first three months after the new organization had been well started, the records show that on the visits to one third of the houses, the nurse performed more than one specialized health function. The New York plans provide for the retention of a highly functionalized central organization and for the various bureau heads to constitute a "staff" of specialists to direct and supervise the "line" work of the districts.

The success of the experiment both from the standpoint of efficient management and from that of disseminating health education, and of fostering general neighborhood enthusiasm for public health and a co-operative spirit toward the authorities has led to the rapid spread of this form of organization. By January, 1917, New York had organized four more health centers and was planning to add several others.

In Philadelphia the educational value of the health center idea was tested by a private welfare agency, the child federation, in the summer of 1914. Since that time the department of health and charities has taken over this unit and created five additional units. Now that the experimental stage is over, it seems likely that all large American cities will soon adopt this type of organization or some modification of it.

Neva R. Deardorff.[1]

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St. Louis Garbage Problem.—The local administration is pledged to a municipal garbage plant, and the question which is now subject to discussion is whether the old private plant of the present contractor at Dupo, Illinois, should be purchased or an entirely new plant built. The board of public service, in whose hands rests the authority to initiate proceedings in the matter, has employed I. S. Osborn of Cleveland to go over the local situation and give his view from an expert standpoint. The board of aldermen is divided at the present, Chairman Luke E. Hart, of the special committee which investigated the problem for over a year, being in favor of a new plant, and another committee recently appointed favoring the purchase of the old plant. The civic league has taken the attitude that all necessary preliminary steps should be taken by the board of public service so that valuable time will not be lost and the city find itself at the mercy of the private contractor when the present contract expires. It will take fully eighteen months to get through the legislation, prepare plans and build the new plant, if such a course is decided upon.

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[1] Assistant director, Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

The city at the present time has a contract with the Indiana reduction company which expires September 1, 1918. The contract is one of the most undesirable entered into by any city in the country. Under its terms St. Louis pays to the private contractor 87 cents a ton for the reduction of garbage, the city in addition doing its own collection and delivery to the representatives of the company.

This makes a total of from $40,000 to $50,000 a year, which the city pays to the contractor for reduction alone. This is in striking contrast with the profits reported from the municipally owned and operated reduction plants at Cleveland and Columbus, and with the contracts under which New York city and Los Angeles, to name cities at two geographical extremes, receive money for garbage delivered to private contractors for reduction.

Louis F. Budenz.[1]

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Administrative Improvements of Borough President Marks.—In a pamphlet entitled "The Borough of Manhattan," the National Institute of Social Sciences has prepared a summary of the administrative improvements introduced by Marcus M. Marks, president of the borough of Manhattan of the city of New York, during the last three years. In the relation of his department to the public the most important improvement has been the formation of borough advisory commissions, consisting of men and women from each of sixteen neighborhoods whose function it is to inform the borough president of the needs and the desires of the residents of the neighborhood. Other improvements include a particularly efficient new type of street signs, the prevention of cutting of newly paved streets for subsurface work and the establishment of additional markets to reduce the cost of living.

In the relation of the executives of his department to his employes the most important improvement has been the establishment of a joint trial board consisting of two representatives of the administration and two fellow employes selected by lot for the trial of delinquent employes. The joint trial board has been very successful in increasing the efficiency and the *esprit de corps* of the department. Suggestion boxes, bulletin boards, weekly departmental luncheons, welfare work, outings, entertainments, lectures and courses of instruction for the employes have also been introduced.

Leonhard Felix Fuld.

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Kansas State Manager.—Acting under the legislation of 1917 already described in the National Municipal Review,[2] Governor Capper has appointed a board of administration with the following members: Former Governor E. W. Hoch who was the minority (Republican) member of the old board of administration adopted by the Democratic legislature of 1913 and who was subsequently appointed by Governor Hodges for the short term and reappointed by Governor Capper in 1915; Dr. Wilbur M. Mason, president of Baker University, a Methodist Episcopal institution at Baldwin; and former Mayor E. W. Green of Kansas City, Kansas, for two terms the head of the city commission there where he made a fine record.[3] Mr. Green is the Democratic member of the board. Governor Capper is ex-officio chairman of this board which has appointed James Kimball, business man and reformer of Salina, to the position of manager. The secretary is Hugh Lardner, secretary of the old board of administration.

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Michigan Housing Law.—Michigan has just secured a state housing code which proves again that good example may be of as much influence as bad. Several years ago Grand Rapids, the second city in the state, adopted a housing code that has since been well enforced. The results have been so good that even Detroit's reluctance has been so largely overcome that its board of health has been enabled to adopt a code of rules that is virtually a housing code, and now, with the assistance of other cities, Grand Rapids has succeeded in converting its local ordinance into a state law.

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[1] Acting secretary, St. Louis civic league.

[2] See vol. vi, p. 505.

[3] See vol. iv, p. 492.

The new law follows the same plan as the ordinance which paved the way for it, but follows more closely Veiller's Model Law, departing from its guide in only a few instances. In some of these it improves upon its guide, for each year adds something to our experience. In others it falls below the standard set. The controverted question of percentage of lot that may be occupied is ignored by the omission of any provision dealing with it. Unfortunately, rear yards on corner lots may be occupied by structures one story in height. On the other hand, no dwelling not of fireproof construction may exceed three stories in height. The troublesome lodger problem is dodged by empowering certain public officials to forbid the taking in of lodgers by tenants of multiple dwellings only and then tacking on a provision that if found necessary this power may be extended to private and two-family dwellings.

But despite such minor criticisms the new Michigan housing law is the best code of state-wide application now in effect, even as the Grand Rapids' ordinance was the best applicable to any city. The Michigan law applies to every city and organized village in the state containing 10,000 or more population and to every such city or village as its population shall reach 10,000. According to the census of 1910, there were then twenty-three cities of more than 10,000 population in the state.

John Ihlder.

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Minneapolis Housing Law.—Minneapolis, after once being disappointed, has secured a housing code that assures it of reasonable protection. To the civic and commerce association under the leadership of Otto W. Davis, who several years ago put through for Columbus, Ohio, the first real housing code in America, belongs the credit for this achievement. The association made a study of housing conditions and published a report in 1914. This report came as a shock to most Minneapolitans, but the shock was salutary. With the facts to back them the association then drafted a housing code. The legislature to whom it was first introduced declined to pass it. The association then began a campaign of education, secured the co-operation of the real estate interests and this year succeeded in its purpose. The code in its plan and in the standards set follows other recent housing legislature.

J. I.

⁂

Pennsylvania Municipal Legislation.—Notwithstanding the elaborate program for progressive municipal legislation prepared by the cities of the first, second and third classes[1] in Pennsylvania, nothing of any importance was passed except two bills providing for the establishment of adequate civil service regulations for firemen and policemen in third class cities. At one time it looked as if the good work already done in the second and third class cities would be undone, but fortunately the efforts directed to this end were defeated. In other words, the record of the legislature was one accidental negative virtue.

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Sault Ste. Marie by a vote of three to one, or to be exact by a decisive majority of 527 out of a total of 1,285 votes cast, adopted a new charter embodying a commission-manager form of government at the special election of June 26. This charter was framed by a commission of the most successful professional and mercantile men in the city, who have endeavored to eliminate those features of previous charters of this form which have not proved successful, and to retain what experience has shown to be the valuable provisions for the effective operation of municipal government.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 276.

II. POLITICS[1]

The East St. Louis Riots.—Responsibility for the East St. Louis (Illinois) riot of July 2—unparalleled in ferocity in the history of the country—must be laid directly at the door of municipal inefficiency. This was particularly evidenced in the utter failure of the police to do their duty in the crisis. Other causes contributed to the outburst in which thirty-seven negroes were hanged, clubbed and burned to death, hundreds were severely injured and six blocks of dwellings and business structures destroyed—the racial friction occasioned by the influx of thousands of black people from the south, the labor difficulty resulting from the fact that many of these men were imported to take the places of striking white men, the murder of Detective Coppedge on the preceding night. But the reason why the savage slaughter at all was allowed to be staged was the bad political conditions which have existed in the town for years, leading to civic disturbances at other periods of its history.

The police board of the city was the creature of these evil political conditions and was absolutely unfit to handle the situation. For weeks before the outbreak there had been rumblings of the coming storm. Early in the year, when the labor leaders had gone in a body to the city hall to request the mayor to stop the incoming negroes, there had been an attack on black people in the streets of the city and several had been beaten. During the week of May 27 there had been a number of mob risings in which a dozen negroes had been badly treated and several houses had been sacked and burned. On the early morning of July 2 a negro mob had shot and killed a policeman and wounded four others, and it was certain—with the people in the restive humor that they were—that reprisals would start before twenty-four hours had passed. Despite all this, the local authorities made no preparation whatsoever to prevent the formation of the mob which began its work at 6 o'clock that evening. To make matters worse, the police officers did nothing at all during the three hours of butchery to stop the things that were going on. No efforts were made to arrest members of the mob. Even the thousand national guardsmen on the ground showed but little disposition to protect the blacks. The gangs of men and women were allowed to range as they chose, burning and shooting and hanging any negro man, woman or child that came to view. Only the arrival of additional militiamen with the adjutant-general and the governor brought about final order.

The chamber of commerce has appointed a committee of one hundred to re-establish lasting order and a desirable status in East St. Louis. The first act of this committee was to recommend the removal of the police board, which was done. The new board has begun in the fight spirit. At the same time, there is an agitation on foot for commission government in the place. Coupled with a city manager and non-partisan elections this would help much to improve the bad record and bad conditions of the Illinois city. One hundred and five persons have been indicted for participation in the riot.

Louis F. Budenz.

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Portsmouth City Manager Situation.—In the face of two largely attended mass meetings and numerous petitions of protest, the council of Portsmouth dismissed Tirrell B. Shertzer as city manager and named W. B. Bates as his successor. Bates does not seem to have had any experience as a city manager or in any similar position, but has the advantage of being related to one of the members of the council and being known as a politician.

The complexion of the council has been changed completely since the original election. It has lost three members, one by death, one on account of ill health, and the third from disgust, so that now the council contains five men who are apparently more interested in politics and political organizations than they are in the city, and two men who place the interests of the city foremost.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

Concerning the situation there Lieut. C. P. Shaw of Norfolk writes:

> Portsmouth voted in favor of the city manager plan, and then partly through faulty election machinery, and partly through the skill of certain politicians, elected a council—the majority of whose members were opposed to the new form.
>
> Instead of immediately appointing a city manager, the members of the council proceeded to divide the city into departments, and placed themselves in positions as the heads of these various departments, and incidentally enjoyed the patronage of those departments for five or six months before appointing the manager. In other words, they made the new form of government for that length of time the commission, and not the city manager plan. When they finally did appoint a manager, the council appeared to be reluctant to give up these positions as heads of departments, and seem to have exercised powers that did not belong to them, and thus interfered so seriously that the manager was so heavily handicapped as to be unable to operate the city as the law intended he should.
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> Under the Virginia law in city manager cities, the council has only legislative powers, and the appointment of a limited number of officials, including the city manager. In the latter is vested all the executive and administrative powers of the city, with the duty of appointing his subordinates and of preparing the tentative budget. In view of these facts, I believe that the action of the council in attempting to perform executive and administrative functions is entirely illegal.
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> This is certainly so after they had appointed a city manager, unless he should have named them as heads of departments, in which case they would have been obliged to cease to act as members of the council, because the duties of the council are purely legislative.

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Dayton's Political Crisis.—Dayton's non-partisan city manager form of government is undergoing a critical trial for existence this autumn. The primary election held on August 14 resulted in the choice of the three Socialist candidates, with the Citizens' candidates (the sitting members of the commission whose terms are expiring) running fourth, fifth and sixth. A well informed correspondent in writing of the Socialist vote and the situation says:

> I attribute their heavy vote to social unrest, anti-Democratic spirit because we are now at war (which influenced a large German vote), the manager's salary, and hiring of $50 a day experts by the commission.
>
> I have heard no comment as to the campaign which needs be conducted before the election, November 6.
>
> The manifest lack of appreciation by the Socialists of what has been done, together with the inability or the lack of desire of these Socialists to think for themselves, is a discouraging situation locally. I for one believe it cannot successfully be combatted before November, and I think they will have at least one representative on the city commission after January 1. The talks of their local leaders are unbelievably bad,—filled with lies, misrepresentations, destructive criticisms, and lack of patriotism. It is unfortunate that all matters, national, industrial and economic, have such a telling influence upon a purely local government.

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The Los Angeles Elections.—On May 1 the city primary resulted in the re-election of Mayor Woodman, City Attorney Stephens, and City Auditor Meyers, each having received a majority of all the votes cast for their respective offices, the majority for Mayor Woodman being about 1,000. Eighteen candidates for the council and fourteen for the board of education were nominated, the final election being held on June 5.

Concerning this latter the *California Outlook* for July makes the following comments:

> The city election was determined in a manner entirely satisfactory to the newspapers. Every member of the city council who refused to take his orders from the newspapers in the matter of billboard regulation was defeated.
>
> In their campaign against their advertising competitors, the billboards, the newspapers gave an exhibition of unanimity in misrepresentation and deception which was startling to the thoughtful and informed.
>
> When the U. S. supreme court decision in the Chicago billboard case showed that Los Angeles could improve her existing billboard ordinance, the city council took the question up with the purpose of improving the old ordinance in the light of the new decision. The leading civic

organizations, such as the chamber of commerce, the merchants' and manufacturers' association, and others, were invited to assist in the determination of the question. A joint committee of the various civic organizations was appointed, and it undertook the study of the billboard situation. Immediately the newspapers sneered at this committee as the "stalling committee," "the delay committee," etc.

Quite promptly this committee reported that billboards should be permitted in the central business district, that they should be regulated in the semi-business districts, and that they should be prohibited in the residence districts. The regulation in the semi-business districts was not as stringent as the newspapers wished it to be. The city council undertook to give consideration as to what the regulation should be in the semi-business districts, but the newspapers would brook no consideration. The newspapers represented the "solid five" of the city council as favoring the billboards in residence districts, a statement that was at all times untrue. By their unanimous misrepresentation of the attitude of the city councilmen, the newspapers succeeded in defeating them.

The serious question involved in all this situation is not the billboards—they have but few friends—nor the fate of defeated councilmen, who were not particularly popular. The serious question is that the newspapers were willing to unite in an effort to determine a city election on the one question of driving out a competitor in the advertising business. To this end they were willing to ignore every other public question and to indulge in unanimous misrepresentation.

Democracy and Its Newspapers—here is a problem worth studying.

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Portland, Oregon.—The recent election in Portland, Oregon (June 4), rejected by a decisive vote two initiative bills proposing to return to a councilmanic government, but in some other respects evidenced a tendency to revert to type. Two experienced and successful politicians of only moderate administrative ability were elected as commissioners against two men neither of whom was a good politician and both of whom had already rendered efficient service in that office. The successful candidate for mayor was also of the politician type, but an able man, a hard worker, a successful commissioner before his election as mayor, and apt to heed the majority opinion, which fortunately in Portland is mainly on the right side of important issues.

The ballot carried also several state measures, one of which was again a reversion to type, namely, the bill requiring that city, town, and state elections be held on the same day. This bill was passed by a decisive vote. It was proposed and passed in good faith as an economy measure, but most readers of this review will agree that separation of state and city politics is worth all it costs.

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A Charter Election in Norfolk, Va.—In accordance with an amendment to section 117 of the constitution of Virginia, authorizing its legislature to grant to cities of over 50,000 inhabitants such form of charter as the legislature might deem best, a statute was passed in 1914 prescribing the manner in which such cities should request a charter change, and providing that the question of a new charter should be determined by the affirmative vote of the majority of those voting, but making the election of the charter commissioners invalid unless a majority of the qualified voters should take part in the elections.

Under this act an election was held in August, 1915, with 2,001 votes for and 67 against a change of charter, which was invalid because the majority of the qualified voters did not take part. If 1,500 more votes had been cast against a new charter, the new charter would have succeeded! This absurd paradox was eliminated from the law in 1916, by an amendment which provided that the question should be determined in accordance with the will of the majority voting on the question.

At an election held on June 19, 1,895 votes were cast in favor of a new charter, and 149 against. A commission consisting of five prominent business men and four lawyers has organized for the work of preparing a new charter.

Since the commission is practically pledged to the commission-manager plan, it is fair to assume that it will be adopted, and further that it will probably follow the lines of the Model Charter prepared by the Committee of the National Municipal League.[1] C. P. Shaw.

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Postponement of Indiana's Constitutional Convention.—The constitutional convention bill passed by the 1917 session of the Indiana legislature[2] was a clean bill without jokers, and assured the people a popular convention. The interests in Indiana, liquor and public utilities, brought suit declaring this act unconstitutional. The lower court upheld the act, declaring the legislature had the power to call the convention. The case was brought to the higher courts, where the decision of the lower court was reversed on the ground that the legislature had no power to call the convention but must refer it to a referendum vote of the people. A minority opinion was filed by one of the court.

This is clearly another case of courts assuming the power of the state. Of the four judges ruling against the people, three came from our larger cities and as our judges are elected for a term of six years and are therefore political officers in the full sense of what political officers stand for in politics-ridden Indiana, it can readily be seen that our people will now more than ever favor a new constitution and take their highly important office out of politics and make our judges as fearless and independent as now are our federal judges. While this decision struck a bad body blow to democracy in Indiana, yet we hope to recover and our citizens' league will continue its good work.

Theodore F. Thieme.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

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Houston, Texas, has a civil service commission, one of the rules of which is that if a man takes an active part in city politics he can be dismissed from the services of the city at the option of the commission. Very few employes of the city at the recent election took any active part in it. Mayor Pastoriza has been associated with most of them for six years as a city commissioner. He did not ask any of them to work for him; two employes, however, took off their coats and went out and worked expecting to be discharged for doing so. They said they would rather lose their position than see him defeated. Mayor Pastoriza believes it is a wise thing not to permit city employes to take an active part in municipal elections. Along this line he has suggested that the city charter be changed so that no employe of the city will be allowed to vote at a city election. If he does he forfeits his position automatically. In support of this view the mayor urges that men who are receiving their living at the hands of a mayor usually vote solidly for him; whereas the great mass of people on the outside who pay the expenses of the government exercise their right to vote for or against him. Often it happens that the city employes hold the balance of the power, and as in one case in Texas succeeded in keeping a man in the office of mayor for a great many years.

The mayor believes that the people who are not drawing a salary from the city should be the ones to decide who should fill elective positions.[3]

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Columbus Women to Vote.—By a vote of 8637 to 7702 the women of Columbus have been given the vote in city affairs, and they will exercise their franchise for the first time at the November election.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

In view of the small number of important decisions which would seem to require notice in this department at this time, the editor of the department was of the opinion that it should be omitted from this issue. It will appear again, however, in the November issue.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. iv, p. 305.

[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 512.

[3] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 425. Mayor Pastoriza died July 9, 1917.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Training for Public Service.—The first legislative declaration in favor of practical training for public service was made by the 1917 Wisconsin legislature, which passed a bill, introduced by Senator Barwig, authorizing the establishment and maintenance of a training school for public service at the Unviersity of Wisconsin. It declared that such a school shall be a professional school and shall be devoted to practical training for the administrative service of the state or of any county or municipality therein or of civic organizations. The bill had a rather stormy history in the senate extending over several months. It was passed in the assembly by an overwhelming vote within two weeks.

The important part of the law is the second section which contains the requirement regarding diplomas and the requirement for field training. The law provides that every graduate of this school shall receive in addition to the regular university degree a diploma stating the specific character of the training which he has undergone. This was done presumably to get away from the idea of the general municipal expert and to emphasize the fact that the expert in municipal government is an expert of specific things. However, when the university comes to decide the fields it will organize, it may establish a specific diploma for the administrative expert in addition to the technical expert.

The law further provides that no person shall receive the diploma of this school "unless at least one third of his total credits in such school shall be for actual work in municipal, county, or state departments or in quasi-public work and unless he shall have submitted a thesis dealing with an actual problem of city government."

The provision of the law that the school must work with city officials and must develop its work in co-operation with them is a wise safeguard. The university cannot, as is usually done, bring together a few of its existing courses and then announce to the world that it is training men for the public service. Under this provision the University of Wisconsin must interest the city officials, must secure their active co-operation and keep their continued interest.

Since the university receives its money in lump sum appropriations and since the number of students will probably be considerably diminished during the coming year, provision will be made for the establishment of this school in the next academic year.

Many universities can undertake this work without legislative declaration, but the Wisconsin law provides that no new school shall be established at the university unless it is authorized by the legislature.

E. A. Fitzpatrick.

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Alberta Municipal Hospitals Act.—Under the municipal hospitals act of Alberta, the different municipal organizations in the province, except cities having a population of over five thousand, may be grouped together into hospital districts for the purpose of maintaining hospitals. By the provisions of the act, the province is required to be divided by the minister of municipal affairs into areas known as hospital districts. The municipal organizations within such hospital districts, if they wish to have a hospital, must by petition to the minister obtain authority to appoint a hospital board. This board will then prepare a hospital scheme. This scheme shall provide for the securing or erection of a suitable building, the raising of the necessary money, the employment of staff, and so on. The minister shall place at the disposal of the board all necessary information in regard to plans, money required and other details. When the board has completed their scheme it has to be submitted to the minister for his approval, and such approval will only be given subject to the scheme being found satisfactory by the provincial board of health under the hospitals ordinance and the public health act, and by the board of public utility commissioners under the public utilities act. On the approval of the scheme being reported to the board, such report will be transferred by the board to the different municipal organizations interested, and these organizations will then submit a by-law to the electors for the purpose of incorporating the scheme. Such by-law will be voted on in the same way as a money by-law, and will include a provision for the raising of money by debenture if necessary. As soon as this by-law has been passed by the municipal organizations interested, the hospital board will put the scheme into effect by carrying out the arrangements provided for therein.

All business of a municipal hospital district is required to be conducted by the hospital board, but this board is subject to the control of the provincial government.

⁂

Kansas City's Presidential Conference.—For a long time the officers of civic organizations in Kansas City have felt the need of closer co-operation; therefore when A. E. Hutchings, president of the rotary club sent out letters to their presidents some six months ago, inviting them to sit together for conference, twenty-six responded. Committees were appointed, and an organization thereafter known as the presidents' round table was formed. Membership is limited to the presidents of organizations, whose work is of a civic nature. The constitution provides that a chairman and vice-chairman be elected to serve three months, and a secretary to serve a year. The dues of the organization are nine dollars quarterly, to cover the cost of luncheon of the members attending. These dues are paid by the organizations.

⁂

A Mayor's Advisory Committee in Minneapolis.—Mayor Van Lear created some weeks ago, or rather there was created for him, an advisory committee consisting of approximately 35 members. The suggestion, of course, came from the Milwaukee experiment.[1] This committee, with the exception of two appointed by the mayor, consists of men and women representing the various civic and labor agencies of the city, selected directly by those agencies. It was organized about two months ago and has had three meetings. It is significant that of the 35 members, not more than five or six are Socialists.

⁂

Course in Citizenship at Cornell.—The course in citizenship at Cornell suffered as did most other college courses after the United States entered the war. It began with an enrollment of 187 students. At the end of the semester, in June, scarcely thirty were left. At that time about 2,000 students had left the university to enter various services in connection with the war.

The course in 1917 differed from those in preceding years as Dr. Samuel P. Orth, who took the place of Dr. Walter F. Willcox during the latter's sabbatical leave, wished to make it fit in more closely with his courses in government. To this wish the committee agreed. The subjects and speakers in 1917 were:

Government and the Control of Public Utilities, Delos F. Wilcox.

Government and Industrial Unrest, Samuel McCune Lindsay.

Recreation in its Relation to Citizenship and Industrial Efficiency, Johann Grolle.

The Citizen in Society's Effort to Control Tuberculosis, George J. Nelbach.

Social Insurance—The Modern Method of Prevention of Destitution, I. M. Rubinow.

The Citizen and Public Service, Prof. W. B. Munro.

Governmental Budget Systems and their Relation to Effective Citizenship, Frederick A. Cleveland.

Social Efficiency and the Short Ballot, Lawrence F. Abbott.

The County Government Jungle, Richard S. Childs.

The Commission Form of City Government, Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

City Planning as a Municipal Function, Nelson P. Lewis.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 428.

The Municipality and the Farmer's Marketing Problems, Clyde L. King.

Governmental Bureaus of Social Welfare; a Sign of the Times, L. A. Halbert.

Owing to the inroads which the war has made upon the upper classes, from which the membership of the course is drawn, the committee is considering the advisability of postponing future courses until the return of peace. JOHN IHLDER.

⁂

A City Management Course at the University of Kansas.—A clipping from a San José, California, paper states that the University of Kansas has a four-year course for training of municipal managers.

This statement has gone around in various forms during the last two years. Concerning it Prof. F. W. Blackmar of the University writes in response to an inquiry: "If you have the proceedings of the congress called by Mayor Mitchel for the consideration of municipal problems, you will find an address of mine there on this subject. I am not quite certain who is responsible for this article as it appears.

"We have no four-year course leading to municipal manager, and have never made any such claim. We have, however, sufficient number of courses in political science, sociology, economics, chemistry, bacteriology, and sanitary and other forms of engineering to give a man a good preparation, but we have never brought this material together in a distinct course.

"The departments of economics, sociology and engineering advertise courses that prepare for public service of this kind, but in no such formal way as indicated in the article which you enclose. However, since we have already received credit for it, I shall try to develop a systematic four-year course leading to city management."

⁂

Ryan Dactyloplane.—One of the factors which has led to the rapid introduction of finger prints for purposes of criminal identification has been the ease with which such prints may be taken. Henry in his book on the subject states that all that is required for this purpose are white paper, printer's ink and a roller for spreading it. Although it is possible to take finger prints with such a crude piece of apparatus, just as it is possible to build a log cabin with the use of no tools other than a hand saw and a broad ax, better work can in every case be done if better tools are provided. The Ryan dactyloplane, which has been invented by Patrick Ryan, finger-print expert of the New York municipal civil service commission, is a highly perfected piece of apparatus which enables a finger-print expert properly to ink the fingers of the prisoner and from the fingers so inked to take impressions for permanent record. The great value of this invention in finger-print work is shown by the fact that with its use Mr. Ryan was on January 25, 1917, able to take the finger-prints of eight hundred and fifty-four candidates for patrolman in 64 minutes, an average of about four seconds for each candidate.

L. F. F.

⁂

The Indiana Bureau of Legislative Information.—The legislature of Indiana has withheld the appropriation for the continuance of this bureau which has been in existence for six years under the direction of John A. Lapp, one time associate editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and editor of "*Special Libraries.*"

⁂

New Volumes in the National Municipal League Series.—Robert E. Cushman's volume on "Excess Condemnation" will be on the market early in September. It is the first book on the subject to appear in print. The preparing of a volume—"A New Municipal Program," has been delayed by the illness of one of the contributors. The manuscript is now in the hands of the publisher and it will appear in the early autumn, as will E. A. Fitzpatrick's volume on "Expert City Government."

⁂

An International Association of Police Matrons, on a strictly non-political and non-sectarian basis, to consider "the best procedure along the lines of most advanced and progressive methods of moral and humane treatment and customs countenanced by the different localities" has been formed. The organization which will meet as one of the allied groups of the National Conference of Social Work will have nothing to do with questions of salary, description of duties or adjustments of grievances of its members in relation to the municipalities which employ them. The president of the organization is Miss Margaret Corbitt, the police matron at Rochester, who is largely responsible for the association.

⁂

The American Society of Municipal Improvements, which was to have met at New Orleans, November 1—16, has been postponed for a year. That is the first national organization dealing with municipal questions which has to postpone its annual meeting on account of the war. Dealing, as its members do, with construction work, the reason for this action is fairly obvious.

⁂

"The Dallas Survey" is the title of the publication recently established by the civic federation of Dallas (Elmer Scott, secretary). It represents an intelligent effort to supply information about the social work being done by the city and to be done. The editor is Mr. Scott, who for two years under Mayor Lindsley was the chief of the department of social welfare for the city.

⁂

Pennsylvania cities of the third class have been authorized to appropriate money annually for music in parks and other public places.

⁂

A colored police woman has been appointed in Los Angeles. In this connection Los Angeles established a precedent, as it did in the appointment of a police woman originally.

⁂

Libraries and Recreation.—One of the branches of the free library of Philadelphia will be located on the Kingsessing recreation grounds in the southwestern part of the city, thus bringing the library and recreation facilities into close co-operation.

⁂

City Manager Changes.—R. F. Blinn, who has been city manager of Westerville, Ohio, for a year and a half, has resigned, his resignation taking effect August 31.

W. E. Dozier has resigned as city manager of Taylor, Texas.

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Kenneth B. Ward, who had such a stormy experience as city manager of Sandusky, Ohio, has been elected head of the department of street engineering of Durham. He will draw a yearly salary of $4,500. He takes hold of the immediate job of constructing more than $1,000,000 worth of improved streets. Ward was graduated from the Ohio State University, where he served as instructor in the department of civil engineering for six years. The storm in Sandusky has not abated, although it has been redirected.

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C. O. Dustin, who became assistant secretary of the National Municipal League on April 1, has gone into Red Cross work, and is now serving as chief of the statistical branch of the movement.

⁂

George O. Nagle, president of the Morris Plan Bank and formerly manager of the Wheeling traction company and president of the West Virginia manufacturers' association, has been unanimously elected city manager of Wheeling, W. Va., at a salary of $8,000 a year.

⁂

George A. Bellamy, head resident of the Hiram House, Cleveland, is devoting half his time to the work of the Commission on Training Camp Activities.

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Charles Carroll Brown, the secretary of the American Society for Municipal Improvements, has sold his interest in *Mu-*

nicipal Engineering and is confining himself to his engineering practice in Indianapolis.

⁂

Leo Tiefenthaler has been elected secretary of the Milwaukee city club, to succeed Hornell Hart.[1]

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H. A. Toulmin, Jr., of Dayton, author of the volume on "The City Manager" in the National Municipal League series has had the degree of L.H.D. conferred upon him by Wittenberg College.

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Hon. William Dudley Foulke, president of the National Municipal League from 1911 to 1915, is writing a book of personal reminiscences to be known as "Fighting the Spoilsmen."

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Robert A. Woods, director of the South End House, Boston, has been elected president of the National Conference of Social Work.

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Miss Marjorie L. Franklin, a graduate of Barnard College and a Columbia doctor, has been appointed as successor to Miss Alice M. Holden as instructor in municipal government at Vassar.

Francis B. Sayre, a member of the council of the National Municipal League, is now in France engaged in Y. M. C. A. work.

⁂

Dr. Don C. Sowers of the Dayton bureau of municipal research has been called to the directorship of the Akron bureau, to succeed F. L. Olson, who has been called to the bureau maintained by the Minneapolis civic and commerce association. F. S. Staley, formerly director of this bureau, is now in New York in connection with the food administration.

⁂

Professor F. W. Coker of the Ohio State University will be the lecturer in American constitutional history and politics at Yale University for the year 1917–18. He will be succeeded as secretary-treasurer of the Ohio municipal league by Gardiner Lattimer of the Toledo commerce club.

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Professor A. R. Hatton is recovering from his recent illness and on October 1 will take up work with the National Short Ballot Organization, of which he will be a field representative.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 523.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

Municipal Functions. By Herman G. James. New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. $2. 352 J27m

The public has been rather liberally supplied with books and articles, descriptive and critical, relating to the framework of municipal government, the organization and methods of its administrative departments, and the methods of popular control over its composition and activities. But however well devised a city government may be, from the standpoint both of representativeness and efficiency, it can be neither truly representative nor really effective if it issues from and acts upon a community which is without "clear notions of what a city should and can be expected to do." The fundamental purpose of the book in hand, as stated in the preface, is to give the municipal citizen an intelligent opinion on the needs of his city, so that he may be in a position to discriminate among the many desirable objects of city activity and among the various possible means of accomplishing these objects. The author attempts to do this by giving "a simple but comprehensive survey of the whole field of municipal endeavor . . . a survey which every intelligent member of the community can readily comprehend." The book is also "intended for use as a text-book in college classes."

The book well follows out its expressed purpose. It supplies comprehensive, accurate, practical information and criticism concerning the needs and opportunities of organized city life and concerning the requirements that must be fulfilled in order adequately to meet these needs and opportunities. It is unique in its scope and emphasis. Not only is its interest in action rather than in organization, but within the field of municipal activity it gives secondary attention to administrative methods and policies and mechanical means. Its primary objects are to show the nature and scope of city activities (including not only the activities which cities do undertake but also those which they should undertake if they are to fulfill the opportunities and obligations of modern city government), the difficulties—political, legal, financial, and popular—likely to be encountered in carrying out such undertakings, the various considerations that should govern choice of policies and methods, and the various interests that must be regarded in all that the city does. For the more technical and mechanical sides of municipal administration the book contains simple statements which supply all that the general reader and student need undertake to know in first instance. This is well illustrated in the description of the different methods of water purification and of sewage disposal.

In this treatment all the varied activities of cities are covered, and the interconnections of different branches adequately indicated. The problems of small as well as large cities are considered; the general practical usefulness of the book is probably enhanced by the fact that the conditions of the smaller cities are foremost in the mind of the author. At all proper points of the discussion the occasions for local adaptations are recognized. Despite the compendiousness and conciseness of the work, it escapes dryness, because of its well-proportioned treatment and because of its close application to actual needs and conditions, combined with its freedom from statistics and needless technical details.

The work is not merely descriptive; it is also critical; and in its criticisms it not only shows the weaknesses in present practices, but also points out better ways. Though in its estimations and strictures it is discriminating and unprejudiced, it is pronouncedly social in spirit, the welfare of the general mass of the citizens being its criterion for judgment and recommendation. Finally, though frankly progressive in its attitude, it is not blindly so; this is well exemplified in the discussion of the regulation of public utilities, where exceptional definiteness is given to the familiar caution that although the public benefit must be the controlling consideration in the city's policy toward private corporations operating public utilities, yet the voters must never lose sight of the fact that the imposition of terms too burdensome will defeat the very purpose of the regulation.

Throughout the work a special utility of the volume lies in its indication of common delusions concerning the considerations that should determine the policies of a city; in this way, for example, at many points the costliness of false economy is shown by pointing out the consequences—affecting the health, comfort, efficiency or happiness of the community, and, in many instances, increasing the financial burden upon the community—that follow the neglect of some function or the choice of a cheaper way of fulfilling it, in pursuing a policy of superficial saving. On the other hand, at no point is there any disregard of the due importance of the financial aspects of a city's problem in choice of policies and means.

In the short concluding chapter, two questions of fundamental importance for a city's work are briefly broached. The first is the familiar question as to the proper relation of the American city to the state government as concerns scope of functions and choice of means. Here the author would have the cities given, as in Germany, large and general powers of municipal enterprise, freed from "the doctrine of limited powers, strict construction and legislative interference," but controlled in the carrying out of their powers by an efficient central administrative department for local government, manned by a body of experts a "model for which might be found in the English local government board." The other question relates to the order of importance of the various municipal activities, a question of practical significance, because no city can do everything at once in the way of extending or improving existing activities. In the order suggested, functions meeting the elemental needs of the community (in connection with public safety and public works) and provision of public education, are followed by social welfare activities. Not until all these needs are adequately provided for should the city turn to its luxuries, such as elaborate and expensive buildings and boulevards, ornamental street lighting, and elegant civic centers. The concluding sentences of the book well express what, as already intimated, seems to be a controlling motive of the book. "The chief warning that seems to be needed by American cities in guiding them on their march upward is that until more attention is devoted to the more obscure phases of social welfare work, less money should be spent on the more showy aspects of city improvement. The keynote of the new American city should not be grandeur but democracy, a real democracy of social conditions."

What makes Professor James' book of such distinct value for the practical reformer and the public-minded citizen is that in following out the motive just suggested, the work nowhere loses itself in undiscriminating propaganda and exhortation; it is accurate and impartial. Moreover, it is not too technical for the general reader and is thorough and complete enough to serve as a general guide for a college class. The volume clearly adds prestige to the series of which it forms a part.

F. W. COKER.

Ohio State University.

Préliminaires d'Art Civique, mis en relation avec le "cas clinique" de la Belgique. By Louis Van der Swaelmen, architect-paysagiste Société D'Éditions. A. W. Sijthoff, Leyden.

A time when we are hearing so much about the ravaging of beautiful cities and the destruction of architectural monuments would not seem the most favorable for a work on municipal art by a Belgian. But perhaps, with Belgium as a *cas clinique* —as M. Van der Swaelmen puts it—this is the best possible time. At all events, civic art is the one phase of art that has become a subject of international intercourse since the war began. England, as well as the "Low Countries," has had its energetic committee for the replanning of the Belgian towns which must some day be rebuilt; and lately from the Union Internationale des Villes, established with headquarters in Brussels before the war, there has sprung an International Civic Art Committee for Belgium, which has its representatives in America as well as in England, in France, in Holland and in Belgium itself. In all of these enterprises, M. Van der Swaelmen is a leader. When, to these facts, we add the spirit illustrated by the "Resurgam" structure which rises against flame and smoke in his volume's frontispiece, it is easy to see that "Préliminaires d'Art Civique mis en relation avec le cas clinique de la Belgique" is not an incongruous, but a natural—even a thrilling—response to the recent destruction of priceless civic art by German *Kultur*. Happily, the aspiration for cities beautiful and orderly is as hard to kill in the hearts of the Belgians as is their love for their country—with which, indeed, it is closely bound.

"This book," the author modestly declares in the first line of it, "does not pretend to be a summary of civic art." The volume's considerable bulk doubtless explains this prompt disclaimer. In the fact, it is a very extensive and inclusive outline, in which considerable interesting discussion of sound theories has been injected. The illustrations are limited to the frontispiece and to five diagrams, besides a few small cuts borrowed from Lanchester's, "Civic Development Survey." The text is in French, and the discussion is closely tied up to the case of Belgium and to the activities, proposed and actual, of the international committee. Each chapter concludes with a summary which, with the frequent marginal headings on almost every page, is helpful to those who have to read slowly when they are reading French.

Part one takes up the urban problem, the several chapters developing its special unfolding in the modern city. Part two has to do with the rural and national problem. More than half of the volume, however, is made up of appendices. The first is an adaptation, with full credit, of the well known Civic Development Survey worked out by H. V. Lanchester, of England. The second, and much longer, appendix is a "Program," analytical guide, or city planning classification, for an Encyclopedia of Cities and Civic Art. This, the separate title page says, was elaborated by the International Committee on Civic Art *pour la Belgique*, in connection with the International Union of Cities, having been instituted on the initiative of the latter body, of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association and of the Comité Néerlando-Belge d'Art Civique, "in order to aid the Union of Cities and Towns of Belgium to study the problem of reconstruction in Belgium." It subdivides civic studies in much more complete and detailed fashion than has yet been attempted in America, or in England; at the same time it extends them over a wider range than even American city planners have ventured to embrace. The result is a bewildering array of heads and subheads, a bibliographic looking catalogue worthy of a public library. There are chapters showing how the analyses should be used, but one is tempted to wonder whether the aim of the classification may not be defeated by its very thoroughness—whether, for the great emergency presented by the Belgian case, brevity and clarity would not be among the most valuable qualities an analysis could possess. But the American student, far from the field of active need, may find interest and stimulus in the "Program's" exhibition of intellectual finesse, as he must surely find them in M. Van der Swaelmen's discussions of civic art.

Charles Mulford Robinson.[1]
Rochester, N. Y.

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Social Diagnosis. By Mary E. Richmond, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Pp. 511. $2.

Social service is a newcomer among the important professions. In the forefront of this new profession is Miss Mary E. Richmond, director of the Russell Sage foundation, and author of "Social Diagnosis" published by the foundation. The book is dedicated to Miss Zilpha D. Smith of Boston, a pioneer in social case work.

This rather formidable volume (511 pages long including the bibliography) measures well the difference between the best professional standards of to-day and the elementary almsgiving of earlier generations. Even to-day many good people who realize the need of diagnosis on the part of the physician are prone to describe diagnosis in social service as "red-tape" and either think of it as a needless encumbrance or pride themselves on recognizing the seemingly more "scientific" conception that trained charity workers believe in "investigation" for the simple purpose of preventing fraud.

Miss Richmond's analytical work is probably beyond the reach of all such elementary and self-satisfied critics. The very substitution of "social diagnosis" for "investigation" and of "client" for "case" may serve to show how, like both a doctor and a lawyer, she undertakes to know how to serve and thus how one may successfully serve persons in distress.

The growth in social service from the days of "lady bountifuls" has been gradual. Economic questions as to the need of additional income underlying the immediate symptoms in a family—the appeal for rent or coal or groceries—were early considered in the charity organization movement which began nearly half a century ago. Miss Richmond goes far beyond this excellent beginning. Dividing her book into three parts she devotes part 1 to defining social evidence, comparing it with evidence furnished in court and pointing out how final and important deductions may be inaccurate due to predispositions, assumptions and habits of thought. She then proceeds to that great test of the professional visitor, the first interview, in which a friendly relationship must be established while, at the same time, information, often of a delicate nature, must be secured promptly and accurately. A social service worker connected with a hospital has in a first interview a comparatively easy time, for when a doctor has taken notes of a patient, the latter is not disconcerted by a social service worker thereupon doing likewise. But the visitor for a charitable society must usually avoid taking notes or even seeming to be inquisitive and yet in a single interview should learn enough to form the basis for sound judgment.

Not only must an individual, who needs help, be really known but it is essential that his family also should be known, to determine whether or not relatives are in a position to help him materially and to understand the underlying causes for distress. A blunt question, such as "Have you any relatives able to support you?" will almost inevitably elicit "No" from a person who hopes that his interviewer will feed or clothe him. But inquiries as to the "client's" childhood, his brothers and sisters and other relatives and what they are doing now may either give you the required information immediately or may furnish clues which will lead to such information.

Great as the skill of a trained worker must be in getting helpful information about relatives, equal skill is needed in getting adequate information from medical sources, schools, and employers. Interviewing successfully an employer about one of his employes who is an applicant for relief may require consummate skill.

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[1] Mr. Robinson is a member of the International Committee referred to by Professor Van der Swaelmen, his American colleagues being Professor James Sturgis Pray of Harvard and Frederic Law Olmsted.

Imperfect diagnosis may both lead to mistakes in treatment and to grave injustice. If only husband or wife is interviewed, notably in cases of desertion or of blame heaped by one upon the other, the situation, as first described, may be seriously incorrect. Likewise it may be cruel to subject to strict discipline an apparently stubborn child who in reality owes her offishness to a heritage of insanity.

Much that Miss Richmond says is known consciously or unconsciously to many professional social workers. But there has never before been a text-book setting forth so thoroughly the rules for successful diagnosis as a basis for wise help. Miss Richmond is careful to point out that diagnosis is not merely for information but for such pertinent information as will best lead to a solution both of the immediate problems of the "client" and of the ultimate problems. Superficially "Social Diagnosis" is a vast compilation of heterogeneous experiences and deductions from such experience. In reality it lifts to a new plane the whole profession of social service. Whether as a text-book for a beginner or as corroboration or the reverse for the experienced practitioner it must prove invaluable for all professional social workers.

John F. Moors.

Boston, Mass.

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The New Civics. By Roscoe Lewis Ashley. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 420. $1.20.

Although this volume contains more than four hundred pages, its interpretation of the word "civics" is so justly broad and its survey so comprehensive, that the point which impresses one is the book's compactness. But Professor Ashley, being the author of several books on history, and writing with exceptional fullness of knowledge, makes, himself, no large claims for the volume. He speaks of it as an "introduction to the study," says that one could "not think of presenting to high school students a completely analyzed treatment," and adds that the book's most important purpose is to make of the pupil "a more intelligent, a more efficient, and therefore a better citizen." In this work more depends on the teacher than on the textbook; but in so far as a textbook can contribute to the result—by clearness of arrangement, marshalling of data, and breadth of discussion—"The New Civics" certainly does its part.

The text is divided into three parts: I, The Citizen and Society, in which citizenship, the citizen's education, and civic organization are among the chapter headings; II, Government and the Citizen, containing chapters on, for example, suffrage and elections, civil liberty and public welfare, city, state, county, and national government; and III, Some Public Activities. The latter has chapters on public health and welfare, labor and industry, commerce, territories and public lands, and foreign relations—large subjects for single chapters.

There are several valuable appendices and a good index. Moreover, each chapter is provided with topical headings and marginal titles, and at its end has a bibliography, a list of "Topics" and "Studies," and a series of questions. Professor Ashley believes that "the new civics is and should be the heart of the new high school course in the social sciences." For this purpose his book appears to be exceedingly well fitted, since it may be assumed that the text-books severally prepared for those sciences can provide that completer discussion which its more important topics clearly need.

Charles Mulford Robinson.

Rochester, N. Y.

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The Building of Cities. By Harlean James, A.B. Illustrations by Charles K. Stevens. Everychild's Series. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. xiii, 201.

This book was written to instruct children in the How and Why of the building of cities and the mistakes and the way to correct the mistakes made in building them. Everygirl and Everyboy are taught in the Socratic method by the Past, Present, and Future. For children of the age for which the book is meant the method of Aesop would have been better. In Dickens's tale of Scrooge the ghosts of the Past, Present, and Future do not appeal to a child. The children's interest might be held by the impersonation of these periods of time, but characters with common names who would be very real would be more to the liking of children.

Certainly Miss James knows her theme well; her points are clear and her ideas for the bettering of cities very good. The language all through the book is simple enough for the children to understand, but Miss James fails in one essential quality. She does not hold the young child's interest, but the author proves by the contents of this book that there should be a text of this kind,—to tell the children about their own cities and other cities, to help the children when they are older to serve their cities and the people in them.

Anne Zueblin.

Boston, Mass.

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The State and Government. By Jeremiah S. Young. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. Pp. 180. 50 cents, net.

This neat little book is intended for the general reader, not for the specialist. Its purpose is to make clear the underlying principles of the state and of government.

The author devotes between a third and a quarter of his space to the theory of the state. In discussing the theoretical basis of the state, he makes no reference to the juristic theory of the state. In the discussion of sovereignty there is no specific reference to Rousseau's theory of the sovereignty of the general will. Professor Young frankly inquires, with the manifest expectation of a negative answer, whether the notion of popular sovereignty is anything more than a myth. He plainly prefers the Austinian concept of sovereignty. His method of dealing with these questions, however, is not dogmatic, and is well calculated to stimulate the inquisitive reader to further study.

The bulk of the volume is devoted to the theory of government. Within the limits of the available space Professor Young covers a good deal of ground. It is not surprising if, at some points, the treatment becomes exceedingly thin. Indeed the specialist who may chance to examine this volume will not fail to be impressed with the difficulty of treating such a broad subject both briefly and clearly. In the treatment of certain topics, such as the relation of government to the state and the doctrine of the division of powers, clearness has been sacrificed to brevity, but in general the space is judiciously apportioned and the discussion lucid as well as compact. The result is a book which ought to be very helpful to the class of readers for whom it is intended.

A. N. Holcombe.

Harvard University.

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Form and Functions of American Government. By Thomas H. Reed, University of California. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1916. Pp. 549. $1.50.

This work is intended for use as a high school text in training for citizenship and must be judged from that point of view. One of the most difficult problems connected with a high school course in the field of government is to make it vital and interesting to the students. The present work is well calculated to accomplish that result by reason of the emphasis placed on governmental activities, as well as by the use of numerous illustrations, maps, and charts throughout the text. The book is divided into six parts entitled respectively: The Background of American Government; Parties and Elections; State Government; Local Government; Government of the United States; The Functions of Government.

Somewhat too much space seems to be devoted to historical considerations, since high school students get the historical background in regular history courses. The question also remains as to the best place to begin in teaching American government, whether with the state, the locality, or the nation. But the book is full of interest for the student, and the suggestions for further study appended to each chapter are certain to be of great value to the high school teacher, who is, generally speaking, poorly prepared for the teaching of government.

HERMAN G. JAMES.
University of Texas.

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EL REGIMEN MUNICIPAL DE LA CIUDAD MODERNA Y BOSQUEJO DEL REGIMEN LOCAL EN ESPANA, FRANCIA, INGLATERRA, ESTADOS ALEMANES Y ESTADOS UNIDOS.[1] By Adolfo Posada, Professor of Law, University of Madrid.

Professor Posada has done pioneer work in arousing interest in the study of municipal institutions in Spain, and has been no less active in promoting far-reaching reforms in the municipal system of Spain. He is one of the few men in Spain who has brought to the attention of the Spanish people the important reforms in municipal government that have been accomplished in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States.

At his formal reception as a member of the Spanish Academy of Political and Moral Sciences, Professor Posada made "The Modern City" the subject of his address. The material which he collected in the preparation of his address has now been published in this volume, and presents in succinct and most readable form the existing systems of municipal government in all the countries of Europe as well as in the United States. He also traces with great care the different movements for municipal improvement.

It is to be hoped that this work will be translated into English, as it would make an excellent text-book for high schools and colleges. Professor Posada is to be congratulated on the service that he has rendered to students of municipal government.

L. S. ROWE.
University of Pennsylvania.

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CITY MILK SUPPLY. By Horatio Newton Parker. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. Pp. 493.

This book undertakes to give a somewhat comprehensive and detailed account of the problems connected with securing a satisfactory supply of milk in cities. The author was formerly health officer in Montclair, N. J., and later instructor in municipal and sanitary dairying at the University of Illinois; and has thus both scientific training and practical experience in the public control of milk supply.

After an introductory chapter on some general aspects of the milk supply, there follow chapters on diseases communicable in milk, dairy cattle and the dairy farm, sanitary milk production, the transportation of milk, the milk contractor, and control of the public milk supply. The last of these deals with federal, state and municipal control; presents several types of milk ordinances; and discusses bacteriological and chemical standards, and the enforcement of the milk code.

Results of the work of experts in specialized fields are quoted and discussed at some length; and a large body of data are presented in the form of statistical tables. Lists of bibliographical sources are given at the end of each chapter. There are also a number of illustrations.

Public officials charged with the administration of milk laws and ordinances and those engaged in the milk business will find this book of much value. The general reader will probably find it somewhat technical; and there are no pretensions to literary style, to make easy reading.

JOHN A. FAIRLIE.
University of Illinois.

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[1] The organization of the modern city, with a sketch of the municipal systems of Spain, France, England, the states of the German Empire and the United States.

THE TEACHING OF GOVERNMENT. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.10.

A committee of the American Political Science Association, of which Charles G. Haines of the University of Texas is chairman, for several years gave extended attention to the question of the teaching of government in the various educational institutions, public and private, high and low, in the United States. It has embodied the results of its study in a volume which commands the thoughtful attention of all who are interested in this subject. One of the interesting features of the book is the introductory chapter devoted to recent progress in which reference is made to the work that has been done in this field by various organizations, including the National Municipal League.

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HUMAN WELFARE WORK IN CHICAGO. Edited by H. C. Carbaugh. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. $1.50.

A series of chapters dealing with Chicago's schools, libraries, parks and boulevards, public recreation, with summaries of general and religious philanthropic works, and chapters on "Art in Chicago" and "Chicago as a Music Center." While in most instances the work has been done by those who know most about the particular subjects treated, there is no attempt at analysis or co-ordination, and no distinction is drawn between voluntary and official activities. The volume is abundantly, if not always pertinently, illustrated. The publication has been made possible by the generosity of the Hon. John Barton Payne, the president of the South Park commissioners, and a man genuinely interested in promoting the social welfare of his community.

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A SCHOOLMASTER OF THE GREAT CITY. By Angelo Patri. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 221. $1.25.

Angelo Patri has been a teacher for many years in New York city and has embodied in this little volume not only his experiences but the impressions which the great city has made upon him while serving in that capacity. It is an interesting human document.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

ACTUAL GOVERNMENT IN ILLINOIS. By Mary Louise Childs. New York: The Century Company. Pp. 236.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By Frank Abbott Magruder, Ph.D., Instructor in Politics, Princeton University. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. 455.

THE BUDGET. By René Stourm. A Translation from the Seventh Edition of *Le Budget* (*Cours de Finances*), Paris, 1913. Thaddeus Plazinski, Translator. Walter Flavius McCaleb, Ph.D., Editor. Introduction by Charles A. Beard, Ph.D. New York: D. Appleton and Company. Pp. 619. $3.75.

CANADIAN MUNICIPAL MANUAL. By John Redmond Meredith, K. C., and William Bruce Wilkinson, K. C. Edited by Sir William Ralph Meredith, Kt., Chief Justice of Ontario. Toronto: Canada LawBook Company, Ltd. Pp. 1040. $20.

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES: THEIR FUTURE RELATIONS AND JOINT INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. By George Louis Beer. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 322. $1.50.

EXCESS CONDEMNATION. By Robert E. Cushman, Instructor in Political Science, University of Illinois. New York: D. Appleton and Company. National Municipal League Series. Pp. 333. $2.

HEALTH SURVEY OF NEW HAVEN, CONN. A Report Presented to the Section on Sanitation of the Civic Federation of New Haven by C.-E. A. Winslow, James C. Greenway, and D. Greenberg. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. Pp. 114. 75 cents.

HINTS ON LANDSCAPE GARDENING. By Prince von Pückler-Muskau. Edited by Samuel Parsons. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Pp. 196. Illustrated. $3.50.

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRACTICAL POLITICS. By P. Orman Ray, Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University. New and Revised Edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW AMERICA: RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS. By Archibald McClure. New York: George H. Doran Company. Pp. 314. Illustrated. $1.25.

SANITATION PRACTICALLY APPLIED. By Harold Bacon Wood, M.D., Dr. P.H. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. Pp. 473. $3.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. By J. E. Rhodes, 2d. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 300. $1.50.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Illinois Pension Laws Commission.—The report of the Illinois pension laws commission puts in convenient form much valuable information concerning pensions for civil servants. It consists of two "Parts," summarized as follows in the introductory chapter:

Part I gives briefly the history of pensions for public employes in other countries, reviews in detail the pension laws of Illinois, recites the terms of the leading pension laws of other states in this country, sets forth the results of a comprehensive actuarial investigation of the five chief public pension funds in Illinois, and gives important statistics concerning the other funds and the extent of possible pension legislation for public service employes in this state.

Part II outlines briefly the scope and main features of the pension problem, states the essential principles and provisions which, in the opinion of the commission, should constitute a normal or standard pension plan, and makes specific recommendations regarding changes that should be made in some of the existing pension acts, pending further investigation and study of the pension problem.

With reference to the existing police pension fund of Chicago, it is pointed out (p. 13) that if the body of employes remains stationary at 4,830 men, pension requirements, when the system is carrying its ultimate normal load, will be $912,375 to men and $1,296,858 to women and children, or 34.3 per cent of the pay-roll.

Practically the same percentage of pay-roll will be required in the case of "the firemen's fund of Chicago." Assuming that the body of employes remains stationary at 1,973 men, pension payments, when the system is carrying its ultimate load, will be $512,960 to men, $531,862 to widows and $27,052 to children, or 36.6 per cent.

Summarizing its discussion of pension systems in various foreign countries this report says:

> In a general way . . . we find precedents for a great variety of systems—varying from those operating loosely without much regard for the probable future cost, to those kept actuarially sound on the theory that a class of persons of given age and service should be accumulating a sufficient fund to pay their own pensions.

City officials have had very little knowledge of what a serious expense they were incurring in starting pension systems. The experience of this and other countries indicates that one third of the pay-roll must be added to the city budget to pay pensions to those who retire and to care for widows and orphans. When a city has once embarked upon this policy there is no chance to draw back. It is a policy involving an enormously increased expense which grows proportionately as the pay-roll grows. There is no escape, no possibility of relief. It seems incredible that any city should knowingly undertake such an unnecessary burden when a better result can be obtained at an expense never greater and which will steadily decline after a few years.

When no pensions exist they may be begun modestly. The sole vital condition is that no part of the principal of the pension fund shall ever be spent. If a sum shall be set aside each year for every employe and the survivors share the income it is surprising how soon the income available for each mounts up. The same principle can be applied for the care of dependents. As time goes on the principal of the fund will yield not only enough for pensions but enough in addition to make the proper increase in the principal to keep pace with the increasing pay-roll. In time there would be a constantly increasing surplus in excess of all pension requirements which could be devoted to civic betterment.

Lawson Purdy.

Proceedings of City Managers Association Convention.[1]—The proceedings of the first city managers convention in 1914 marked the small beginnings of an epoch even if the document was hardly to be described as intrinsically worth printing. It was enough in those days to have proof that there were enough city managers to hold a convention and to have an exhibit of their fine zeal for public service and their apprciation of the great promise of their new profession, even if the pamphlet contained but round-table chat.

The second year the proceedings were more formal but in spots a bit sophomoric, in that the managers undertook to read to each other prepared essays on special topics in which they were not specialists.

Now comes the third, in which the essays are wisely dropped and the discussion is centered about a series of prearranged questions with answers by roll call—questions such as "Legal Difficulties in the Establishment of New Charters," "Budgets," "Can a City Manager Succeed where the Commission is dominated by Politics?" "Cost Records," "Constructive Publicity," "Training Understudies for the City Manager in Cities under 25,000," "Getting Politics out of Police and Fire Departments." This system produced a mass of small concrete experiences constituting the rare raw material of the political scientist although on the whole the material, despite good editing, is not very rich or very interesting. The managers have still to try the correct method of running their meetings, *i. e.*, to get the best specialists and experts they can to come and present their most advanced theories subject to the criticism of the practical minded managers. Both sides would relish the clash of opinion and both sides would emerge with modified ideas while the proceedings would furnish real contributions to municipal literature unobtainable in any other fashion since here we have the first congregation of municipal executives who are free from politics, keen to learn and worth educating, since they are slated to stay in the business for perhaps many years. They will try this plan, in part at least, at Detroit in November.

On the whole, these proceedings indicate again that the city manager movement is in good hands and that the commission-manager plan itself works very smoothly according to design. Indeed one weakness of the discussions is the unanimity with which managers from all parts of the map emphasize the same ideas as to the place of the manager in the government, for instance, or his relation to the public or to his subordinates. A machine that was not correctly designed would not work out so uniformly in so many different hands and localities. One of the keenest points was injected by Professor Hatton who said:

> You are accomplishing good results because for the first time you are permitted to work under a system which has made good results possible, and when any man tells me the scheme of government makes no difference, but that the man makes all the difference, I say he does not know what he is talking about. This plan of government under which you are permitted to work, separating politics from administration, is what is going to tell the tale in this plan. If any of you have begun to feel that you are getting good results because you are just about the best man that exists, I think you are wrong. You are getting a chance that no other administrator of municipal government has ever had and I think I could take men out of the old governments and give them your chances and they would do just as good work as any of you are doing.

R. S. C.

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Recent Reports on City Planning.[2]—"Constitutional Limitations on City Planning Powers" by Edward M. Bassett is a pamphlet that should be in the hands of every student of city planning. In this paper, which was read at the National Conference on City Planning at Kansas

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[1] Published by W. L. Miller, secretary, St. Augustine, Fla. 25 cents.

[2] Edward M. Bassett, Constitutional Limitations on City Planning Powers, published by the committee on the city plan, New York city, 1917, 10 pp.

Charles E. Merriam, Building Districts and Restrictions, published by the city council, Chicago, February, 1917, 56 pp.

Encouraging Proper City Growth Through Building Districts, published by the city plan com-

City and which is now published by the New York committee on city plan, Mr. Bassett discusses the distinction the courts usually make between the police power and the power of eminent domain, and how they apply this distinction in such matters as excess condemnation, the control of buildings within the lines of mapped streets, the establishment of set-backs, the prohibition of billboards, and the regulation of the height, arrangement and use of buildings. The discussion of each subject is accompanied with a copious citation of cases. Activity in city planning has to a *greater* or less degree been paralyzed in all our communities, not for the reason we do not know what to do, nor that we do not wish to do it, but for the sole reason that we have not known how to do it within existing constitutional limitations. In telling us how to make city planning constitutional, Mr. Bassett's paper fills a long-felt want.

Next to the final report of the New York commission on building districts and restrictions, the contents of which have already been described in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, the most valuable report on the subject of zoning is that on the desirability of giving the city of Chicago power to create building districts by Professor Charles E. Merriam, entitled "Building Districts and Restrictions." This pamphlet does for Chicago what the report of the commission on building districts and restrictions does for New York in analyzing the need for public restrictions, its 56 pages being crammed with expert testimony showing the relation of zoning to the police power of the state. It is most unfortunate for Chicago that the bill which accompanied Professor Merriam's report failed to pass at the recent session of the Illinois legislature.

"Encouraging Proper City Growth Through Building Districts" is a pamphlet reprint of a series of newspaper articles published in a local newspaper by the Newark city plan commission in urging the passage of zoning legislation in New Jersey. The measure advocated by these articles was enacted by the state legislature at its last session. The law is unfortunately limited in its application to cities of the first class.

These two booklets demonstrate that both Chicago and Newark have grasped the true significance of zoning,—that to be effective it must be city wide and that it must be done in accordance with a well-considered city plan after preliminary investigation and expert study. Chicago and Newark profited by New York's example—but not Berkeley.

The Berkeley zoning ordinance, as described in the bulletins published by the Berkeley city club, should serve as a warning to other cities in that it leaves the imposition of restrictions in the hands of the property owners. The inevitable result of such a policy is, of course, piecemeal zoning. Most of the city will never be zoned at all, and that part zoned will not be zoned with reference to the best interest of the city at large. A zoning ordinance like Berkeley's is subject to most of the objections usually urged against private restrictions.

The report on "Establishment of Setbacks or Court Yards" by the New York committee on city plan is the best that has yet appeared on the need for uniform building lines. The report is subdivided into two parts: the first, by Robert H. Whitten, treats of the economic and social advantages resulting from the establishment of such lines; and the second, by Nelson P. Lewis, analyzes the economy effected in street paving through maintaining part of the street as courtyards. The charter amendment proposed by Mr. Whitten and which has now been enacted by the legislature follows in general the method used in street opening proceedings.

HEBERT S. SWAN.[1]

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mission of Newark, New Jersey, 1917, illustration and photographs.

Districting Ordinance of the City of Berkeley, California, 1916.

Berkeley Civic Bulletin, published by the city club of Berkeley, California, August 22, 1916, 24 pp.

Establishment of Setbacks or Court Yards in the City of New York, published by the committee on the city plan, New York city, 1917, with illustrations and photographs, 15 pp.

[1] Secretary, zoning committee, New York city.

Public Markets Reports.—*Public Markets in the United States.*[1] This bulletin gives a very complete survey of the municipal markets in sixty-seven American cities. The type of market ranges all the way from the open or curbstone variety to that accommodated in buildings costing big sums of money. Many cities have markets of different kinds, both in the open and within doors. New York city has put over four million dollars into buildings, Boston and Pittsburgh nearly three million each, and New Orleans one million. These expenditures are of consequence from the standpoint of city finance involving an outlay of one to seven dollars per capita. Many of the smaller cities have invested sums equally large from the per capita standpoint, though in some instances where little more than street room is furnished the investments are trifling.

In annual receipts and expenditures the results vary greatly. The majority of the cities show favorable balances, the greatest being Pittsburgh with $77,690. On the other hand a considerable number of cities show losses ranging from small sums upward to $40,000 for St. Louis and over a million dollars for New York city. The expenditures are mainly for salaries, fuel, light, and water and maintenance.

Of much more concern than a few dollars in cost is the question of how the market serves the people as a place to buy and sell.

Who sells in the municipal market? Who goes there to buy? In about half of the markets farmers constitute from half to all of the sellers. In about one-third retailers constitute from half to the whole number. Wholesalers and jobbers constitute the balance. Motor trucks and hard roads are making it possible for farmers to bring their produce in to the markets from distances far out of reach of such markets when horses were the sole dependence. They now haul as far as thirty miles.

In many cities the attendance of buyers is very large. Smaller cities report a few hundred per day while in the big cities it runs as high as 100,000 to 500,000 a week. On the whole it seems that more are buying at the market than was formerly the case.

With the exception of six cities out of the sixty-seven all report that produce is cheaper at the market than at the stores. In many instances the reductions are 20, 30 and even 50 per cent (though hardly 100 per cent, as is stated on p. 26 of the bulletin). Added to the advantage of lower price is the fresher quality of the goods.

After all is said and done it must be admitted that the public markets supply but a small part of the produce used in the cities. Why so little? The consumers give the answer: It is stated that markets are not in convenient places; not protected from the weather; that they do not have delivery systems, or inadequate ones.

While not so specifically stated in the bulletin the inference is plain that farmers do not have the facilities for catering to the retail trade. They do not have a constant or uniform supply of produce. It is not so easy to order from them by 'phone, or to buy on credit. It must be admitted that while the farmers are obliged to ask much more for goods sold on the market at retail than they might get at wholesale, so also the consumer must be able to get produce at appreciably lower prices on the market than at the stores or it will not pay to go there. When the markets are so organized that they can receive telephone orders, fill them promptly and make satisfactory and prompt delivery of the goods they will be able to compete successfully against the corner groceries. Until that time they may act as a check on exorbitant prices; they may furnish a superior class of goods to those who have time to go and get them. They will not, however, until they meet these requirements, replace in great measure the regular retail stores.

Shortage of Food Relieved and High Food Prices Reduced. The twentieth annual report of the Philadelphia vacant lots cultivation association.

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[1] The second report of a committee of the National Municipal League, C. L. King, chairman, 32 pp., Philadelphia, 1917.

This report shows that the enterprise is at base philanthropic although it is conducted with the self-help idea uppermost. The association spent some $9,000 during 1916 and the gardeners raised around $30,000 worth of vegetables. The association finds idle land, or in some cases other land, which may be had without rental charges, plows and harrows it and divides it into gardens of about one-sixth acre each. Seed, plants, and fertilizers are furnished at a nominal charge the first year, $12 the second, and so on to the fifth at which time $5 is paid, a sum just about covering the cost.

The association provided 600 families with gardens last year, a number far below the number of applications. Larger subscriptions, and particularly more donations of the use of idle land are needed to meet the demands of the many families near the poverty line. This method of help is especially commendable since it tends to foster self respect, encourage thrift, and supply wholesome food.

Keeping Down Food Costs, by Harry C. Douglas in *The Independent*, May 12, 1917. This is a brief terse article setting forth the facts of recent prices in Australia and their control by public authority. Following the outbreak of the war, food prices rose very abruptly, due, as Mr. Douglas thinks, to the action of speculators. Very promptly the Parliament of New South Wales passed a law providing for the citation of a "Necessary Commodities Control Commission." For evasions of the law penalties were provided, a $500 fine for each offense with a possible jail sentence in addition.

The plan seems to work. The price of wheat had gone from less than a dollar a bushel to a dollar and a quarter. It came back to a dollar—the legally fixed price—at once. Flour had reached $56 a ton in price. It fell to $46. Bread was slated for a 28 per cent increase in price, but it was not made.

The government of New South Wales has a fleet of trawlers and puts fish on the market at cost.

The question of the rent of farm land has been made a matter of public interest and a "Fair Rents Court" undertakes to see that landlords do not get above 6 per cent returns.

In Queensland the state was about to go into the hotel and brewing business.

Preliminary Report on Study of Increase of Cost of Food, Minneapolis civic and commerce association. In November, 1916, a committee of this association submitted a report on the subject of prices and wages. Index numbers are quoted showing changes in the cost of fifteen articles. During eight years following 1907 there was an increase of 24 per cent. The increase since 1915 is not included in the index numbers but is known to be at a greater rate than for preceding years. Figures on certain selected articles are, however, shown for 1916 in comparison with corresponding figures for 1907. Meats show an increase in price of 31 per cent for bacon up to 84 per cent for ham. Eggs increased in price 57 per cent, flour 52 per cent, sugar 32 per cent, potatoes 169 per cent. In dairy products the increases were much smaller—14 per cent for milk and 20 per cent for butter.

An attempt was made to determine the relation of increases in retail as compared to those in wholesale prices, but the necessary data seem to have been scarce. The figures are given for butter, eggs and potatoes only. Of these the retailer's margin in percentage was found to be a little greater on butter but less on eggs and potatoes than in 1907. In absolute amounts the margins were higher on butter and potatoes and a little lower on eggs in 1916 than in 1907. Thus the retailers are not especially to blame for present high prices.

The figures furnished by the Department of Agriculture on cold storage are quoted showing that 24 per cent fewer eggs, and 14.5 per cent less butter were stored in 1916 as compared to the previous year.

The index number on union wages shows an increase since 1907 of 12 per cent, in contrast to the 24 per cent increase in food prices.

B. H. Hibbard.

Madison, Wis.

A Proposed Marine Terminal and Industrial City on New York Bay at Bayonne, N. J.—Cities situated on navigable waters throughout the country may well view with interest if not with envy the proposed marine and industrial terminal for Bayonne, New Jersey. The New Jersey board of commerce and navigation has prepared for the commissioners of the city of Bayonne plans for the project and a report of 114 pages, dated November, 1916, drawn under the consulting supervision of Benj. F. Cresson, Jr., with the co-operation of F. Van Z. Lane, which contains material adequate and pertinent to the local conditions. Detailed in its presentation, enriched by maps and a cartoon, and unique in the legislation which conditions it, the report is a welcome contribution to the annals of port and terminal development. Its value lies in its completeness and the reliability of the talent which produced it.

Of five "Primary Installations," the fifth is recommended for adoption at an estimate of $7,234,546, of which $2,121,673 is for dredging, bulkheading, and reclamation and $5,112,873 for the other facilities. Among these many facilities providing dockage for 30 modern freight ships on upper New York bay is a type of storage shed peculiar to foreign practice and introduced here for the first time in American design. These three-story units are placed along the bulkhead platform at distances equal about to a ship's length. On the water side the second and third stories are each, in turn, set back five feet from the one below, leaving an operating shelf on the second and third stories in addition to that of the bulkhead deck. Goods in through transit take the first floor. The second and third stories are given over to short-time warehousing, to goods in delayed transit and those held for reshipment. The rear of these units is plane-faced and the goods in the upper stories lower to a ground platform serving both rail and highway carriers.

Under a law recently enacted by a referendum, the city of Bayonne is authorized to issue bonds without regard to the debt limits heretofore established; the bonds so issued shall bear interest at a rate not exceeding 5 per cent; shall be a first lien upon the property created; and shall not run for a period of more than fifty years—a period allowed for the contract with an operating company. This contract—arranged for before the bonds may be issued—will include a guaranty by the operating company that it will pay to the city sufficient moneys to meet the interest on the bonds; to set aside a sinking fund for their retirement; and to further insure its obligation to the city by the deposit of at least one million dollars in cash or securities authorized for investment by savings banks in the state of New Jersey, the same to be used by the city in case the company shall default in any of its obligations.

The adequacy and ease of control and the focusing of responsibility made possible by this centralization of power in her division of commerce and navigation affords to New Jersey an initiative, development, and dispatch of water front policies that few of her sister states enjoy. The greater port of New York is better equipped with such an organization as the New Jersey board of commerce and navigation in existence and the Bayonne development is a formidable and worthy offspring of the union of state and municipal effort.[1] ROBERT A. LESHER.

Columbia University.

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The Los Angeles School Survey.[2]—A brief survey of the organization and administration of the school system of Los Angeles was made in April and May, 1916, for the board of education by Dean Walter A. Jessup, College of Education, Iowa State University, and Dr. Albert Shiels, formerly director of the bureau of reference and research, board of education, New York city. The most important and interesting recommendation, and the one supported by most of the facts cited, is that a division of educational research and statistical information should be established in the office of the city superintendent of schools to formulate standards based on fact rather than opinion and to determine wherein Los Angeles falls short of such standards.

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[1] A proposal to issue $10,000,000 bonds to carry out the scheme was defeated on July 31, by a vote of 3,408 to 1,075.—EDITOR.

[2] Report of the advisory committee to the board of education of the city of Los Angeles on certain aspects of the organization and administration of the public school system. 177 pp.

Some of the general problems as formulated by the investigators, which would confront such a research bureau in Los Angeles, are the following:

1. To ascertain the effect on the individual children of classes of various sizes in elementary, intermediate, high and evening schools. ("There is no standard of that number of class enrollment which, without extravagance, will conserve the best interests of pupils. . Such investigations as have been made, based on the somewhat dubious criterion of number of promotions, permits an enrollment in excess of 35 and less than 40" (p. 44).
2. To collect the facts necessary to formulate a definite policy respecting the subjects which should be taught by special teachers in the various grades.
3. To formulate a complete programme for dealing with the problem of physically and mentally defective children.
4. To make a study to determine the relation between the number of school nurses and physicians and the health and development of pupils.
5. To measure by existing standards the proficiency of pupils in the Los Angeles schools and to establish standards where none exist.
6. To determine the relative effectiveness of instruction of pupils in grammar and intermediate schools. (Meanwhile it is recommended that intermediate schools (grades 7 to 9) be continued.)
7. To study the problem of junior colleges. (It is recommended that no more junior colleges be established but that their consolidation into one city college be "considered.")

In view of the fact that all boards of education and all city superintendents of schools systems are attempting solutions of similar problems, and of the impossibility of establishing standards in so many fields in any one city because of the difficulty of securing sufficient funds for experimentation and capable investigators in all branches, it might properly be considered the function of some national body, *e.g.*, the United States Bureau of Education, the Russell Sage foundation, or the General Education Board, to co-operate with the research bureaus in the various cities, so that each problem could be intensively studied in one place and the results made available to all, instead of attempting to investigate all of the problems in Los Angeles and in every other city. Mere opinion rather than established fact has resulted from the latter method.

The Los Angeles survey is helpful in setting forth the problems needing solution. It has evidently been approved by the board of education of Los Angeles for Dr. Shiels has recently been elected superintendent of schools.

Bessie C. Stern.[1]

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Public Safety Notes.—*Hopper Efficiency Record System.* Civil service literature contains many valuable books and pamphlets directed to the technique of examination and to the legal limitations upon the power of removal, but contains almost no contributions of value which relate to the development of efficiency record systems. This condition of civil service literature reflects accurately the condition of civil service administration. The front door of the public service is well looked after by highly trained and well seasoned employment specialists who have placed the civil service examining machinery on the highest plane of efficiency. The rear door of the public service is zealously guarded by the ablest lawyers in the country, who gladly volunteer their services as an exhibition of civic devotion. The interior workings of the public service are left to the impractical theorist who seeks to evolve plans of administration from the atmosphere of the university library, the college professor's sanctum or the elective official's fancies.

John J. Hopper, register of the county of New York, a successful man in private life who has administered a comparatively unimportant public office with signal ability, has in a fifteen-page pamphlet described the efficiency record system which he has devised for his own department. This system is thoroughly practical, surprisingly simple, well-balanced, entirely equitable and apparently satisfactory from every point of view.

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[1] Committee on education, board of estimate and apportionment, New York city.

Employes are rated at monthly intervals by their immediate division chiefs on their proficiency (weight 5) which includes how well they do their work, their adaptability (weight 3) which includes their fitness for higher work, and their interest (weight 2) which includes their fidelity and influence upon co-workers. Special merit marks are awarded for overtime service which is clearly outside of office hours and for initiative which is displayed in suggesting improvements that are adopted. Demerits for tardiness and absence are given on a carefully graduated and equitably devised scale. Care is exercised to secure equalization of ratings among divisions, to secure publicity of ratings in each division and to stimulate interest in the ratings by relieving rating officers of burdensome details and by convincing employes of its fairness.

Finger Prints. The twenty-two page pamphlet on "Finger Prints" which has been prepared by City Magistrate Joseph M. Deuel of New York, summarizes the present-day knowledge of the scientific, sociological and legal aspects of this modern aid to efficient administration of the criminal law in a most convenient and interesting form for both the professional and the general reader.

Leonhard Felix Fuld.

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Districting Baltimore for the Work of Charitable Organizations.—The report of the bureau of state and municipal research in Baltimore, suggesting uniform districting of the city of Baltimore for the work of charitable organizations, seems carefully and suggestively done. The difficulties in the way of such a uniform districting plan, based on differences in size of staff, kind of work carried on, in transportation, in racial and other population distribution, are fully recognized. A further possible difficulty not considered by the report might be mentioned. Some organizations find it desirable, for instance, to work in connection with districts fixed not by charitable organizations but by the city government itself. For instance, a society to protect children from cruelty finds it helpful to have its boundaries coincide with the boundaries of the police districts; an organization dealing with the health of poor people finds it advantageous to have its district agent work always with the same poor law physician, and so on. The answer, of course, is that these city divisions ought to conform to the same rational principles which suggest the districts for charitable organizations. After recognizing all these difficulties, and having carefully kept in mind racial and religious considerations, density of population, density of need, natural community districts, and transportation facilities, the report indicates seventeen natural divisions into which the city of Baltimore can easily be divided. It makes a good case in suggesting these to the charitable organizations as uniform districts. To follow them would prevent overlapping and duplication and promote acquaintance among workers carrying on activities within the same territory, would reduce cost both in time and money spent in going from case to case, and would make possible also a study of conditions of many kinds and needs to many agencies as they exist in the different districts. This is now impossible because the districts from which agencies take their statistics of different kinds and needs are not uniform and therefore not comparable.

The further coincidence of the boundaries of the districts suggested with the boundaries of enumeration districts used in the taking of the national census would also greatly promote the possibility of accurate statistical study. These enumeration districts, which are much smaller than the ordinary political subdivisions of the city, such as wards and voting districts, are selected as constituting natural population groupings, by race, housing, density, and so on. The combination of the utilization of the enumeration districts and the uniform charitable districts would, if possible, make for economy and efficiency in the work of social agencies, and promote study of social problems in general, as revealed by charitable work.

Roy Smith Wallace.

Massachusetts Constitutional Convention Publications.—The commission which was named by Governor McCall to compile information for the use of the Massachusetts constitutional convention has published a series of thirty-five bulletins dealing with various questions of public policy. The titles of these bulletins are as follows: *Procedure of Constitutional Conventions, State Budget Systems, The Pardoning Power; The Governor's Council; Old Age Pension Systems; Initiative and Referendum; The Massachusetts Public Opinion Law; The Short Ballot; Biennial Elections and Biennial Sessions; Municipal Home Rule; County Government; The Constitutionality of Social Welfare Legislation; Sectarian Appropriations; Municipal Debt Limits; City Government by Commission; The City-Manager Plan; State Debt Limits; The Abolition of Capital Punishment; Absentee Voting; Compulsory Voting; Methods of Borrowing, Sinking Fund v. Serial Bonds; The Selection of Judges; Jury Trial in Contempt Cases; Preferential Voting; Proportional Representation; Advisory Judicial Opinions; State Constabularies; Billboard Regulation; Method of Apportioning Representatives; Municipal Ownership; The English System of "Provisional Orders"; State Censuses; The Provisions of State Constitutions Relative to the Militia*, and the *Report of the Commission.*

These bulletins have proved of high value to the delegates and will undoubtedly be of interest to students of American government because the data which they contain have been compiled with strict impartiality and are presented, as the law establishing the commission requires, "without comment or expression of opinion." The convention has authorized the printing of a sufficient number for distribution to public libraries and similar institutions. Application should be made to the offices of the commission, Room 426, State House, Boston. The members of the commission are: Prof. William Bennet Munro of Harvard, chairman, Lawrence B. Evans of the Boston bar, and former Senator Roger Sherman Hoar of Concord.

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Dayton's Report for 1916.—The third year's results under the city-manager form are forcefully set forth in Dayton's annual report by the city commission.

There are reports for the author, reports for the favorite printer, reports for the chief executive, and occasionally reports for the people who pay the taxes and receive the services.

Dayton's report is for the average citizen, Mr. Taxpayer. Its keynote is service and every page recites in attractive, readable form, a paragraph at a time, not what might have been, but what was accomplished.

City government is divided—like all Gaul—into three parts,—a plan, a performance, and a report back upon the work done.

The citizen is glad to get the information, provided it is in a pleasing pellet form, and sugar-coated with a few well-chosen illustrations. The Dayton report is all this, culled from scores of pages of the monthly and annual reports of the department heads. The report follows every principle of publicity,—it is truthful, informing, concise, paragraphed, illustrated.

It was distributed to every household in the city. Thirty-five thousand copies cost $491.70 under competitive bidding; and to deliver them, $3 per thousand. Its only shortcoming was the delay of five months after the close of the year in getting it to the press.

Copies of the annual report may be secured free of charge by addressing City Manager H. M. Waite, or the Dayton bureau of research, 613 Schwind Bldg.

C. E. Rightor.

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The Annual Report of the City Auditor, Springfield, Mass.,[1] can well serve as a model for all cities that have any pride in proper accounting and reporting methods. It is perhaps as complete a financial report as is issued by a city of its size and strikingly illustrates the forward movement for the improvement of municipal accounting methods. There is hardly a question that the citizen or city official would have occasion to ask concerning the city's finances that it does not answer, both in summary and detailed manner. Its completeness lies in the form of its balance sheet, its fund statement, its operating statement and the standard classified schedules supporting the items therein. Its distinction between expense and expenditures and between revenue and receipts illustrates the modern tendency in municipal accounting. The index typifies the entire report—simplicity and completeness.

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[1] General Financial Statement for the Fiscal Year ending November 30, 1916, Springfield, Mass., March, 1917. Pp. 93.

The report, which has been reprinted by the Springfield bureau of municipal research, may be obtained from the city auditor or from the bureau upon request.

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Japanese Administration and Finance.[1] —The March number of *Municipal Research* contains three essays. The first is by Professor R. Uchiike and Y. Sakamoto on the Budget System of Japan; the second is by Hyoye Ouchi on the Japanese Financial Department; the third is by Baron Y. Sakatani on the City of Tokio and is reprinted from a volume bearing that title.

Of these three essays, the first is the longest and of most interest to American students. In it the authors give an excellent account of the preparation, voting and execution of the budget. Details need not be presented here. Suffice it to say that the Japanese system is quite modern and, with few exceptions, meets the tests of present-day models. Though the organization of the government of Japan is peculiar and there is limited control over the expenditures of the Imperial Household, the details of the system will prove suggestive to those interested in improving our own budgetary procedure. The training school for public service has placed us under obligation by making available this concise account of the Japanese system.

H. A. Millis.

University of Chicago.

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Municipal Ordinances, Rules, and Regulations Pertaining to Public Health.[2]—A series of classified extracts from municipal legislation on health and related subjects enacted in 1915 in cities of the United States with an estimated population of 10,000 or more in 1910. Among the subjects covered are communicable diseases, milk and other foods, house sanitation, garbage and refuse and the organization of local health departments. Earlier yearly volumes of like character cover the five years beginning January 1, 1910.

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Property Exempt from Taxation in the Forty-Eight States.—William E. Hannan, the legislative reference librarian of the state of New York, has compiled an admirable summary in twenty-three pages of the various classes of property that are exempt in the several states. He gives the constitutional and statutory provisions and has prepared a number of interesting and suggestive tables. Naturally, being a New York state publication, it devotes more attention to that state than to any other.

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[1] In *Municipal Research*, No. 83. March, 1917. Pp. iii, 72.

[2] Reprint No. 364 from Public Health Reports, 1915–1916, Washington, D. C.: United States Public Health Service.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY[1]

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In five installments, to be followed, in the August issue, by examples of balance sheets, rulings, etc.

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Los Angeles. Ordinance no. 37,050 (new series).

An ordinance regulating billboards, advertising sign boards and other similar structures used for advertising purposes. June 19, 1917.

Charters

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Child Labor

National Child Labor Committee. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Conference on Child Labor. 1917. 79 pp. (The Child Labor Bulletin, May, 1917.)

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City Manager

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City Planning

See also Housing, Streets, Zoning.

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——. A program for employes' associations. System of service instruction would promote efficiency and assist members toward self-advancement. (Good Government, Jy., 1917: 46–47.)

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[1] Edited by Miss Alice M. Holden, Wellesley, College.

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Contains articles on: "County government—a problem in low visibility," by Richard S. Childs; "A plea for the county plan of tax administration," by Martin Saxe; "Highway administration," by Benjamin Rice; "County administration of highways under state control," by Edwin Duffey; "What is the trouble with county government?" by L. Grant Sheldon; "Shall New York State have a state constabulary?" by Helen Hoy Greeley; "The purchase of municipal supplies," by Frank X. Wood; "Concentration of responsibility in county government," by Otho G. Cartwright; "Simplification of county and local finances," by Mark Graves; "The county as a unit of school administration. Are there better units?" by Thomas E. Finegan; "Legislative program of the County Government Association," by H. S. Gilbertson; "County jails and local penology," by Hastings H. Hart.

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See also recreation.

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Issued jointly by the State Departments of Health, Education, Highways, Agriculture, Dairy and Food, Charities and Corrections, and the Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

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See also Charters.

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A popular plea for better public health based on proper housing conditions.

Illiteracy

ALABAMA. Illiteracy Commission. First annual report of the Alabama Illiteracy Commission, Apr. 2, 1915–Oct. 1, 1916. 125 pp.

Insurance, Health and Social

See also Pensions.

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Reprinted from The Library Journal, Feb., 1917.

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See also Parks and Playgrounds.

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Neibich (William N.). The disappearance of the evening peak. Growth of high-tension industrial load in Baltimore results in heavy increase in morning and afternoon loads on system and in a larger load factor. (Electrical World, Jy. 28, 1917: 148–151. charts.)

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California. State Market Director. First annual report for the year ending Dec. 1, 1916. 1916. 110 pp.

One important conclusion of Director Harris Weinstock is that the establishment of free municipal markets plays a very small part as a remedy for marketing evils.

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See also City Manager, State Government.

Bruère (Henry). A plan for organization for New York City. Suggestion for charter changes. May, 1917. 44 pp.

Recommends "a mayor as chief public representative and framer of policies; relieved of detailed administrative responsibility; a board of directors; and, as a corollary of these changes, a city manager."

Dayton Bureau of Research. Research progress facts. A year of governmental research with certain facts about our city, county and schools, and their progress during 1916–1917. Jy. 1, 1917. 39 pp.

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Municipal Ownership

See also Railroads and Terminals.

BOWDEN (J. HORACE). Individual interest in municipal enterprise. (Municip. Journ. (London), Je. 22, 1917: 593–594.)

LOS ANGELES. BOARD OF PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONERS. Report of Special Committee of Engineers on Municipal Power and Light Project of the City of Los Angeles. Feb. 16, 1917. 12 pp. illus.

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Ordinances

See also Billboards, Charters, Education, Municipal Government, Public Health, Taxation and Finance.

NEBRASKA. ORDINANCE REVISION COMMISSION. Revised ordinances of the village of . . . Nebraska; published by authority of the chairman and Board of Trustees. A.D. 1917.

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See also City Planning, Recreation.

KESSLER (G. E.). The Kansas City park system and its effect on the city plan. (Good Roads, Je. 2, 1917: 321–324. illus.)

KESSNER (MYRON A.). How the small town can supply public playgrounds. (Civic Progress and the Home Beautiful, Je., 1917: 6–9.)

METZDORF (A. E.). Laying out playgrounds. (Playground, Aug., 1917: 277–282.)

A practical article. The writer is officially connected with the Division of Public Recreation, Springfield, Mass.

TINSON (H. A.) and POWELL (A. L.). The lighting of parks and playgrounds. (Amer. City, Jy., 1917: 68–69, 71, 73, 75. illus.)

Pavements

ANON. Street and road pavements. Their design, construction and maintenance. (Municip. Engrng., Jy., 1917: 2–5. illus. diagrs.

CONNELL (W. H.) and FINCK (G. E.). Methods and materials for paving between street railway tracks. (Amer. City, Jy., 1917: 17–19. illus.)

In Philadelphia, by W. H. Connell; in Baltimore, by G. E. Finck. Further discussions of this subject are to appear in subsequent issues of The American City.

Pensions

See also Insurance.

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The Engineering News-Record of Apr. 5, 1917, is the first issue following the consolidation of the two periodicals, *Engineering News* and *Engineering Record.*

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Published from 31 West Lake St., Chicago.

Contents of the first issue: Introduction, pp. 3–4; The unified state court—a definition, 5–7; Wanted—a chief judicial superintendent, by John H. Wigmore, 7–9; Courts in large cities—a field of experiment, 10–14; A unified court for Mississippi, 15–17; Procedure through rules of court, 17–20; News from the field, 23–30.

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Reprinted from the Sanitary Engineer, Toronto, Canada.

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TRAIN (ARTHUR). New York City on guard. (Saturday Evening Post, May 26, 1917: 16, 37–38, 41–42. illus.)

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SCHAEFER (A. C.). Health center field work. (New York State Journ. of Medicine, Apr., 1917: 176–177.)

SHIPLEY (A. E.). Health administration on the district plan. (Amer. Journ. of Pub. Health, Mch., 1917: 248–259.)

UNITED STATES. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. Laundries and the public health. A sanitary study including bacteriologic tests, by M. C. Schroeder and S. G. Southerland. 1917. 24 pp. tables. (Reprint no. 385.)

VINCENT (G. E.). Public health training in universities. (Journ. Amer. Medical Assoc., Apr., 1917: 1013–1016.)

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PARKER (H. N.). City milk supply. 1917. xii+493 pp. charts. tables. illus.

UNITED STATES. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. Commission on Milk Standards. Third report of the Commission . . . appointed by the New York Milk Committee. 1917. 28 pp. (Reprint no. 386.)

Presents the conclusions of the Commission on a variety of milk problems.

WELCH (WILLIAM H.). The proposed milk ordinance. (City Club of Baltimore Bull., Apr., 1917: 49–52.)

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INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC SERVICE, NEW YORK. State work against infantile paralysis; steps taken by forty-three departments of health in 1916. 1917. 64 pp. illus.

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. Some practical considerations in the administrative control of epidemic poliomyelitis, by Haven Emerson. 1917. 19 pp. (Reprint series no. 53.)

SANITARY CODES

BUFFALO. HEALTH DEPARTMENT. Proposed sanitary code for Buffalo, New York. 1917. 74 pp.

NEW YORK STATE. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. The public health law; containing also the sanitary code,—the provisions in other general laws relating to public health, and rules and regulations of the New York State Department of Health. 1916. 593 pp.

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"The means of spread of typhoid are so well understood and the measures of prevention so accurately determined that any city can with the expenditure of a reasonable amount of money and effort, reduce its typhoid fever to the vanishing point."

GEIGER (J. C.), and others. A water-borne epidemic of typhoid fever; isolation of the typhoid bacillus from the contaminated supply. (Amer. Medical Assoc. Journ., Je. 9, 1917: 1681–1685. charts.)

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See also Accounting, Railroads and Terminals.

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A list of all the public service commissions in the United States, and the names of commissioners, lawyers, accountants and engineers connected with the commissions.

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Bradlee (Henry G). The war's effect on public utilities. (General Electric Review, Aug., 1917: 632–635.)

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Omaha. Board of Public Welfare. First annual report, Feb. 12 to Dec. 31, 1916. [1917.] 97 pp.

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Milwaukee Citizens' Bureau of Municipal Efficiency. Why the administrative boards and departments of the City of Milwaukee should combine their purchasing power. Prepared for the Central Purchasing Committee. 4 sheets. typewritten. 4 charts.

Travis (E. M.). The feasibility of central purchasing for New York State. (Purchasing Agent, Mch., 1917: 91–92.)

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Twyford (H. B.). Standardizing purchasing and its effect. (Gas Age, Feb. 1, 1917: 123–126. diagrs.)

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Lowrie (S. Gale). A municipally-owned passenger station. (Amer. City, Je., 1917: 581–583.)

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Sinnickson (George R.). What the Pennsylvania Railroad has done and hopes to do for Baltimore. 1917. 42 pp. (City Club of Baltimore Bull., v, no. 2.)

Rapid Transit

Chicago. Traction and Subway Commission. Report on a unified system of surface, elevated and subway lines [for Chicago]. 1916. 446+113 pp. maps, plates.

A comprehensive report of unusual importance. The commissioners were Messrs. Wm. Barclay Parsons, Bion J. Arnold, and Robert Ridgway.

New York State. Public Service Commission. First District. History of rapid transit development in the City of New York, [by] Louis Roth. 1917. 61 pp. typewritten.

Recreation

Brown (Edward F.). Public health and recreation encampments in the Palisades Interstate Park. (Amer. City, Jy., 1917: 51–55. illus.)

Cunliff (Nelson). The annual municipal play day in St. Louis. (Amer. City, Jy., 1917: 66–68. illus.)

Gates (Herbert W.). Recreation and the church. 1917. xiv, 185 pp.

Mackaye (Percy W.). Community drama; its motive and method of neighborliness; an interpretation. 1917. xiii, 64 pp.

The author believes that community drama offers a constructive suggestion for co-operative recreation in our training camps and in all American communities.

Ritchie (Frank H. T.). Building a community through its resident forces. (Amer. City, Jy., 1917: 42–50. illus.)

Schools

See also Education, Fire Prevention, Public Health, Ventilation, Vocational Guidance.

Athearn (W. S.). The correlation of church schools and public schools. [1917.] 59 pp. (Malden leaflets no. 2.)

Balliet (T. M.). The modern school proposed by the General Education Board. (Amer. Education, Apr., 1917: 466–470.)

Boynton (F. D.). Co-operation in a school system. (Educ. Review, Apr., 1917: 329–340.)

Bureau of Municipal Research, Dayton. Building new schools for Dayton's children. 1917. 19 pp. (Reports on Dayton's school administration no. 1.)

Gives a table of comparative building costs in several large cities.

Bureau of Safety. Methods for instruction in accident prevention for use in schools. 1917. 31 pp.

Catlin (Hoyt). Doing it electrically in the schools. (Journ. of Electricity, Jy. 15, 1917: 60–61. illus.)

Fenwick (Arthur McM.). The modern high school. (Educational Review, Je., 1917: 38–48.)

Johnson (Franklin W.). Administrative apects of the high school of tomorrow. (Education, Je., 1917: 605–613.)

Kilpatrick (Van Evrie). The school gardens of New York City. (New York

City. Department of Health. Monthly Bull., May, 1917: 49–55.)

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Schroeder (H. H.). An analysis of the cost of public education in Peoria during the school year 1915–1916. A report to the Board of School Inspectors of Peoria, Illinois. Apr. 6, 1917. 54 pp.

Smedley (Emma). The Philadelphia school luncheon system. (Proceedings, Amer. School Hygiene Assoc., 1916: 246–248.)

Sewerage and Sewage Disposal

Anon. Thirty-five cities report their experience with concrete sewers. The results of an investigation conducted by the City of Chicago. (Concrete, May, 1917: 186–187. table.)

Anon. Sewage aeration and activated sludge. (Engrng. (London), Jy. 6, 1917: 16–17.)

Blount (Bertram). The treatment of sewage. (Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., May 18, 1917: 467–469.)

Phelps (George). The use of brushwood as a medium for sewage filters. (Amer. City, Je., 1917: 604–607. illus.)

Walker (C. L.). A photographic study of sewage distribution on a sprinkling filter. (Cornell Civil Engr., Apr., 1917: 323–328. illus.)

Short Ballot

See also State Government.

Gilbertson (H. S.). Practical democracy. A series of articles on the short ballot movement. (New Jersey Municipalities, Feb., Mch., Apr., May, Je., 1917.)

No. I, How we got the long ballot; no. II, How the long ballot crippled democracy; no. III, Ballots and human nature; no. IV, The city short ballot; no. V, "Improved" short ballot cities.

State Government

Alexander (Margaret C.). The development of the power of the state executive with special reference to the state of New York. Apr., 1917. 233 pp. tables. (Smith College Studies in History, vol. ii, no. 3.)

Citizens' League of Indiana. New Constitution text-book and manual of ready reference. May, 1917. 166 pp.

"It is the purpose of this text-book or manual to offer a primary guide in direct civic study along all important lines of proposed constitutional change."

Colorado. Survey Committee of State Affairs. Reports. 1916.

No. 1, Report on a survey of the office of governor of the State of Colorado; no. 2, . . . Secretary of state and on public control of corporations; no. 3, . . . Auditor of state and of public examiner; no. 4, . . . State treasurer; no. 5, . . . State auditing board; no. 6, Report on a study of state finances and budget procedure; no. 8, Report on a survey of the administration of public service functions relating to regulation and supervision of labor; no. 9, . . . Department of game and fish; no. 11, . . . State inspector of oils; no. 13, Report on the revenue system of the state of Colorado, criticisms and suggestions; no. 16, Report on care of dependents, delinquents and defectives; no. 18, Summary of findings and recommendations relating to the executive branch of the state government of Colorado.

Debel (Niels H.). The veto power of the governor of Illinois. Je., 1917. 149 pp.

Issued in two parts as nos. 1 and 2 of vol. vi of the University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.

Indiana. Bureau of Legislative Information. Selected bibliography on state constitution-making. (Special Libraries, Je., 1917: 85–87.)

Compiled for the use of the constitutional convention to be held in Indiana, Jan., 1918.

Massachusetts. The Constitutional Convention, 1917. Bulletins. Submitted to the Constitutional Convention by the Commission to Compile Information and Data for the Use of the Constitutional Convention. 1917.

To date the following bulletins have been issued: No. 1, The procedure of constitutional conventions; no. 2, State budget systems in the United States; no. 3, The abolition of the governor's council; no. 4, The pardoning power; no. 5, A summary of existing laws on old age pension systems and a bibliography; no. 6, The initiative and referendum; no. 7, The public opinion law of Massachusetts; no. 8, County government in Massachusetts; no. 9, Biennial elections and sessions of the legislature; no. 10, The short ballot; no. 15, Constitutional restrictions on state debts; no. 16, The selection and retirement of judges; no. 17, Appropriations for sectarian and private purposes; no. 18, The constitutionality of social welfare legislation; no. 19, Excess condemnation; no. 21, Methods of borrowing, sinking funds v. serial bonds (with special reference to Massachusetts practice); no. 23, Absent voting; no. 24, Compulsory voting; no. 27, Preferential voting. Other bulletins are to be issued on the subjects of Municipal home rule, City government by commission, City-manager plan, Municipal debt limits, Abolition of capital punishment, Advisory judicial opinions, Proportional representation, Classification of property for taxation, English system of "provisional orders," State militia, Report of the commission.

Each bulletin is provided with a selected bibliography, and contains from twenty to one hundred pages each.

The members of the commission are Prof. W. B. Munro of Harvard University, chairman, Mr. Lawrence B. Evans of the Boston Bar, and Hon. Roger Sherman Hoar of Concord, Mass.

Streets

See also Street Cleaning.

Bostwick (Andrew L.). Improved street system for St. Louis. (Municip. Journ., Je. 28, 1917: 839–841. maps.)

Miller (H. H.). Diagonal streets: how they could relieve traffic congestion in modern cities. (Amer. City, Je., 1917: 611–612. diagr.)

Sprague (N. S.). Important features relating to the design and improvement of city streets [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Engrs'. Soc. of Western Pennsylvania, May, 1917: 205–269.)

Winder (A. H.). The right of a chartered municipality to serve as contractor in street improvement. (Pacific Municipalities, Jy., 1917: 285–293.)

Street Cleaning

Anon. Western cities employ vacuum machines for cleaning streets. Costs given for operation of motor unit at Oakland, Cal.—best results where climate is dry. (Engrng. News-Record, May 24, 1917: 398–399. illus.)

——. Street cleaning in Detroit. Pt. 3. (Municip. Journ., May 31, 1917: 738–740.)

Pp. 1 and 2 appeared under a somewhat different title in the Municipal Journals of May 10 and 17, 1917.

Fox (R. T.). Intensive street cleaning methods. (Municip. Journ., May 24, 1917: 719–720.)

Routh (J. W.). Street cleaning—a problem in sanitary engineering. (Cornell Civil Engr., Apr., 1917: 329–334.)

Surveys

Williams (J. H.). A scale for grading neighborhood conditions. 1917. 17 pp. charts. tables. (California. Whittier State School. Research bull. no. 5.)

Taxation and Finance

Barrows (George E.). Making industrial valuation for tax purposes. (Engrng. News-Record, Jy. 26, 1917: 164–166.)

Cleveland (Frederick A.). The essentials of a municipal budget. (New Jersey Municipalities, Je., 1917: 5, 15–20.)

Edwards (Arthur J.). Some practical aspects of municipal borrowing. (Minnesota Municipalities, Je., 1917: 86–94.)

Ermatinger (Joseph J.). Municipal borrowing. (Minnesota Municipalities, Je., 1917: 72–86.

This and the preceding article were papers read at the Fourth Annual Convention of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, Oct. 19, 1916.

Graves (Mark). Simplification of county and local municipal finances [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Conference for Better County Government in New York State, 1916: 74–87.)

Lawton (M. G.). Audit and payment of claims. (Amer. City, Jy., 1917: 25–27.)

Montgomery (R. H.). Income tax procedure. 1917. 461 pp.

New Jersey. Department of Municipal Accounts. Analysis of public laws, 1917, relating to finances of municipalities, counties and school districts together with standard of sinking fund requirements. 1917. [7 pp.] table.

——. Statutes. Laws affecting taxation of the session of 1917. 1917. 23 pp.

New York State. Senate. Statement of financial condition of the cities of the State, prepared by Elon R. Brown, Temporary President of the Senate. Apr. 23, 1917. 3 pp. (Senate doc. 1917, no. 61.)

This tabular statement shows that the actual tax rate on property assessed at full value is equal to or greater than New York city's rate in thirty-one other cities of the state.

Parcelle (Walter A.). Baltimore underwriting a blanket war insurance policy. (Amer. City, Je., 1917: 573–578.)

How the city is raising a fund of $1,500,000 to meet normal relief needs and to safeguard itself should the war with Germany bring acute industrial conditions—A joint campaign for the alliance of charitable and social agencies and the Red Cross under the name of the "Baltimore Fund."

Traffic

Fifth Avenue Association. Report on traffic conditions on Madison Avenue, between 56th and 34th Streets. May, 1917. 13 pp. tables.

Wakelam (H. T.). Extraordinary traffic and excessive weights on highways. (Municip. Journ. (London), Je. 29, 1917: 623–624. table.)

Trees

Bannwart (Carl). Doings of Newark's [Shade] Tree Commission. (Modern City, Je., 1917: 5–13. illus.)

Ventilation

Grierson (R.). Some modern methods of ventilation, with special reference to public buildings. Standards of ventilation, design of ducts, selection of fans, washers, and heaters, specifications, test forms, and specimen schedules for designers. 1917. 187 pp. charts. tables. illus.

Thorndike (E. L.) and Kruse (Paul J.). The effect of humidification of a school room upon the intellectual progress of pupils. (School and Society, Je. 2, 1917: 657–660.)

Vital Statistics

Thompson (Warren S.). Race suicide in the United States. II, Causes of the lower birth-rate in the city. (Scientific Monthly, Aug., 1917: 154–165.)

Vocational Guidance

Brewer (John M.) and Kelly (Roy W.). A selected critical bibliography of vocational guidance. 1917. 76 pp. (Harvard Bulletins in Education, no. IV, Feb., 1917.)

Includes general references, current practices and policies in vocational guidance, vocational guidance in commerce and industry, information concerning occupations, bibliographies, and a reading course in vocational guidance.

Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York. Preliminary report of the Committee on Commercial Education. Je. 28, 1917. 7 pp.

Water Purification

See also Public Health.

Anon. Multiple inspirators aërate algæ-laden lake supply. (Engrng. News-Record, May 3, 1917: 237–239. illus. diagrs.)

Ehlers (V. M.). Regulation of stream pollution in Texas. (Amer. City, Jy., 1917: 14–16.)

Ellms (Joseph W.). Water purification. 1917. x, 485 pp.

Hoover (C. P.), Sperry (W. A.), Trax (E. C.). Growth of filter sand at three water-softening plants. History and experiments at Columbus, O., Grand Rapids, Mich., and McKeesport, Penn., given in three articles. (Engrng. News-Record, May 3, 10, 17, 1917: 250–252, 304–305, 351–352. illus. tables.)

Three separate articles on the cities above mentioned.

McWalter (J. C.). The purification of water in war time. (Journ. of State Medicine, Feb., 1917: 41–43.)

Michigan. State Board of Health. Water filtration. By Edward D. Rich, State Sanitary Engineer. Mch., 1917. 16 pp. (Engineering Bull. no. 9.)

Uren (F. C.). Recent practice in the purification and softening of public water supplies. (Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., Feb. 9, 16, 1917: 169–171, 187–189. diagr.)

Water Works

Knight (I. W.). Why the small city should have an adequate waterworks system. 1917. 8 pp.

Jensen (J. A.). The work of the service force of the water works department of Minneapolis. (Engrng. and Contracting, May 9, 1917: 434–437.)

The author is supervisor of the Minneapolis Water Department.

Lippincott (J. B.). Los Angeles aqueduct. (Monthly Journ., Utah Soc. of Engrs., Apr., 1917: 89–124. illus.)

Metcalf (Leonard). Some observations upon public regulation of water works. (Journ., Amer. Water Works Assoc., Mch., 1917: 46–57.)

New York City. Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity. The water supply systems of New York City. [May, 1917.] 6 pp. typewritten.

A brief description of New York City's water supply system as it now is and as it will be in the future.

Stein (Milton F.). Saving coal in the waterworks pumping station. (Municip. Journ., Jy. 19: 49–51. diagr.)

Stevens (Harry). New reservoir and water mains improve service at Covington, Va. (Engrng. News-Record, May 3, 1917: 240–242. illus. diagr.)

Winsor (Frank E.). New waterworks at Providence, R. I., to cost $12,000,000. (Engrng. News-Record, May 3, 1917: 233–235. illus.)

Woman Suffrage

California Federation of Women's Clubs. Committee of Political Science. A survey of the results of woman suffrage in California. May, 1917. 3 pp.

Zoning

See also City Planning.

Davis (Earl H.), compiler. Zoning: the division of cities into residence and industrial districts; a discussion of laws and ordinances. (St. Louis Public Library Monthly Bull., Jy., 1917: 205–237.)

Ford (G. B.). Building zones. A handbook of restrictions on the height, area and use of buildings, with especial reference to New York City. 1917. 40 pp. map. charts. diagrs.

Mr. Ford occupies the post of Consultant to the Commission of Building Districts and Restrictions. He has been assisted in preparing this pamphlet by Herbert S. Swan and F. P. Schiavone.

New York City. Board of Estimate and Apportionment. Commission on Building Districts and Restrictions. Final report. Je. 2, 1916. 1916. 299 pp. maps. plans.

Copies of this final report, which has just been issued, may be purchased from the Committee on the City Plan, Municipal Bldg., New York City.

Schiavone (F. P.). Flexibility of building height limits. Varying conditions in older and newer sections of [New York] City presented many problems in drafting zone law. (Record and Guide, May 26, 1917: 719–720, 740.)

NATIONAL
MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. VI, No. 6 NOVEMBER, 1917 TOTAL No. 26

A STATE MANAGER PLAN

BY RICHARD S. CHILDS
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IN 1913 an initiated amendment to abolish the state senate mustered a third of the vote in Oregon. In 1914 Governor Eberhardt of Minnesota proposed the abolition of the legislature and the substitution of a small elective commission and the idea was not ill received. Next year Governor Hodges of Kansas made a like proposal for a single house of sixteen members, two from each congressional district, and the idea was received with unanimous applause by the press of his state. He argued for it in the governors' conference and the idea was carefully followed up by the *Saturday Evening Post*, and echoed by many newspapers.

In all this discussion the significant feature was the almost utter absence of ridicule or of defense for the existing institutions of government. People were not shocked. Editors did not jeer. Consequently we are probably nearer to bold changes than we thought, especially now when there are half a dozen state constitutional conventions in sight.

Commission government in cities often provoked the lay suggestion, "Why not for states?" but it would not stand second thought, for a commission small enough to be an executive agency would be too small to be an acceptable legislature. Now with forty-odd cities working under the commission-manager plan and a hundred more to come in a year or so—serious talk of it in Cleveland, and even Chicago—the parallel question assumes more potency, for a commission in a state commission-manager plan could be a broad representative body without impairing the necessary unification of the executive function. And the commission-manager plan is intrinsically sound, which was not entirely true of the commission plan.

Accordingly it is time we theorists and reformers began addressing ourselves to the question of what is our ultimate ideal of a state government and setting up an orthodoxy that will be the product of ample discussion and something we can all defend.

A SINGLE HOUSE LEGISLATURE?

Do we, for instance, believe that states are in essence so like cities that we can fit them with a larger model of the same plan of government? Would we favor a single-house legislature of, say, fifty members with a state manager under them as chief executive for a state like Indiana? I don't.

State government is nine-tenths legislative and one-tenth business, whereas city government is nine-tenths business, with ordinance-making as a mere side-line.

Legislation requires much more explicit popular consent than a step in the development of a municipal administration. Law affects the conduct of men outside the narrow field of governmental employes. Law calls upon me to do something I may not wish to do; administration disturbs some governmental department, but I don't even hear of it although doubtless I suffer some ultimate undistinguishable effect of it. Administration should be swift; law should grow slowly. In states, therefore, broad representation is more necessary than in cities. Representation can be trifled with in cities because the people are compact, and near enough to represent themselves effectively if a small commission forgets its obligations. In states with their genuine diverse localism, a closely centralized governing board might be too impervious and mistake distant protests as mere clamor. For the making of laws, the state's main business, there must be a numerous body—more than fifty in a state like Indiana.

But a legislature of one hundred or more cannot sit down with a manager and oversee his work in the way that constitutes the great merit of the controlled-executive plan in cities. A state manager responding directly to a house of a hundred members would have a hectic time of it. He would not be responsibly reviewed and checked up; rather, like the victims of Judean mobs, he would be set up as a target and stoned to death. On his constructive proposals, he would be overwhelmed by little critics. He would be obliged to enter into collusion with a group of ring-leaders and get them to fight on his side—a sound method but fruitful of jealousy and distrust unless definitely sanctioned and regularized. If it were frankly so organized by the creation of an executive committee or ministry to work in more intimate relation with the state manager, it would be better but not good enough. This inner circle would still be possessed of indefinite yet very practical powers. It would manage the manager yet the whole legislature would carry the nominal responsibility without any practical way of assuming real control except in a kind of turbulent, spasmodic mob fashion.

Such an executive committee should be in continuous session the year round—the state manager cannot be left to sail the ship alone for months at a time lest the legislators, meeting only in annual or biennial sessions should soon find themselves comparative novices, no match for his glib familiarity with problems and unable to trust themselves to correct him.

THE DIFFICULTY OF PATRONAGE

The major difficulty, however, is our bad traditions of patronage. An inner group of the legislature supervising the state manager between sessions, might too easily become a ring for the disposal of jobs and no mechanical check against them such as a merit system or a watertight budget would be an adequate protection while the normal check of conspicuous responsibility to the people for the results of their rule would be wanting since they would be responsible merely to a numerous legislature wherein the accountability could be dissipated.

I concede that a single house legislature with an inner group and a manager—the Swiss system, in essence—is the ideal and ultimate plan, but I think it safer to wait till we have cleaned things up a bit before we adopt a plan that seems so vulnerable to our particular American type of corruption.

Likewise with the proposition implied in some of the publications of the bureau of municipal research for a frank copy of the English House of Commons with the governor and his department heads sitting in a one-house legislature as a ministry furnishing the constructive leadership in budgetary and legislative matters subject to the obstructive and critical review of the legislators, with power to dissolve the house and appeal to the electorate by a new election. I cannot imagine American office-holders voluntarily putting their own jobs in jeopardy to settle a difference over mere matters of principle!

Now then, to sketch something that will satisfy the coming call for "a state manager plan," something that goes far enough to produce big reforms yet remembers American traditions.

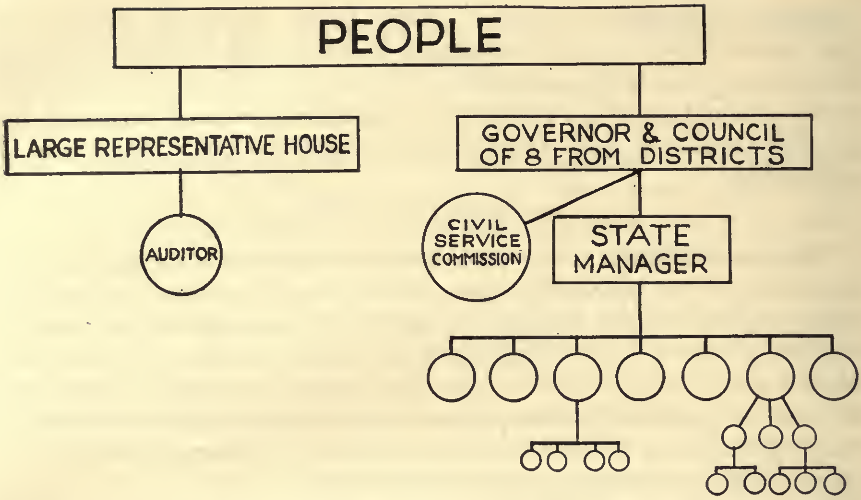
Governor and council have seat and voice in the house, also constitute the upper house (senate abolished).

Governor and council select state manager and control administration.

Governor and council prepare and introduce budget and other legislation and get the consent of the lower house if they can.

Lower house has power of reducing items in budget and may repeal laws or enact them by passing them two years in succession in spite of dissent of governor and council.

Governor and council having ample administrative service would originate the big legislative projects and argue for them in the lower house as "administration measures." Such bills would be properly related to


PEOPLE
LARGE REPRESENTATIVE HOUSE
GOVERNOR & COUNCIL OF 8 FROM DISTRICTS
AUDITOR
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
STATE MANAGER

old law and old departments as distinguished from individual freak bills originating with the more amateur representatives.

The lower house would become a "consenting" body, reviewing and accepting or rejecting the projects of the more expert governor and council.

Governor loses the veto and the appointing power except as to judges.

This plan is sketched with the dilemma of the Massachusetts constitutional convention especially in mind. That convention will want to restore popular control over the autonomous long-term administrative commissions that have been developed to offset the inexperience of the one-year governors. The one-year term is dear to the hearts of the bay state people, yet how can administrative stability be obtained if the departments are made really sensitive to the rule of such transient amateur chief executives? Massachusetts has a governor's council now, eight members elected from districts. It is a perfunctory body, confirming the governor's appointments as a matter of course, except when the governor is of the opposite party; then it is sometimes a nuisance. Revive its lost dignity, give it a subordinate state manager and make it the upper house of the legislature in place of the senate. The governor becomes the leading policymaker and legislator and the principal representative of the people, yet the state departments are not put at the mercy of his ignorance of their work. Or, to put it the other way, the governor is no longer at the mercy of experienced subordinates. The state manager might not stay in office long either but a good man could make himself indispensable and, as part of the council would probably be re-elected in any ordinary year, the chances for continuity are good.

The plan provides all the advantages of the commission-manager plan except the unification of powers, and in that respect it improves radically upon the existing three-headed government. It creates a commission and manager who work together in the usual way subject to the additional requirement that the commission must annually and in person submit its major projects to a large popular body and secure from it money and consent before going ahead.

You accept the idea as rather good, subject to the reserved privilege of changing your mind as often as you please?

So do I!

REFLECTIONS ABOUT STATE LEGISLATURES

BY H. S. GILBERTSON[1]
New York City

EVERY second winter in forty states, a common resolve is forming itself in the minds of countless discontented and forward-looking and designing people. The big building with a gilded dome in the capital city becomes the mecca of two great companies of those who long to make things better, and of those who are just as keenly interested in keeping them just as they are. For ours is a "government of laws"; the world is to be set right and kept right by enactment, and people flock to the legislature to "get a law passed."

The legislature by common consent is such an all-around, all-sufficient instrument of human welfare that democracies everywhere but in America have made it the very keystone of their systems of government. To the legislature they have been careful to make every other political agency definitely subordinate. They have considered that the control of the laws is the control of all.

Here in America, by contrast, the legislature has been allowed to fall into obscurity, to become so badly manned and equipped, and so unwieldy and uncertain in its responses that it is everywhere but a poor weapon in the hands of a people who call themselves free. We have taken some action to fit it to better uses, it is true. We have trimmed away its powers, by limiting the subjects which it may treat, by establishing minute rules for its procedure, by shortening its sessions. But, notwithstanding, the quantity of laws has steadily increased and their quality generally deteriorated. And as for its personnel, in some of the states, it has reached the very depths. In at least one state[2] the ordinary process of lawmaking has ceased to be seriously regarded as a means to progressive ends.

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[1] Executive secretary, National Short Ballot Organization.

[2] Oregon.

LEGISLATIVE DEGENERATION

It must be frankly admitted that the story of American state legislatures is a record of degeneration. The worst enemies of the people could have executed no more effective *coup d'etat* in behalf of oligarchy than did their best friends when they set up the machinery for throwing the legislature into the background. They simply put innumerable minor officers on the ballot in the name of a more complete democracy. A coroner, a sheriff, a secretary of state and anywhere between a dozen and fifty others, the mere errand boys of the law, became not equal but superior to the direct representatives of the people. The candidates for what, logically, is the one office of highest importance in a republic, were henceforth on election day to be lost in the woods and the voters were to loosen their grip on their most powerful leverage to power.

By the same sign the obscurity of the legislature was intensified by lessening the political importance of the individual member. The New Hampshire house of representatives has a membership of four hundred. Each member is but one four-hundredth part of a great mass meeting. In New York each assemblyman represents one one-hundred and fiftieth of the people. But even the one hundred and fifty are but one of three distinct branches of the law-making power. Small men for small jobs!—that is what the public has come to think of legislative office—a state of mind that grows out of the intricate ballot and minute divisions of authority. The wonder is that legislatures contain as many men of weight as they do.

But the confusion and obscurity only *begin* at the ballot.

THE EFFECT OF SPOILS

When the session opens it is in an atmosphere, thick with extraneous issues, that of necessity dims the vision of the members to the greater interests of their constituents. The great and glorious company of door-keepers, sergeants-at-arms, clerks and messengers that swarm the legislative halls in the larger states, represent bargainings of principle for votes and of independence for practical results, just so many links that tie the individual members to the common fortunes of combinations which no one for a moment believes are working in behalf of the general good. A mechanical obstacle has been set up to single-hearted, public-spirited action by the spoils which prevail in every state legislature except that of Wisconsin, where the merit system is in operation.

In the upper house of most of the states the patronage evil takes another form through the power of confirmation of the governor's appointments. Originally intended as an instrument for eliminating the unfit, this bridge between the executive and legislative branches has become the basis of a system of partisan barter and intrigue and a shield for the governor from public criticism of unfit appointments, and an obstruction to clear thinking and single allegiance.

Of the same genus is that great mass of special legislation that has grown up in many states to meet the needs of cities and counties. It has taken the legislators far afield from the main purposes of their office; it has impaired local self-government. But above all it has created endless opportunity for back-scratching and log-rolling, for casting shadows on the really important concerns of the people of the whole state whose servant the legislature is.

But the irresponsibility and obscurity of the state legislature are by no means "acquired characteristics"; they were not altogether achieved in the course of its development.

The fact is, American legislatures as we know them today took shape amid the influences of the Revolutionary period when monarchy was making an especially wicked exhibition of itself and yet before democracy had become a widely accepted principle. Democracy took a forward step in the early colonial period when the second or lower house became an institution. "The people" thereby acquired an instrument of negative control; they were grateful for small favors.

THE UPPER CHAMBER

In the federal constitutional convention the upper chamber idea received the approbation of conspicuous conservatives and reactionaries. But the tide by this time had turned. Now it was the propertied classes that sought to hold down the people at large. Alexander Hamilton even went so far as to suggest that senators, like judges, should hold office during good behavior. During the best days of the slave power it found one of its stoutest champions in the person of John C. Calhoun. That the designs of its champions were realized is attested by Woodrow Wilson when he summed up the case by saying that the senate is valuable in our democracy in proportion as it is undemocratic.

With the passing of the Adams and Hamiltonian group and the accession of the New West as a factor in national politics, democracy and equality became, formally at least, the order of the day. Men began to talk less freely and openly of "classes." The defense of the second chamber from the time of de Tocqueville shifted its grounds to considerations of the deliberative quality of the second chambers—on which point of view a typical expression is that of Prof. John W. Burgess:

> The primary purpose of the legislature is to ascertain what the law ought to be, to determine not what the will of the people commands, but what the reason of the people, the common commissioners demands. . . . A legislature of one chamber inclines too much to radicalism. One of three chambers or more would incline too much to conservatism. The true mean between conservatism and progress, and therefore the true interpretation of the common commissioners at

each particular moment, will be best secured by a legislature of two chambers.

The *thinking* of the country set more and more strongly toward a more perfect rule of the people. By a curious perversion of fate the *machinery* of self-government adapted itself more and more perfectly to the needs of the few. Legislative organization contributed its full share to the growth of invisible government. The demand for "more democracy" as a cure for partial democracy took shape in bigger legislative assemblies. This diminished the calibre of the individual members. Beyond that, it intensified the mob character of the assemblies—and mobs require dictators. This factor, together with the growing volume of business to be dispatched, brought about the need of a compact inner organization. The power of the speaker grew apace. Through his authority to recognize or not to recognize and to refer measures to friendly or unfriendly committees he came to hold the fate of pending legislation in the hollow of his hand. The individual member was reduced to the status of a trading unit.

THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM

People became so disgusted with the output of such methods that they resorted to another drastic remedy: they shortened the sessions to cut off the flow of laws. But this remedy like most of those which it preceded and followed, only aggravated the trouble. It was a simple matter of arithmetic. Given, let us say, a thousand measures to be considered; given also a sixty-day period in every two years in which to do it. It is obvious that a good many measures had to be kept going through the mill at the same time. To meet this situation the committee system became more and more indispensable. With this, open deliberation largely ceased and each committee became a little legislature by itself, obscure and irresponsible.

And so, seemingly, every device that could be invented to minimize the importance of the legislature and its individual members in the eyes of the voters, to distract the attention of the legislator from the proper business in hand, to center power in the hands of the few, but without responsibility or publicity, has been put to the test in the making of this all important engine of self-government. What was intended to insure deliberation has become an all too available instrument of evasion. For it has been the practice of one house confronted by a popular, but inconvenient measure, to pass it, in the hope and belief that the lapse of time will prevent its consideration in the other house and that it will thereupon die by limitation. Meanwhile the party of the first part gets the credit for being exceedingly responsive to the people's wishes; while the second is just simply too crowded with business to take action on the measure in question.

As the government not known to the constitution has desired action or inaction, haste or deliberation, so have the legislatures moved. No mere element of official organization has been able either to accelerate or retard. Only by some supreme effort or some accidental combination of circumstances at comparatively infrequent intervals have the great body of the people found themselves in power.

PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING REORGANIZATION

What to do about it, that is the question.

The new political science, replacing the doctrine of repression and negation and putting it squarely up to the people to make democracy real, says: "Make government visible, turn the light on the ballot, smoke out the public servants into the open, fix responsibility all along the line, concentrate the whole political force of the whole people on each successive issue. If the system breaks down, then it is time to call in the Kaiser."

Better law-making, then, is not a matter of a single, simple step. It calls for a straightening out of the battle line along the whole front.

NEEDED SIMPLIFICATIONS

Begin by taking off the back of the legislature, responsibilities which properly fall upon other shoulders—relieve Albany, Springfield, Boston, of their concern over innumerable measures—that run up into the hundreds at every session—which should be the "worry" of particular cities and counties. Clear the legislator of the temptation to trade the interests of his constituents against the welfare of the whole state and you have already done much to establish that singleness of sight which is the highest virtue of a law maker. Twelve states have already accepted this principle of *municipal home rule* and the body of laws in those states is the healthier for it.

Simplification No. 2 would consist of relieving the legislature of its non-legislative duties. The swarms of legislative employes that throng some of the state capitols on pay day would cease to be a distracting influence to the members with political debts to pay, if every one of them were appointed, as they are in Wisconsin, under the rules of the civil service commission. There is perhaps as great or greater reason why the merit system should prevail in legislative bodies where fundamentals of government are dealt with, than in the administrative branch.

Simplification No. 3 would concern itself with stripping the mind of the voter and the citizen of confusing issues on election day and helping him to concentrate his power where it ought to count most. This is the principle of the *short ballot.* If the people are to think clearly, see straight and act single-mindedly, when they are giving their sailing orders, it is obvious that a deal of cutting away of rubbish will have to be undertaken at that all-important point. From the standpoint of effective voting, such officers as coroners, sheriffs, secretaries of state, attorneys-general and their like, are plain trash. The candidates for the legislature must be made infinitely more prominent and conspicuous than clerks of courts. The attention of the electorate must be diverted from non-essentials and false issues—the mere cogs of the governmental machine,—to the legislating or policy determining officers, who need *all* the room on the ballot.

(By a happy coincidence, the same pruning away of the ballot which would throw the legislature into high relief also works out in the interest of a better organized, better controlled executive department; but that is a story by itself.)

Then finally the internal simplification of the legislature itself. It is vital that the people should know where their law makers "live." No more of the moving platform or the three ring circus. No more vibration of responsibility from the senate to the assembly and back again, to the reward of the dodger and the "pussy-footer." No more privileged machinery of obstruction. When once the whole people's mind is really made up, every consideration of democracy dictates that it should prevail. The remedy is the unicameral system: *one house and a comparatively small one*—big enough to represent everybody but small enough to be watched and to talk things out.

ONE HOUSE AND A SMALL ONE

The idea is not new. Governor Hodges stirred the country four years ago with an appeal to the legislature of Kansas for the establishment of the plan in that state. The success of commission government, the abandonment of the clumsy two-chambered city councils in many of the larger cities, have blazed the way for the extension of the idea to states. It is supported by the weight of authority in political science and practical statesmanship as represented by such men as John Stuart Mill and Benjamin Franklin. Switzerland, Norway and most of the Canadian provinces have the unicameral system and have found it good.

But how construct a single house? No careful system applicable to our peculiar conditions appears as yet to have been worked out. Such a body will be constituted in different ways according to the peculiar massing of the people in cities and in rural districts and on different lines of communication and to their distribution in industries and occupations and along lines of nationality. Whether the selection of representatives shall be made by geographical divisions or according to some other classification is a separate question to be worked out by the case method, in each jurisdiction. The main point is that the legislative body shall be representative in the fullest sense.

It then becomes necessary to decide what, after all, is the representative's actual function. Here we shall surely be compelled to base our calculations on human nature as we find it and not as we think it ought to be. The English people, who have the longest experience with self-government, have evolved, probably instinctively, a plan for the functioning of the people through election machinery which seems to give them the very maximum of political power. What can the crowd which we call an electorate effectively do? Only by a miracle could a whole constituency have at the same moment precisely the same deliberate thought on the same subject. It is true that crowds have common impulses, but who would base legislation upon impulse? What then does lead the crowd to have a common thought and conviction? Undoubtedly it comes about that someone has a theory of action; he puts it into form; possibly he makes clear and sharp the vague mental gropings of a number of men. Through explanation, discussion, agitation and organization it becomes the common property of a growing constituency, perhaps of a majority. And so the crowd puts its seal of approval on the proposal. It assents or dissents but, as a crowd, it does not initiate.

THE LEGISLATIVE LEADER

Now that is a cardinal fact to be recognized in the construction of legislative bodies: *the ultimate and all important duty and function of the people and even of their representative bodies must be simply to assent and dissent. To a single leader or group of leaders must fall the responsibility of initiative;* of interpreting, crystallizing and formulating the vague and dormant thoughts of the people and submitting their formulations to them for correction and adjustment.

We must set up in our legislative bodies the definite machinery of initiative and assent. If we fail to do so the actual management of legislation will continue to lie outside the control of the people, in the hands of unofficial and irresponsible leaders. For leaders there must be.

In the further interest of presenting to the people a clear unobstructed view of doings at the state house; the major legislative issues must be brought up for treatment, not in a heterogeneous muddle but one at a time, or as nearly so as the volume of necessary legislation will permit. This cannot be the case if we cling to the tradition of the sixty-day or ninety-day biennial session which is in vogue in most of the states. For the short session means congestion, which can only be relieved by dividing the legislature into numerous little legislatures.

It becomes necessary, then, to accept the principle of the continuous session. "Let that bunch at the capitol stay in session all the year round!" will be the first and most natural reaction of the man on the street to this proposal. The answer will be "No, not that bunch, but a very differently constituted bunch, visible, responsible and armed with the tools for expert action. And not in continual session for the *passage* of measures, but what is of equal or even greater importance, for preparation of and for preliminary deliberation upon pending legislation, one measure at a time—which is a very different proposition."

To come now to the definite form of such a legislative organization. Take for simplicity's sake a state of fairly homogeneous population like Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, or one of the Dakotas. How shall we incorporate the principles of leadership and assent, provide for deliberation and continuous session?

The suggested procedure might be somewhat as follows: To begin with, it seems reasonable to suppose the needs of representation would be simply met in a single legislative chamber of perhaps fifty members. How shall they be chosen? Obviously no voter would care to send fifty delegates to the state house. He simply would not select that number or anything like it. The actual selections under some disguise or other would have to be made for him by some unofficial body. A system of proportional representation could easily be devised to fit the situation, or if this principle should seem to be too much of a novelty, the logical plan would be to divide the state into districts of approximately equal population. The districts, however, should be few in number with a view to investing the individual representative with a greater importance and thereby increasing his visibility.

Concretely, let us propose ten districts in each of which there would be selected on a general ticket, five representatives. From their own number each of the ten groups of five would choose one member as their official leader, with some such distinctive title as "legislative councillor."

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILLORS

The "legislative councillors" from the ten districts would constitute that inevitable group in the legislative assembly which must take the initiative in all matters. But this, unlike the coteries which control the legislatures now, would be an official body and would constitute the chosen leadership of every section of the state, the positive force in law-making.

The legislative council, and not the entire membership, would sit between sessions, continuously, if necessary, in the capacity of a committee, in lieu of many committees sitting simultaneously. It would hold hearings, receive bills for introduction, supervise the drafting of laws and furnish a permanent connecting link between the people and the administrative or operating branch of the government.

The legislature proper would meet annually, principally only for the purpose of final debate and passage of measures. Its action would of course not be dependent upon the will of the legislative council, for it would have the power to receive measures on its own account and refer them to its own committees. The governor himself should either have a seat in the body or it should have access to him and he to it, at all times.

Some such arrangement as this would tend to make the legislature a simple, dignified, orderly, understandable body upon whom would be focussed a strong light of publicity. It could not escape accountability to the people. Armed with an expert staff of investigators and bill drafters it would be without excuse for hasty or ill-considered action. The autocracy of the speaker would give way. The needs of progressive democracy for the machinery of positive expression in the statutes would thus be met.

AMERICAN CITIES AS FOSTER-MOTHERS

BY MRS. N. M. FORBES[1]
London, England

AFTER the war, what? In our war hospital work in France the immediate needs are so pressing that only in flashes is there opportunity to see beyond the horrors of today. In these flashes we nurses realize that ours is not all the work. We are helping to save the lives of those who are fighting to save France and liberty. After us must come those who will help restore the ruined France in order that the regained liberty may be enjoyed. One lonely rainy night I started building a castle in Spain and I saw the blackened fields again green, the blue smoke once more curling up from cottages and towns and the laughter of children once more heard.

Cannot this castle in Spain, like many another, become a reality?

THE TASK OF REBUILDING

All through the invaded district, and especially along the battle lines in France and Belgium, cities, towns, villages and farms have been devastated. Family and community life have been destroyed, the means of support have been cut off, and next to nothing remains of the schools, churches and other things that tend toward a higher life.

To rebuild these cities, towns, villages and farms, and reunite and re-establish families and communities, give them a means of earning a livelihood, and furnish them with schools, universities, libraries, museums, hospitals, churches and cathedrals—is a task of reconstruction perhaps as great and as important as that of supporting the army that must check the inroads of militarism and preserve the world for liberty.

The French have taken hold of the military task cheerfully and unflinchingly. They have been doing the same with the task of caring for the people from the devastated and occupied regions. They have shown a wonderful spirit in this fight which is not only for themselves but for all people. They have won the admiration of their allies, of neutrals, even of the enemy. There is a limit to what they are able to endure. It cheers them and gives them fresh courage as one by one the nations of the world array themselves on their side. This was especially true when America finally entered the war. It has cheered them, too, to know that in every city and town of America men, women and children have been doing their bit and giving their mite for the Red Cross and all the various other relief organizations. It will cheer them, too, to know that America will help with the task of rebuilding the devastated region.

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[1] Mrs. Forbes has since the outbreak of the war been serving in France as a French Red Cross nurse.

HELP FROM AMERICA APPRECIATED

There is something beautiful in this family-like help from America. Perhaps those of us who are acquainted on both sides of the ocean appreciate this the most. The grain raised on the prairies is feeding those whose fields have been made barren by battles. Baby clothes, made by groups of American women, are clothing the fatherless and homeless. Bandages and surgical dressings, perhaps from New York, or perhaps from Iowa or California, are easing the pain or saving the life of many a tired and wounded *poilu*. Those Americans who have been here as ambulance drivers, in the flying corps, as surgeons, as nurses, or as executives in the relief organizations, have of course had a personal contact. Others who know and love France have had a personal feeling. But the French realize that the great bulk of this help from America comes from those who have not been in France, and are helping merely out of sympathy for what the French people have been suffering and doing for the rest of the world.

Would it not be of advantage to both if a closer relationship could be established between the helper and the helped? This, it seems, would be especially true when it comes to the re-establishing of family and community life and the rebuilding of cities, towns, villages and farms in the occupied and devastated region. Think of what it would mean for an American city to "adopt," as it were, some French town! It could succor it now in its time of distress, could help it rebuild houses and even public buildings, could help families restart their lives in their former occupations, could renew the live stock and agricultural implements, and help it in every way to become again a self-supporting, self-respecting and self-confident community.

"ADOPTING" A FRENCH TOWN

The size of the community to be "adopted" would vary in each case with the resources and the interest. It might be a city, or a town, or a tiny village, or even a small farming district. Thus Detroit might adopt Soissons; Washington, Noyon; Pittsburgh, Lens; Cleveland, Liege;

Boston, Louvain, and other cities smaller towns and villages. Or some agricultural state like Iowa might adopt a farming community. The interest should of course be very close and very personal. The American city should have its own committee or board which should itself visit or send representatives to select and visit the town to be helped. This should be done in co-operation with French advisors, and perhaps with Americans who have lived in France and know French conditions and French likes and dislikes. Members of the American clearing house committee in Paris, or those who have been connected with any of the American relief organizations in France would be of use for this advice. All that is done would have to be in accord with French ideas of life. The advisors in France would be valuable in selecting the towns, in establishing the broad policy to be followed, and in general acting as a go-between between the two committees. Someone, preferably one with experience in France, should be on the ground to direct the carrying out of the work. The need of the special town or district should be carefully studied just as the Americans are accustomed to study actual conditions and needs in their city surveys or charity and housing surveys, and in their city plans. The American architects, housing, city planning and other civic and public organizations could be of help. To make it all more personal, maps and photographs should be secured, as well as papers and personal letters. This would make possible a constructive policy of new planning and new building based on the past, and on present and future needs.

AMERICA QUALIFIED FOR THE TASK

"American adaptability," American resourcefulness, the genius for organization, the appreciation of the difference between the essential and the unessential, the experience gained by going into a wilderness and developing it into a happy prosperous land in a generation, the courage to undertake, and the grit to carry through, seem to fit the Americans especially to direct this realization of what may seem a dream, but what must come true—the turning of ruins into homes.

There will be many difficulties to overcome, many complexities to set in order, but the work should not be undertaken by those who are not ready to face difficulties, or who have not the clear vision to see the future rising out of the ashes of the present.

In the first place a distinction must be made between temporary immediate relief, and permanent rebuilding. Many of the people from the evacuated districts are left without shelter, clothes or food, and with no means of earning a livelihood. They cannot wait for their towns to be rebuilt. To meet such conditions it is necessary that a certain amount of work of a purely temporary nature be done at once, ahead of the more asting reconstruction. The French have themselves shown how this can be done, although they do not blind themselves into thinking that this emergency work meets the permanent needs.

THE NEW TOWN SHOULD GROW OUT OF THE OLD

The new town should grow out of the old. The people helped should be those who belonged there before the war. Their names, ages, family relationships, and conditions should be secured. They should be encouraged so far as possible to enter their old occupations. The dressmaker should be helped to secure a sewing machine, the laundress a washing machine, the farmer a plow and team of horses, the shopkeeper whatever is necessary to open up for business again. It would be especially appropriate if articles actually made in the American city could be sent when suitable, but money and a great variety of stock and material would be needed. Religious preference should have no influence in the selection. The help should be of the constructive and not of the pauperizing kind. The people helped should be of the class who are willing to work themselves in order to regain and remake their former homes. They should give fair promise of leading respectable, useful lives. They should accept assistance not as they would alms, but as one who has been thrown down by a calamity accepts a helping hand to regain his feet. In this spirit I think you will find the French appreciate the help offered them across the ocean.

In a larger way, too, the new town should grow out of the old. It should not lose the spirit and traditions of the old. It may be hard for people in America to realize the love that the French, like most other Europeans, have for their own homes and villages. They do not easily "pull up stakes" as Americans do, and move to some new place where they think the opportunity is greater. The civilians of Rheims refuse repeatedly to leave it in spite of all their hardships and dangers. Of course the new town cannot be an exact duplication of the old. It would not be wise for it to be. But the spirit of the old should be retained. If the people are used to living in houses built to last for centuries, do not force them into shacks. If they are proud of the attractive open places of their town and of the beautiful architecture of their churches, town halls and public buildings, do not try to substitute monotonously straight lines and buildings lacking the touch that makes them something more than four walls and a roof. Of course, all this cannot come at once but the idea should be kept in mind.

MEANS MUCH TO THE FRENCH SOLDIER

When the new town begins to rise out of the ruins of the old it will mean much to the French soldier, worn and wearied by his years of warfare in the trenches. He will have the satisfaction of knowing that there is a roof for his brave and thrifty wife, for his children, and perhaps for his aged parents who may hardly realize what has been going on. It will encourage him to become again a supporting member of society, to do his share in the upbuilding of the new France. And if the soldier has fallen it will mean that his dependents will have shelter and so far as they are able the opportunity of earning their own livelihood.

And the new town will perhaps mean as much to the citizens of its foster-mother city over there in America. They may not have had the opportunity of fighting in the trenches, of suffering all the terrors and horrors of modern warfare, but they will have the satisfaction of having helped in relieving their fellow men in France from part of this additional burden of reconstruction. The photographs and letters from their adopted town will come to them with the joy of news from a far son or daughter. And when they travel and visit their adopted town they can take a just pride in the good they have done for those who were called to fight in the first line of the defense of liberty.

PROHIBITION IN TENNESSEE

BY R. S. KEEBLER, ESQ.
Memphis, Tennessee

FEW states have had so dramatic an experience with liquor legislation as Tennessee.[1] There it has been the one issue for more than a dozen years. It has divided political parties. It was responsible for the death of the brilliant Senator Carmack, who in 1908 was shot down upon the streets of Nashville. It wrecked the political fortunes of Malcolm R. Patterson, who while governor from 1907 to 1911 was the champion of the liquor traffic, but who is now its implacable foe. It called into being an independent Democratic party which allied itself with the Republicans to overthrow the regular or local option Democrats, and in 1910 for the first time in thirty years a Republican was elected governor of the state. With the passage of a state-wide prohibition act in 1909 the issue was not settled; but with political parties topsy-turvy, with all other issues relegated to the background, the liquor problem has dominated Tennessee politics until within a year's time. The state has needed constitutional changes; but the wets were afraid of the drys and the drys were afraid of the wets; so the antiquated constitution of 1870 remains. The cities have needed the right of home rule; but to the rural communities home rule meant nothing more nor less than open saloons; so the legislature continues to dominate the local governments and each session shows an increasing flood of local bills. The state has needed social legislation in order to keep abreast of the current of modern progress; but the liquor issue has checked all else and the state has stood stagnant.

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[1] For former references to the situation in Tennessee in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, see the following: The Proposed Removal of Memphis Officials, vol. vi, p. 113; Memphis Ouster Cases, vol. v, p. 321; Nashville's Municipal Election, vol. v, p. 323; Recall in Nashville (in article on "Some Recent Uses of the Recall"), vol. v, p. 386.

Happily, however, the issue has within the past two years approached a final solution, and the way is now clear for other reforms. But the agonies through which the state has gone, the blunders which were made, and the means by which a remedy was finally reached, furnish a lesson which may be heeded with profit by that rapidly increasing number of American states which are now embarking upon a similar course of legislation. The lesson is particularly valuable for those states having large cities which seem unalterably opposed to prohibitory laws; for in final analysis the problem resolves itself into an issue between city and country.

THE FOUR-MILE LAW

A brief history of the Tennessee liquor legislation will prove instructive. Tennessee proceeded under the principle of what is known as the "four-mile law"—that is, the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors within four miles of any school-house. The first act was passed in 1877, which made illegal the sale of intoxicating beverages within four miles of an incorporated institution of learning, sales within incorporated towns and by manufacturers in wholesale quantities being excepted. Under this act an indictment would fail if it could be shown that the liquid was not a beverage; so in 1885 an act was passed which extended the law to the sale of intoxicating bitters. There was still a defect. If the institution of learning was not incorporated, an indictment would fail. So in 1887 an act was passed making it unlawful to sell any intoxicating liquor as a beverage within four miles of any school-house, public or private, whether the school be then in session or not; but sales in incorporated towns and sales by manufactories in wholesale quantities were excepted from the provisions of the act.

Under the operation of these laws the country districts, except for the "blind tigers" in the more remote places, were freed of saloons many years before saloons were driven from a single incorporated town. If a wet community desired to retain its saloons, it had only to incorporate and escape the rigors of the law. The fact that the country was rid of saloons first is significant. It caused to grow up a generation of farmer boys who knew nothing of saloons except as they existed in towns and cities, and it has always been the country vote which has determined the issue in all the later contests between the advocates and the opponents of the liquor traffic. It caused to spring up, too, an antagonism between town and country which deadlocked the state and frustrated movements toward other reforms.

PROHIBITION IN INCORPORATED TOWNS

The next liquor legislation was in 1899, when an act was passed extending the prohibitory law to towns of not more than 2,000 inhabitants which might thereafter incorporate; which meant that any town of 2,000 inhabitants or less could rid itself of saloons by reincorporating, the method being to hold an election for this purpose. In 1903 the law was extended to towns of 5,000 inhabitants. Under these acts the liquor shops were driven from the small towns of the state; so that country and town were lined up together against the larger cities in the final struggle. There was one difference between the four-mile laws of Tennessee and the ordinary local option laws. Under the Tennessee laws, when a town once reincorporated it could not thereafter change its mind on the liquor question and re-establish the saloons. They were gone for good.

In 1907 the legislature was ready to extend the four-mile law to the whole state, which it did by an act allowing cities of not more than 150,000 inhabitants to reincorporate and abolish their saloons. This act embraced every city in the state; and inasmuch as Tennessee is largely a rural state and has few real cities, there were by this time only about half a dozen incorporated towns where liquor selling was lawful.

It was soon seen that the wet cities would not reincorporate and thereby banish their saloons. Then it was that Senator Carmack entered the lists with the battle cry that the saloon had sinned away its day of grace and must be destroyed. The legislature of 1909 met shortly after his tragic death, and with resolute mind passed over the governor's veto an act absolutely forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage within four miles of any school-house. Supplementary acts prohibiting the manufacture for sale of any intoxicating liquor, the soliciting of orders for intoxicating liquors, and forbidding the public drinking of intoxicants on common carriers, were also passed. The sentiment fostered in the rural districts and small towns had now crystallized into a state-wide prohibition law.

The course of events since 1909 illustrates the inherent weakness of the Tennessee law. The governor was hostile to prohibition; and the large cities, where prohibitionists were in the minority, after making a feint of observing the law, openly disregarded it and proceeded to grant liquor licenses as theretofore. Then the Democratic party was thrown out of power, and a Republican, Benjamin W. Hooper, was elected governor by the support of the independent Democratic vote. The legislature of 1911 passed no additional prohibition laws. The state was getting its bearings. The larger cities continued to defy the law. There was no machinery in the governor's hands whereby he could enforce law observance. The legislature was hopelessly divided.

THE SESSIONS OF 1913

The legislature of 1913 met in regular session and shunted the liquor issue. A first special session was held, which again shunted the issue. The political atmosphere was tense. It was the big cities against the state, seemingly in hopeless deadlock. A second special session was called, and at last the liquor power in Tennessee saw the handwriting on the wall. Three anti-liquor acts were passed. One act required the filing of statements with the county clerk showing shipments of intoxicating liquors into the state or between points within the state; another prohibited the shipment of intoxicating liquors from one county to another within the state; while a third made the engaging in the sale of intoxicating liquors a nuisance which might be abated upon relation of any attorney for the state or any city or county attorney, or upon the relation of ten or more citizens and freeholders of the county where such nuisance might exist.

This last act, popularly known as the "nuisance act," tolled the knell of the liquor traffic in Tennessee. The people of the state had now the power to take the law into their own hands; and the state authorities were enabled to prosecute injunction suits against liquor sellers, of which there was a veritable avalanche, by the appointment of special attorneys. Regardless of local sentiment or the attitude of public officials, the law violator could now be brought to task.

But even the nuisance act was not sufficient. Public officials out of sympathy with the law, even some of the state's judges, threw every possible impediment in the way of the rigid enforcement of the law; and inasmuch as the defendant could demand a jury, conviction in some cities, notably Memphis, was almost impossible.

THE OUSTER ACT

In 1915 the Democratic party, which had come to realize the sentiment of the state at large and was pledged to vigorous enforcement of the prohibition laws, returned to power, with Tom C. Rye as governor. The legislature immediately addressed itself to the liquor problem, with which the courts had been struggling for two years, and passed an act which finally proved that prohibitory laws could really be made to prohibit. This act, known as the "ouster act," provides that any officer within the state (except those removable exclusively by constitutional methods) who shall knowingly or wilfully neglect to perform any duty enjoined upon him by any of the laws of the state, shall forfeit his office, and that ouster proceedings may be instituted by any attorney for the state, county, or city within their respective jurisdictions, or upon the relation of ten or more citizens and freeholders. The proceedings are made summary, thereby avoiding trial by jury. Other acts passed at this same time were directed against the sale of intoxicants by soft drink stands, clubs and druggists.

From the ouster act, condemned by some of the old faith as undemocratic and unconstitutional, dates the beginning of effective law enforcement in Tennessee. Within a few months ouster suits were filed in Nashville and Memphis, the old régime was overthrown in both cities, and the moral effect throughout the entire state was immediate and marked. Officials who had hitherto said it was impossible to enforce the liquor laws began to change their minds, and by the close of 1916 the state was without a saloon and perhaps as dry as any other state in the union, with possibly one or two of the pioneers excepted.

THE DRASTIC LEGISLATION OF 1917

The legislature of 1917 met to inter the last remains of the liquor traffic in Tennessee. The old order had passed away. There was practically a unanimity of opinion, and almost without a protest the bills prepared by the anti-saloon league of the state were passed. They were foremost on the legislative program. The supreme court had on September 23, 1916, declared the so-called "locker law" of 1915 unconstitutional on the ground that the act was broader than the title, always a favorite method of assailing legislative enactments in Tennessee. On January 17, 1917, the legislature passed House Bill no. 1, prohibiting persons, clubs, lodges or associations from storing, keeping, distributing, or in any way disposing of liquor containing more than one half of 1 per cent alcohol. On the same day House Bill no. 2 was passed, known as the "wholesaler and bootlegger act," making it unlawful to have or keep in stock in any warehouse or place of business or other place within the state any intoxicating liquors intended for present or future sale as a beverage, either at wholesale or retail, and whether intended to be sold for delivery at the place of sale or to be shipped or transported elsewhere. A second offense under this act was declared a felony. Up to this time it had not been illegal to operate interstate shipping houses in Tennessee; and the border cities, Memphis and Chattanooga, had numbers of such houses which not only conducted an interstate traffic, but acted as recruiting stations for bootleggers. Another act passed in 1917 was the "anti-mail order act," prohibiting the receiving of orders for the purchase of alcoholic liquors; another was the "anti-bootlegging act," providing a penitentiary sentence of one to two years for persistent violators of the law against selling intoxicating liquors; another was the "drug store act," rigidly limiting the quantity of intoxicating liquors which a druggist may keep in stock and permitting the sale of alcohol only in quantities of a pint or less to a patient whom a physician has actually visited and for whom he has written three prescriptions, one for the druggist, one to be sent to Nashville, and one to be kept for two years. But the most important of all the prohibition acts was the "bone-dry act," prohibiting the receipt of intoxicating liquors from a common or other carrier, prohibiting the possession of such liquors hereafter received from a common or other carrier, and prohibiting the shipment and personal transportation of such liquors into the state or between points within the state. It is believed that these laws, aided by the recent federal legislation forbidding the shipment of alcoholic liquors into dry states, have forever removed the liquor problem in Tennessee from the realm of politics and have hermetically sealed the state against the liquor traffic. The last chapter of the struggle which began in 1877 and which absorbed the thought of the state for a dozen years has now been written.

It remains to consider the effects of this legislation upon the economic and social welfare of the state; and inasmuch as the degree of law enforcement has varied in different portions of the state and the effects have not been altogether uniform, it is best to consider separately the situation in each of the larger cities of the state.

MEMPHIS

Memphis had by the 1910 census 131,105 inhabitants. It had as many as 600 saloons and numerous wholesale liquor houses. Situated on the Mississippi river, a meeting ground between north and south and east and west, with half of its population negro and a large number of its liquor sellers of Italian birth, a distributing center for a vast area of dry or semi-dry territory, Memphis was regarded as a city whose problem was peculiar. It was openly stated that the rest of Tennessee did not understand Memphis, and that Memphis never would conform to the prohibition laws of the state. Elsewhere throughout Tennessee, particularly in the rural sections, Memphis was looked upon as a modern Sodom or Gomorrah. Its murder rate during the decade 1904–1913 was 63.7 per 100,000 of population, the highest in the civilized world. In 1914 the rate was 72.2 per 100,000 of population. The average homicide rate for 30 leading American cities during the same time was 7.9 per 100,000 of population. Holdups were so frequent that decent citizens were afraid to venture upon many of the streets of Memphis in the night-time.

No one can understand the liquor situation as it existed in Memphis up till within the last year without knowing something of the political situation. The county officials of Tennessee are paid fees instead of stated salaries. Every liquor license meant fees, every indictment meant fees, every injunction suit meant fees. The offices of sheriff and trustee of Shelby county, of which Memphis is the county seat, were reputed to be worth from $25,000 to $40,000 a year. Mere court clerks received from $10,000 to $25,000 annually in fees. Naturally these offices were eagerly sought after. The prohibition act of 1909 outlawed every liquor seller in Tennessee. In the half dozen years which followed, the political machine of Shelby county used the prohibition act as a means of blackmail. The liquor sellers were forced to contribute heavily to the expenses of conducting political campaigns or their businesses were in jeopardy. They were forced to register migratory negroes and to turn over the fraudulent registration certificates to the machine, which placed them in the hands of repeaters on election day. It is charged that in the election of August, 1914, there were voted as many as 10,000 of these fraudulent certificates. (The payment of poll taxes for the purpose of influencing the votes of others and the collection of registration certificates were made felonies by the legislature of 1917.) Until the ouster act changed the complexion of affairs, a handful of men controlled the elections of Shelby county. It was evident from the outset that in such a community the prohibition law would have rough sledding.

When the state-wide act of 1909 first became operative, some of the liquor dealers of Memphis closed their doors for a brief season, wondering what would be the outcome; but seeing that no effort was being made to enforce the law, they soon resumed their operations as openly as if no law existed. This situation has often been referred to by those who contend that prohibition cannot be made to prohibit. The only difference between the situation just after 1909 and formerly was that the state and local governments lost a large amount of revenue. But the Shelby county officials soon learned that their means of obtaining revenue was not entirely cut off, and in 1911 there was a notorious shakedown, when 1,062 indictments against liquor sellers were returned and put through the fee mill. It was brought out at the impeachment trial of the Shelby county attorney-general in July, 1916, which resulted in his removal from office, that it cost the county about $10,000 to indict these liquor men, not for violating the four-mile law, but for failure to pay a retail liquor dealer's license. A system was developed of postponing the trial of criminal cases from time to time, whereby the sheriff and criminal court clerk derived additional fees from the resummoning of witnesses. This system was reduced to a fine science, so that often the most trivial indictment yielded handsome returns.

MEMPHIS: LICENSE FEES AND FINES

In 1908 the city liquor license fee was $50. Nothing was received from this source after the state-wide act became operative on July 1, 1909, until 1912, when the city authorities concluded that the city might as well be making money out of the situation as the office holders. On January 13 of that year an ordinance was passed requiring a license fee of $250 a year from all liquor dealers, both wholesale and retail. This ordinance continued in force until the nuisance act became effective on March 1, 1914. It yielded in 1912, $123,937.85 in revenue; in 1913, $120,250; and during the two months of 1914, $17,493.25. The total city revenues reached their high water mark of $1,776,634.60 in 1913, from which date they have slightly fallen off on account of the loss of liquor revenues. The expenses of the city administration steadily increasing, the municipal finances were placed in a perilous situation, from which they have not up to this time recovered; but the loss of liquor revenues is by no means the sole factor in this situation.

After the nuisance act became effective in 1914, a new method of recouping the city and county revenues flourished for a season. The city officials dared not collect license fees from the lawless saloons; but about once a month the saloonists were arrested, brought into court, and forced to pay a fine of $50. During the six years from 1909 to 1914 inclusive, Memphis received an average of $16,622.11 from fines and forfeitures. The highest amount received in any one year was $24,188.85 for the year 1912. But in 1915 the amount from this source was $66,885.90. It was charged in the ouster suit brought against the city officials in the latter part of this year that the system of fining was a veiled substitute for the old license system, and the officials did not contest this charge.

MEMPHIS: THE USE OF THE OUSTER ACT

The ouster act of 1915 is responsible for the altered condition of affairs in Memphis. Under the nuisance act the courts were crowded with injunction suits, but the administrative officials gave little encouragement to law enforcement and the two criminal courts were notoriously out of sympathy with the law. During the greater part of 1915 conditions were intolerably bad. The homicide rate was still the highest in the civilized world, there being 76 homicides in this year, of which 61 victims were negroes. Many saloons which were ordered closed by order of the chancery court used their signs, "closed by order of the chancery court," merely as an advertisement to attract customers. One liquor dealer was arrested forty times; another, thirty-nine times. On October 14, 1915, an ouster suit was brought under the new law against the mayor, the commissioner of police, the inspector of police (as to whom the proceedings were dismissed), and the city judge. It was charged that these officials had neglected to enforce the laws against the sale of liquor, against gambling and against prostitution, that they had connived at and encouraged the violation of these laws, and that there existed and had been conducted during their terms in open violation of law numerous saloons, gambling houses and houses of ill fame. The defendants did not deny these charges, merely raising the legal issue that the ouster act was unconstitutional. This issue was decided against them by the supreme court, and the city officials were ousted.

About this same time an ouster suit was filed against the sheriff of Shelby county, charging that he not only failed and neglected to enforce the liquor laws, but that through agreement or understanding with the officials of Memphis he permitted saloons to be run in violation of law.

The defendant contested the charges, and numerous witnesses were examined. The report of the supreme court's opinion in this case[2] covers 86 pages. All the charges were established with but little conflict of testimony, and the sheriff was ousted. The ouster act did not apply to judges and attorneys for the state; so the governor called the legislature in session early in 1916 to consider impeachment charges against the attorney-general and the two criminal judges of Shelby county. One of the criminal judges resigned. The other two officials were impeached, and during the summer of 1916 they were tried before the senate sitting as a court of impeachment. Both were removed from office. The governor, who was zealous for law enforcement, filled the vacancies thus created with men who were known to be in favor of law enforcement and opposed to the old political machine. The man who prosecuted these ouster and impeachment suits through the courts, who broke up the corrupt political machine, and who more than any other is responsible for the altered condition of affairs, is Honorable Gus T. Fitzhugh of the Memphis bar.

The city officials who came into power after the ousting of the old régime bowed to the inevitable and began a *bona fide* effort to enforce the law. In June, 1916, the new mayor, not liking the attitude of the commissioner of police, who had stated that the liquor laws could not be enforced, took the situation into his own hands. The results were immediate. On June 23 there were only two arrests, neither for a violation of the liquor laws. On the fourth of July there was not a single arrest for drunkenness, an unprecedented record. On July 11, twenty-three members of the state senate, then sitting as a court of impeachment, wrote a letter to the mayor of Memphis commending his enforcement of the law and stating: "Your administration will mean much for the city of Memphis and the people of the state, and will go far towards settling the vexing questions that have disturbed Tennessee for ten years."

During the summer of 1915 there were 33 holdups in Memphis; during the summer of 1916 only four. An article published in the *Commercial Appeal* on September 22, reviewing the altered condition of affairs following the inauguration on June 28, 1916, of vigorous law enforcement as contrasted with the situation during the same period of 1915, stated: "Begging is less frequent. The figures stand twenty-four to one, because most of the beggars came from saloons and most of them took their money to saloons. . . . The decrease in the number of arrests for disorderly conduct, reduced from 282 to 23 during the above period, is self-explanatory."

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[2] *State* v. *Reichman*, 135 Tenn. 653.

MEMPHIS: DECREASE IN DRUNKENNESS

It is interesting to note the rapidity with which public drunkenness has decreased in Memphis. In 1912 the total number of arrests for drunkenness and for drunkenness combined with disorderly conduct, was 1,447; in 1913, 1,086; in 1914, 589; in 1915, 472; and in 1916, 302. In 1916 there were 34 charges of murder docketed on the Memphis police records, which is the lowest in many years. It is a conservative estimate that the class of crimes which are traceable to the effects of intoxicating liquors has decreased at least 50 per cent during the last twelve months. In summing up the results of six months of real prohibition, the *Commercial Appeal* stated in an editorial of February 14, 1917:

> There have been fewer arrests of both whites and blacks in Memphis during the last six months than during any other six months for ten years. There has been a reduction of tragedies which have their origin in liquor. Prohibition has already materially dimmed the lights in the redlight district. . . . Prohibition has also interfered with the gambling industry. Retail merchants find their collections better under prohibition than they did before prohibition was in order. All lines of business in Memphis under prohibition during the last six months have prospered as they never did before. Certainly prohibition has not hurt general business. The people of Memphis would not vote to return to the open saloon. After two years not a corporal's guard of thinking citizens would vote for the old order.

Citizens who were bitterly opposed to the abolition of the open saloon are now not only reconciled to the situation but admit very frankly that conditions are vastly improved. The local optionists tried to put a legislative ticket in the field at the election of November, 1916, but their candidates were a negligible factor in the election. Memphis has already become as decent and orderly as any other city in the state; and unless present indications are deceptive, her criminal record will within a short time be her pride and not her shame.

NASHVILLE

It has been widely advertised that Nashville became bankrupt on account of its loss of liquor revenues. The statement is not altogether true, the evidence produced in the trial of the ouster suit against the mayor and one of the commissioners revealing gross frauds upon the treasury entirely disassociated with the abolition of saloons.

With reference to the charge in the ouster petition that he had failed to enforce the liquor laws, Mayor Howse said in his answer:

> Answering further, the defendant Hilary E. Howse says that from the time he was elected mayor in October, 1909, up to January 15, or thereabouts, 1915, liquors were sold in Nashville with his knowledge, and that he was elected to office when the public sentiment of the city was such that it demanded the sale of liquors. Defendant knew of their sale and did not order or direct the suppression thereof, because he had announced

in his candidacy for the office in 1911 that he was opposed to prohibition, but favored local option, and he lived up to the statements he had made to the people who elected him after election as to the practice in the enforcement of the liquor laws.

The supreme court remarked, as to this admission: "The facts just recited, without more, constitute ample cause for ouster."[3]

The ups and downs of the liquor traffic in Nashville were much the same as in Memphis. A system of monthly levies was resorted to by the city authorities, which were the price of immunity for the open violation of the law. The passage of the ouster act marked a change in the situation, and the removal of Mayor Howse had as wholesome an effect as did the removal of Mayor Crump of Memphis.

The results of law enforcement in Nashville have been so gratifying as to render undesirable a change to the old system even if such were possible. A letter written to the author on April 12, 1917, by Rev. J. D. McAlister, superintendent of the Tennessee anti-saloon league, contains this statement: "The chief of police of Nashville told me a few days ago that he had been completely converted to the cause of prohibition, for the reason that there had been far less poverty in Nashville this winter than ever before, and because of the remarkable decrease in drunkenness and general 'cussedness' in the last sixty days."

CHATTANOOGA

The situation in Chattanooga has differed from that of Memphis only by reason of the fact that its population is only about a third that of the latter city. The mayor from 1909 till 1915, it may be said, was favorable to law enforcement, but public sentiment was overwhelmingly against him, on account of the mail order whisky houses and the large amount of money invested in the beer and whisky business, due to the city's proximity to the Georgia line. Spasmodic efforts were made to enforce the law, but the net results were anything but gratifying. The influence of the local press was largely against the prohibition law. Upon the passage of the nuisance act a more systematic and powerful effort was made to put an end to the liquor régime, but in 1915 a mayor was elected who was not in sympathy with prohibition, and the present situation in Chattanooga is much worse, so far as violations of the law are concerned, than elsewhere throughout the state. The ouster suits filed in Nashville and Memphis have had a powerful effect upon the officials of the other cities of Tennessee, and there is an outward show of law enforcement in Chattanooga; but it is felt by the advocates of prohibition that the efforts of the present city administration are only half-hearted.

However, the sentiment of Chattanooga is rapidly crystallizing in favor of the rigid enforcement of the law, and even the spasmodic attempts at law enforcement thus far made have not been without their beneficial results. The loss of privilege taxes has not impaired the city's finances. There are fewer vacant business houses than at any other time within ten years. There is a noticeable decrease in public drunkenness, and the welfare of the laboring classes has much improved. It is not too much to predict that within another year Chattanooga will be as dry as any other city of the state, not merely on account of the recent "bone-dry act," which became fully effective on July 1, 1917, but on account of the increasing conviction of the citizens themselves that a dry city is not a dead or backward city.

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[3] *State* v. *Howse*, 134 Tenn. 67, 89.

KNOXVILLE

Knoxville has a more consistent record of law enforcement than any other city in Tennessee. Its saloons were first closed, by municipal election, on November 1, 1907. From that time until now, with the exception possibly of the period from 1912 to 1915, there has been a genuine effort to enforce the law. A great many difficulties were encountered, the chief ones being the interstate shipping houses, always local centers of infection, and the refusal of juries to convict offenders. Under the grand jury system of indictment which exists in Tennessee, not only must eleven of thirteen grand jurors vote in favor of indicting an accused person, but he must also be found guilty by the unanimous verdict of a jury of twelve men. Thus the liquor law was largely at the mercy of public sentiment, which, while stronger for law enforcement in Knoxville than elsewhere throughout the state, was by no means unanimous. Also, often the only penalty imposed upon conviction was a fine of fifty dollars, which the liquor sellers readily paid, considering it in the light of a license fee for continuing their business.

In 1912 Knoxville changed from the aldermanic to the commission form of government. The mayor and commission then elected were not in sympathy with law enforcement. It is charged that the liquor sellers of Middlesboro, Kentucky, financed their campaign. At any rate it became the policy of the majority of the commission to allow soft drink stands to sell intoxicating liquors, the offenders being cited to appear before the city judge once every three months, when a fifty dollar fine was imposed. This system netted the city about $26,000 in fines during a single year.

In the municipal election of 1915, the former mayor was not a candidate for re-election. The issue was law enforcement, and its advocates carried every ward in the city. Since that time the prohibition law has been enforced as well as it could be enforced in view of the fact that shipments of liquor into the state were lawful, and interstate shipping houses were allowed to flourish within the state. On account of the imposition of workhouse sentences upon bootleggers, the situation was well in hand even before the legislation of 1917, which has now effectually put an end to all interstate shipments of intoxicating drinks. During the early part of 1916 the criminal judge of Knox county, in charging the grand jury, called attention to the fact that the jury faced the lightest criminal docket within the last forty years. Judge Nelson attributed this marked decline in criminal prosecutions to prohibition. In some of the nearby counties there have been no criminal cases at all on the dockets for several sessions of the criminal court, which is a commendable record for the supposedly lawless mountaineers and moonshiners of East Tennessee. It is estimated that crime in this section of the state has decreased at least 50 per cent since the passage of the state-wide prohibition act in 1909.

Since the passage of the "bone-dry act," the beneficial result has been marked. The present city judge is authority for the statement that domestic quarrels have decreased 90 per cent, and that the total number of persons tried in the police court between February 1 and March 10 decreased from 610 in 1916 to 186 in 1917. These dates were selected only because the figures were compiled on March 10, 1917, and the "bone-dry act" was not passed until February 2, 1917.

SMALLER CITIES AND TOWNS

The smaller cities and towns of the state have not experienced the reign of lawlessness which has existed in some of the larger cities. Practically all of them were dry before the state-wide act became effective, and, except for an occasional bootlegger, violations of the liquor laws are unknown. In all of them a strong prohibition sentiment has been built up, the economic disturbances incident to an abolition of the liquor traffic having long since subsided, and none of them would be willing to return to the old system. Prohibition in Tennessee has come to stay, and it is now not merely a law but a habit of life.

STATE FINANCES

The liquor issue, which for more than ten years has been dominant in all state and city elections, is now permanently eliminated, and the state is ready to grapple with other problems, chief among which are a new constitution and a new system of finances. The state is badly in debt, due in part at least to its losing the liquor revenues. In addressing the legislature on January 22, 1917, concerning the state's very serious financial embarrassment, Governor Rye pointed out that the state receipts from liquor licenses during the biennial period 1912–1914 amounted to $401,375.36, whereas for the period 1914–1916 the amount was only $16,127.35; which is a rather startling statement of fact under any interpretation, when it is considered that the state has been legally dry since 1909, the only lawful liquor establishments being the interstate shipping houses.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The experience of Tennessee demonstrates that any state which adopts state-wide prohibition should enact all those ancillary measures which have been found necessary to a proper enforcement of the law. A mere prohibition act in itself will not prohibit; it is at the mercy not only of local sentiment but also of official indifference. It is necessary to have a statute similar to the Tennessee nuisance act, which will allow a minority to bring offenders to the bar of justice in spite of a hostile majority. It is necessary to have a statute similar to the ouster act, which will bring officials to a keen sense of their public responsibility. It is necessary to put an end at once to interstate shipping houses, since these are mere breeding places for bootleggers and lawless saloons. If these sources of infection had not been allowed to remain, the state of Tennessee would have been spared much of the travail through which it has finally arrived at a genuine era of prohibition.

The experience of Tennessee also justifies the general observation that, if a thorough-going legislative program is adopted, the duration of the economic disturbances incident to a readjustment of business will be much shortened, and the benefits of prohibition will be hastened. For Tennessee, at least, those benefits have been a marked diminution in poverty and crime and a healthier public sentiment which is manifesting itself along all the lines of progress. If a city as unfavorable to the enforcement of prohibitory legislation as Memphis was until the year 1916 can within a year's time experience a complete revolution of public sentiment, and that, too, not as a result of moral suasion but as a result of coercion from without and a practical demonstration of the benefits of prohibition, the prospect for the successful inauguration of prohibition in other American cities is most promising.

OLD DWELLINGS FOR NEW

EFFECT OF THE LAWSON ACT IN NEW YORK

BY JOHN IHLDER
Philadelphia

BROOKLYN rejoices in being called "a city of homes." At this year's session of the New York legislature it secured a law that modifies many of the provisions in the New York tenement house law. According to a leaflet sent out by Lawrence Veiller this new statute

> Permits thousands of old private dwellings with *wooden stairs*[1] and *inflammable partitions,* many of them *veritable fire traps,* to be converted into tenement houses for three families, without any safeguards whatever in these respects.

[1] Italics are Mr. Veiller's.

Permits the construction in such houses of *small insanitary airshafts*, as small as 5 by 3 feet, covered over at the top by a skylight.

Means the use of thousands of *dark interior rooms* or "alcoves."

Will force thousands of families to live in *basements* who would otherwise live upstairs in new-law tenements.

Will have the effect of *stopping all new building construction* for several years and thus injure the building trades.

The future so graphically described is not a pleasant one for "a city of homes," but most of us, who live outside greater New York, could pass it by as no concern of ours were it not that the conditions in Brooklyn which led to the enactment of the so-called Lawson act are duplicated in many of our cities.

ONE-FAMILY, TWO-FAMILY, THREE-FAMILY

Brooklyn has always felt itself superior in the matter of housing to tenement house Manhattan though it long ago departed from the straight and narrow path of the real city of homes by becoming the home of the two-family house. When pressure of population made possible the renting of three-family houses certain real estate interests wished to take this second step down toward Manhattan's level. But they found the tenement house law in their way. New York, unfortunately, has confined its housing legislation to dwellings containing three families or more.[2] For them, however, it secured in 1901 a law that sets definite minimum standards for light, air, sanitation and fire protection. Those who had been accustomed to building two-family houses without much regard for such standards—and yet complain that their two-family houses do not pay—found that the restrictions imposed by the law took away most or all of the profit that lies in putting three families on a lot that previously had carried only two. Their arguments in favor of the change have been familiar in New England for a generation and have been thoroughly descredited by experience there. In Brooklyn they did not receive enough support to be of much more than lively academic interest until their advocates were joined by formidable allies in the persons of owners of large old private residences that had fallen on evil days. These owners became convinced that by converting their properties into three-family tenement houses they could retrieve their fortunes.

With their advent the fight became bitter. First, the tenement house committee of the Brooklyn bureau of charities, and this year the tenement house committee of the New York charity organization society, which had always been the chief defender of the tenement house law, acknowledged the weight of their arguments. The secretary of the New York committee, Mr. Veiller, remained obdurate, however, and at a hearing in Albany when it was evident that the bill would pass, denounced his committee as subservient to certain real estate interests and resigned his position. Then he continued the fight as secretary of the allied committee of the C. O. S. on prevention of tuberculosis—but the bill was enacted and signed by the governor.

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[2] At least it did until the enactment of the districting ordinance in 1916 and that does not come into the present controversy.

WHAT THE LAWSON ACT DOES

What it does is so to modify many provisions in the tenement house law that owners of large old mansions may convert them into three-family tenement houses at a minimum of expense, and to modify a few other provisions so that new three-family houses may be more cheaply erected. For instance, in converted houses the height of risers and width of treads of stairs need not conform to the law, existing winding stairs are permitted to remain, stair halls need not be made fire-proof or enclosed with brick walls, the space between studding to the depth of the floor beams need not be filled solid with incombustible materials, fire stops are not required nor fire-proof window frames with wire glass in lot line walls, nor plaster and incombustible material behind wainscoting. Some of these exemptions may seem of minor consequence but even such details as height of risers are of practical concern to the tenement housewife who must carry everything, including coal, up three or four flights of stairs. Unquestionably, these houses will be more inflammable and more vermin infested than would houses erected in accordance with the law as it was.

All these savings mean a considerable reduction in the livability of the apartments. The mere tabulation of them shows, however, what a great difference they will make in the cost of converting old houses. But for those who have not a financial interest in the houses, the strongest argument is that presented by Lawson Purdy. Most of these dwellings, he says, are not over 43 feet deep; practically never will house and rear extension exceed 55 feet. The lots are 100 feet deep. So there will be 90 feet between the rear walls instead of the 25 or 30 feet permitted by the tenement house law for new buildings. Moreover, they are only three stories and basement high instead of five or six stories, as new tenement houses may be. There are about 22 of these old houses, or 66 families to the acre. If new tenement houses succeeded them, the number of families per acre could be increased to more than 200. Mr. Purdy maintains that these old houses will consequently provide more nearly adequately for light and air than would new tenement houses. There is no denying the strength of this argument, for *the* fundamental in good housing is the maintenance of adequate open spaces about dwellings. It will be noted that this argument is purely against land overcrowding. For new three-family tenements the Lawson act also makes considerable concessions. All through the Lawson act is evident the intention not only to limit it to Brooklyn but to limit it, so far as converted houses are concerned, to the particular houses now under consideration. The definition of a three-family converted house is:

Any dwelling of brick or stone erected in a city of one million or more population prior to April tenth, nineteen hundred and one, not over three stories and basement in height, and not over forty-seven feet in depth, exclusive of bay windows and existing extensions, provided one side of such extension is separated for its entire length from side line of lot by an outer court of not less than six feet in width at all points, and the rear wall of said extension is separated from the rear lot line by a yard not less than ten feet in depth, and with no other building on the lot, converted or altered under the provisions of this chapter into a tenement house for not more than three families and not more than one family on any floor.

PROBLEM OF THE OLD HOUSE

The importance of this act, however, is not to be measured by the number of houses it affects. Back of it lies the unanswered question of what should be our policy in regard to the old house that has outlived its original purpose. Tenement House Commissioner Murphy of New York, who is quoted as being opposed to the Lawson act, has been accustomed to congratulate himself on the fact that the old law tenement houses in New York have in recent years been of rapidly decreasing importance. Not only have nearly all that remain been remodelled to comply with the law of 1901, but their inability to compete with the newer buildings has been so clearly demonstrated that they are disappearing. Now he will have to face the old house problem in the more difficult form that other cities know.

Will New York evolve a method of dealing with this problem that will limit it to its present proportions and to the houses now favored, or is the Lawson act but the forerunner of other bills exempting houses built since April 10, 1901? In the former case some successor of Mr. Murphy may be able to congratulate himself as Mr. Murphy did so prematurely. In the latter case we shall have a constant succession of compromises as other batches of old dwellings fall from their present estate. This not only will effectively check advances in housing standards, but, by putting into competition with new buildings these old structures, will materially lessen the supply of improved modern dwellings for people of small or moderate means.

Viewed as a matter of public welfare without taking into consideration the loss to owners of existing buildings, there is no doubt that it would be better to demolish these old structures when they have outlived the purpose for which they were erected, were it not that the New York tenement house law permits new buildings to occupy so much larger a proportion of the lot, 70 per cent instead of 40 to 50 per cent. Converted dwellings are nearly always makeshift affairs and those who inhabit them usually do so simply because nothing better is available. In order that they may be converted and yet pay a return it is necessary to relax regulations which experience has proved necessary to the health and safety of the tenants. If these regulations are relaxed they may be converted so cheaply that new buildings can not compete with them.

The only solution of the old house problem seems to lie in an acceptance of the principle that when a builder erects a house he intends it to serve a definite purpose. If it outlives this purpose, or if the builder has miscalculated, the burden should fall on him, not on the community. A house is not immortal and should be insured against an unproductive old age or lack of employability, otherwise obsolescence, just as should the individual who inhabits it. Once this principle is established the worst of our housing problems will be solved, for then there will be little hesitation in decreeing that the old building which can not be brought up to modern standards must make way for the new.

We have taken a long step toward making the acceptance of this principle possible by the new districting or zoning regulations. As they will protect residence districts from unwarranted invasion by business and industry they will greatly reduce the number of obsolescent dwellings whose owners have a legitimate grievance upon which to base their demand that the community shall make good their losses even at the expense of the public health and well being.

PROGRESS IN MUNICIPAL CIVIL SERVICE: A REVIEW OF REPORTS OF THE PAST YEAR[1]

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GENERAL REPORTS AND STANDARD LAWS

THE functions of civil service commissions in recent years have greatly increased in scope and complexity. This has come about through the extension of the competitive system to a wider and higher range of positions and through the accumulation upon commissions of many new tasks in connection with classification and standardization, salary readjustment, efficiency records, promotions, removals, and training for public service. As a consequence, effective progress in the application of the merit principle now more than ever requires critical study of the practices of civil service administration, authoritative statement of the essentials of the merit system, and comprehensive revision of the legal provisions governing the various subjects now included in that system.

Two recent reports on civil service practice, with criticisms and constructive recommendations, have been published. The second report of the New York senate committee on civil service was transmitted to the legislature in January.[2] This report completes the recommendations on standardization in the state service (to the study of which the first report published last year was devoted) and presents the results of its examination of the administration of the present civil service laws, proposing changes in the laws and practices relating to internal distribution of the commission's work, its methods of examination, the system of promotion, standardization of the judicial and local service, and the relation between the state commission and municipal commissions. The joint committee of the New Jersey legislature, appointed in 1916 to inquire into the operation, enforcement and effect of the civil service laws in the central and local service of that state, reported this year.[3] The committee investigated many instances of alleged violations by state and local authorities, and complaints of undue political influences. The report makes recommendations for the revision of the law in various particulars.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 574.

Two drafts for a model civil service law have been recently published, one, the work of a committee of the National Assembly of Civil Service Commissions created in 1913. After many conferences among themselves and with committees of the National Civil Service Reform League, National Municipal League, and Chicago Civil Service League, and after several tentative reports, the final report was submitted to the 1916 meeting.[4] Discussion at this meeting[5] was confined to the provisions concerning appointment of commissions and removals, to be considered later in this article. The assembly adopted the report of the committee, with the proviso that alternative provisions should by inserted covering the points of contention.[6]

Work on a model law has been continued by a committee of the National Civil Service Reform League, whose representatives had taken an important part in the undertaking from the beginning.[7] Its new draft,[8] published this year, is closely similar to the above mentioned standard law, and contains alternative provisions governing the selection of state and local commissions.[9]

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[2] Second report of the committee on civil service of the senate of the state of New York.

[3] Report of the New Jersey state civil service investigating committee.

[4] Draft of a standard civil service law embodying the principles of a practical merit system of public employment; 1916.

[5] Proceedings of the ninth meeting of the National Assembly of Civil Service Commissions, Ottawa, Canada, June, 1916, pp. 80–113.

[6] These provisions were to be prepared by a special committee (composed of Dr. Moskowitz of the New York city commission, Mr. Curtiss of the Massachusetts commission, and Mr. Ordway, then president of the New York state commission) and to be reported to the committee on standard law. Nothing apparently has been done by this special committee. Mr. Ordway has since resigned from the New York commission, having been made supreme court judge.

[7] Mr. Doyle, secretary of the National Assembly, writes: "The whole subject of the standard law has been regarded as relegated to the National Civil Service Reform League as the appropriate body for pressing such law upon public attention."

[8] Draft of a civic service law, prepared by a committee of the National Civil Service Reform League.

EXAMINATION AND CERTIFICATION

No problem of civil service administration presents greater difficulties than that of the examination. Dr. Moskowitz has aptly said that "civil service progress from now on means principally the development of the art of examination."[10] Study and discussion of examining methods are concerned primarily with three problems: the content of the written examination, the procedure for testing experience, and the extent to which the oral interview is necessary and consistent with the competitive system. The various efforts to improve the quality of the written examination are along familiar lines: increasing attention to the preliminary study of the duties of the position to be filled; greater care to secure as special examiners the most expert in their respective fields;[11] explicit directions to framers of questions to include only questions which have a clear and definite utility in discovering the fitness of candidates for the position to be filled, with less regard for memory tests and irrelevant information;[12] weighing questions not according to their difficulty but according to the degree to which they contribute to the determination of a candidate's fitness.

The proper rating of experience presents a peculiarly troublesome problem. The tendency is to abandon arbitrary or mathematical markings and to give broad leeway to the examiners in setting their standards, allowing them in each examination to adopt whatever key seems most practicable for the valuation of the different factors that appear in the experience reports of the competitors. Examiners may even be allowed to depart from their own key. Fixed ratings for different lengths of experience, for example, may be very misleading; so that the examiners should be permitted in their discretion to rate five years of experience in one concern higher than a similar period with a more important concern. Moreover, where great weight is given to mere length of service the effect may be to give an undue advantage to older men because of their longer experience, even where, as in many of the lower grade positions, younger men are in general to be preferred. As a further improvement it is proposed that examiners be directed to assign tentative ratings according to length of service and then revise these ratings on the basis of information obtained from employers as to the quality of work rendered by the applicants during the years of service upon which they have reported.[13]

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[9] The more useful recent annual reports of civil service commissions are the following: Third annual report of the bureau of civil service of St. Paul; Thirty-third annual report of the civil service commission of Massachusetts, for the year ending September 30, 1916; Thirty-third annual report of the municipal civil service commission of New York city; Third annual report of the Los Angeles county civil service commission and bureau of efficiency, for the year ending June 30, 1916; Fourth annual report of the civil service commission of Minneapolis; Fourth annual report of the state civil service commission of Ohio; Sixth annual report of the civil service board and superintendent of employment of the West Chicago park commissioners; Annual report of the municipal civil service board of Portland, Ore., for 1915 and 1916. The reports are for the year 1916 except where otherwise indicated. Titles of reports on special topics are given in subsequent footnotes at appropriate places.

[10] *Good Government*, May, 1917, p. 29.

[11] See the list of names and vocations of special examiners in the reports of Los Angeles county, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Massachusetts; see also the Report of the New York city civil service commission, pp. 11–12.

[12] See the instructions to examiners, in report of St. Paul bureau of civil service, p. 11; see also Second report of New York senate commission on civil service, p. 34.

There is considerable divergence of opinion as to the importance and propriety of the oral examination. For example, at one extreme the Portland, Ore., commission reports that "oral examinations have been added to every examination and have proven to be of inestimable value. Many undesirable applicants have been rejected through the application of this test who otherwise might have secured a passing grade"; and the civil service commission of Ohio states that "an oral interview . . . for the purpose of forming an opinion as to the candidate's general personal qualifications, is used in connection with practically all of our examinations." On the other hand, the St. Paul commission instructs its examiners that "an oral examination should be required only when it is desirable to rate the applicant's personality, or when it must be used to determine skill or ability not ascertainable by written examination, or as in examinations for skilled labor positions, where competitors find it very difficult to express themselves better in writing than orally"; and the Massachusetts commission reports that "Massachusetts has not yet adopted the scheme except to a very limited degree."

Conflicting opinions of representatives of the Massachusetts and New York city commissions on the desirability of the oral examination exemplify the arguments for and against this kind of test. Representatives of the former contend that it is both unsafe and unnecessary. It is unsafe, they say, because where the anonymity of the examinees is destroyed, prejudice, conscious or unconscious, on the part of the examiners is frequently unavoidable; at any rate, it is impossible to avoid popular suspicion of such prejudice; and public confidence in the fairness of the examining procedure is a prime requisite for the successful operation of the competitive system. It is unnecessary, they contend, because with a carefully written examination and a thorough investigation of experience statements, all important qualities of the applicants can be adequately tested; and among the three persons certified, one can always be found with the personal attributes desired.[14]

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[13] See Proceedings of the National Association of Civil Service Commissions, pp. 144–145, 150–151; Second report of New York senate commission on civil service, p. 37; Report of Ohio civil service commission, pp. 10–11; Report of state civil service commission of Massachusetts, pp. 14–15; Report of Minneapolis civil service commission, p. 13.

The opposing position is that qualities of personality, such as mental alertness, an effective presence and bearing, tact and "ability to talk well"—indispensable qualities for certain positions—can be appraised only by an oral interview. Moreover, Dr. Moskowitz points out that the dangers of favoritism, or of the popular suspicion of such, can be avoided by the selecting as oral examiners experts of prestige in their vocation and of reputation in the community for integrity, and by the employment of several such examiners rather than one so that the final rating cannot represent the bias of one man. Moreover, where all precautions to be fair have been taken there cannot be many occasions to fear popular accusations of unfairness. However, Mr. Murray, chief examiner of the New York city commission, states that the oral examination is used in relatively few positions in his service and that relatively low weight is given to it in the final rating.[15]

The lists of examinations held, appended to the reports of many commissions, show the steady extension of the competitive system to positions of higher importance and salary. A brief report on competitive examinations for higher offices, prepared by a joint committee of the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League, has recently been published.[16] The report is a general statement of the importance and practicability of bringing under the competitive system all the higher administrative officials whose functions are to carry out, not to create or formulate, the policies of the government of a city.[17]

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[14] See the remarks of Dr. Reilly, chief examiner, and of Mr. Curtiss, member of the Massachusetts civil service commission, in the 1916 Proceedings of the National Assembly, pp. 148–152.

[15] For the remarks by Mr. Murray and Dr. Moskowitz, see Proceedings of the National Assembly, pp. 145–146 and 153–154.

The reports of civil service commissions indicate the increasing use of practical tests in the examinations for certain positions where it is feasible to try out applicants in the use of the tools of their trade or in the particular work that they will be required to do in the positions for which they are applying. Here also, however, fear is sometimes expressed that, since in the observation of practical tests anonymity is removed and opinions formed under conditions that can seldom be made as precise as in written tests, the difficulties of forming fair and conclusive judgments are increased by this method of testing. The St. Paul bureau says: "Practical questions of the right sort have been shown in many cases to be more desirable and more effective than practical tests, and in addition have the advantage of eliminating the possibility of personal influence which might be present in rating a practical test."

[16] Competitive examinations for higher offices. Published by the National Civil Service Reform League, 1916.

[17] See the article by J. A. McIlhenny on "The Merit System and Higher Offices" in *American Political Science Review*, August, 1917. For a summary of the extent to which employes of city libraries are under civil service classification, see a brief article by W. D. Johnston, of the St. Paul Library, in the *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, May, 1917.

The tendency in civil service progress is to extend the safeguards of the merit principle downward as well as upward. The reports of the Minneapolis and Los Angeles county commissions contain useful statements upon their experiences with the registration of common laborers. The report of the New York city commission gives a valuable account of its examinations for positions in a non-competitive class including many places of a minor nature, in city institutions or elsewhere, which cannot be well filled either through competition or through registration.

Both of the recent model laws provide for the certification of the one person standing highest upon the eligible list, in the case both of promotional appointments and of appointments from original examination, and for the selection forthwith of the person so certified for the prescribed probationary period. The St. Paul bureau recommends that the city charter be so amended as to provide for certification in such manner. It says on this point: "The certification of three names causes an unnecessary annoyance and hindrance to appointing officers because of the influence frequently exerted by the respective backers of each of these three candidates. The certification of the highest name on the list will mean certainty in the appointment, will attract better candidates for the city service, and will increase public confidence in the justness of the civil service system. Commissioners have complained that the certification of three names is unfair because it often results in unjust criticism of themselves by the two eligibles who are not appointed. . . . It seems certain that a change in the law providing for the certification of one name only will meet with the approval of city officials as well as the public in general."

THE BOSTON CONTROVERSY

There has recently occurred among men prominent in civil service reform in Boston an interesting discussion upon the well-known provisions of the Boston charter governing appointment of heads of departments. The mayor sends his nomination to the state civil service commission and unless that body certifies within thirty days that the nominee is a recognized expert or that he is qualified by education, training, or experience for the position for which the appointment is made, the appointment is void. To many friends of the merit principle this method has been unfavorably regarded since the beginning of its operation in 1910, because it lacks the cardinal feature of appointment on the basis of an open competitive examination. The commission is under the practical necessity of confirming the mayor's selection, even though the person may obviously be not so well fitted as many other equally available persons, unless they discover, through information supplied by outside parties or through investigations conducted by themselves, that the mayor's certification as to the nominee's competency is without basis in fact. Under such a procedure many mediocre selections succeed in passing the commission's veto. Members of the commission have generally disrelished this duty. Charles Warren, chairman of the commission at the time the duty was imposed upon that body, said in his report to the legislature that the work had proven extremely difficult of performance and had absorbed a disproportionate share of the commission's time.

Harvey N. Shepard, at present a member of the commission, said recently in a signed statement in a newspaper that either the mayor's appointments should be made as a result of open competitive examination under the auspices of the commission or they should be taken entirely out of the jurisdiction of the state commission. He argued that since the issue in any instance is not the relative qualification of different candidates compared by tests prescribed in advance, but the competence of a particular person whose identity is known both to the commission and to the public before consideration of his competence is begun, the system is not only wholly inadequate as a means of securing the best available man for the position, but the action of the commission is beset with difficulties even in passing upon the competence of the particular nominee. In the beginning, when interest was fresh, many communications concerning the appointees came from outside individuals; but many of such communications exhibited exaggerated personal feeling for or against the persons nominated; and during the last few years few communications of any kind have been received. Moreover, when the commission rejects the mayor's appointment, such action is likely to bring the commission under suspicion of having acted under the influence of personal bias or political pressure. Mr. Shepard points out that though before 1909 reappointments when terms of members of this commission expired were made as a matter of course, since that time this has not been the case; and whenever a member's term has expired "the consideration urged is not his performance of the regular duties of administration, but what has been his attitude toward the Boston appointments."

The present controversy seems to have originated in criticisms against the civil service commission, made by Mr. R. J. Bottomly, secretary of the Boston good government association, in an address before the Springfield meeting of the National Municipal League in November, 1916,[18] and subsequently restated in a letter to the commission. Mr. Bottomly's complaint is that bad appointments by the present mayor of Boston have been due not so much to defects of the law as to failure of the commission to exercise properly its duties under the law. He maintains that the commission in recent years has acted under the assumption that its duties are simply to pass upon complaints that happen to be made against the mayor's appointments, and that if complaints are not made or if complaints made are found upon hearing to be insufficient, that its duty is to confirm the appointment. Mr. Bottomly's conclusion is that the failure of the commission to reject any appointments of the present mayor, together with opposition expressed by its members, both in reports and in public addresses, constitute reasons why they should resign.

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[18] National Municipal Review, March, 1917, pp. 225–226.

On the other hand, Richard H. Dana, president of the National Civil Service Reform League, and Edward H. Chandler, secretary of the twentieth century club, agree with Mr. Shepard's position that the chief weakness lies in the method provided in the Boston charter. Mr. Dana points out that Mr. Bottomly's assumption that the commission in Mr. Warren's time had made original investigations in each case, is not true, and that the commission at that time neglected proposals made by civil service reformers for the adoption of regulations by which the commission would conduct investigations by methods employed in non-assembled tests for high grade positions. He points out further that before Mr. Bottomly's letter the present commission had already adopted a new rule which should meet in part the objections to the present system. That rule provides that a written statement filed by the mayor's nominee shall be submitted to "two or three persons qualified and experienced in lines of work similar to those which the nominee could be expected to perform." In conclusion, it should be said that Mr. Bottomly is in agreement with the other three men that the present system should be supplanted by the competitive method for the mayor's appointments.[19]

PROMOTIONS

It is now universally regarded that for offices in certain lines where higher and lower positions are interrelated in such way that experience in the latter provides appropriate training for the work of the former, vacancies should be filled as far as practicable through promotions. The promotional method not only has as its objects the rewarding, as a matter of justice, and the stimulation, as a measure of efficiency, of faithful and diligent service; it is also under proper conditions the most successful method for obtaining the best fitted persons. The model laws contain this provision: "The commission shall hold promotion examinations for each superior grade of service whenever there is an inferior grade in the same class the duties of which directly tend to fit the incumbents thereof for the performance of the duties of the superior grade."

The promotional examination includes generally not only the examination proper but also comparative ratings of efficiency in service and seniority in service. The practices of commissions in such ratings disclose many points of possible error and injustice. In the first place, in order that promotions may be made in a uniform and consistent manner a logical and thorough classification and grading of positions is indispensable; in practice, promotions are conferred in irregular ways and competition limited by unduly restricting the field from which the promotions may be made. In the second place, for ratings on efficiency the examiners are frequently dependent upon unsystematized and uncontrolled records kept by heads of departments; this obviously gives the head of department too great an influence in determining the results of the examination. The New York senate report says: "If any system is to be built up in which promotions are to be based on merit and fitness and weight is to be given to efficient service in the grade from which promotion is made, it is necessary to have a uniform system of efficiency records supervised and controlled by the commission."[20]

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[19] For further criticism on the Boston method, see *Engineering News*, January 11, 1917, and NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March, 1917, p. 280.

Finally, the proper weights which should be given to efficiency and seniority, particularly to the latter, present difficult problems in respect to which considerable divergence in practice obtains. The standard law of the National Assembly provides that "in promotion examinations efficiency and seniority in service . . . combined shall not carry a total number of marks to exceed one fourth of the maximum marks attainable in such examination."[21]

REMOVALS

An issue of long standing is that of the proper safeguarding of removals, an issue having its origin in the difficulty of reconciling the need for definite location of responsibility in an administrative head with the need for the assurance to the subordinate of a permanency of tenure dependent solely upon the faithfulness and competence of his service. Discipline and administrative responsibility cannot exist without the removal power; on the other hand, the merit system is substantially weakened if unjustified removals can be made. Many different methods of removals are found in the various civil service laws: (1) absolute power of removal may be possessed by the appointing authority, without right on the part of the person removed to appeal to the civil service commission; (2) power of removal may be possessed by the removal authority, with right of the removed to appeal to the commission which has power to reinstate if it considers the grounds of the removal insufficient; (3) power of removal may be possessed by the appointing authority, with right of the removed to demand written charges and a public hearing, but without power of the commission to reinstate or do anything more than make recommendations which are not binding; (4) power of removal may be denied to the appointing authority altogether and vested exclusively in the civil service commission.

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[20] Second report of New York senate committee on civil service, p. 45.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 44. The committee on advancement in the public service, of which Dr. Joseph J. Reilly is chairman, presented a report at the tenth annual meeting of the National Assembly of Civil Service Commissions, held in Boston in June of this year. It is a valuable discussion of the requisites for an adequate and uniform plan of promotion and of certain difficulties in application. The report will be published as part of the proceedings of the tenth annual meeting.

Under the first form the civil service commission has no power in removals; under the second form it has power to secure reinstatement; under the third form it has power to hold hearings and make recommendations which have no legally binding force but which the commission may make public; under the fourth the commission has exclusive power of removal. Obviously there may be modifications or combinations of these different methods. The fourth plan is the one which has existed in the Chicago and Illinois services for some years and is the form proposed by the standard law of the National Assembly. The latter proposal provides that written charges against a person holding office in the classified service may be filed by any superior officer or by any citizen or taxpayer, that a hearing on the charges shall be held by the commission or some officer or board appointed by the commission, and that the finding made by the commission, or made by such officer or board and approved by the commission, shall be final.

In defense of the proposal just mentioned the committee which framed the standard law argues that the same standards of merit and fitness which govern entrance into the service should be controlling also for removal. It points out also that in large business organizations this principle applies, employment and removal of officials being kept distinct from the management of the business in such way that the supervising officers do not attempt to deal with questions of personnel; this latter function is the special task of a superintendent of employment who, acting alone, or in conjunction with a grievance committee, makes all removals. Moreover, the committee declares that the object of the provision which it advocates is not so much to prevent unjustifiable removals as to facilitate removals which the interests of the service may demand; it asserts that under this system there may be, in the absence of a change in the party in power, far more removals of inefficient persons than where the power of removal is left in the hands of appointing officers. Finally the committee points out that it does not intend that the commission in acting upon removals should act in the mood and under the procedure of a court protecting the technical rights of the incumbent; on the contrary, it intends that the commission, bearing chief responsibility for efficient administration in all branches of the civil service, shall be disposed to act with the promptness and energy of an administrative head.[22] The Chicago, Illinois, New Jersey, and New York civil service reform associations have approved the plan of removal embodied in the standard law.

[22] Draft of a standard civil service law, preliminary statement of merit principles, pp. 5–6.

Despite the prestige which the proposal just outlined enjoys, the opposing idea—that effective administrative control and responsibility require that the directing officer shall have exclusive power of removal over his subordinates, limited only by requirements of publicity—still has wide and strong support. Under this view the responsible officer's interest in the success of his department affords the most reliable security for the retention of the fit and the elimination of the unfit among his subordinates, and publicity for removals and competition for appointments to vacancies provide adequate safeguards against arbitrary removals.[23]

The model law of the National Civil Service Reform League contains provisions for removal identical with those of the standard law of National Assembly, with, however, the addition of an alternative paragraph giving also to the appointing officer power to dismiss his subordinates and requiring of the appointing officer in such case only that he give to the latter notice of the charges and opportunity to make written answer, the charges and the answer to be filed in the commission's office and be open to public inspection; and the commission to have power of reinstatement of persons so removed only in cases where it decides upon proper hearing that the removal was made for political or religious reasons. Under this arrangement concurrent powers of removal would be possessed by the appointing officers and the commission.[24]

STANDARDIZATION; EFFICIENCY RECORDS[25]

Standardization and efficiency recording, though intimately interrelaten with all the functions of civil service commissions, constitute in themselves such specialized fields and comprehend problems of such detailed content, that only summary mention can here be made of developments and reports in these lines.

The work of salary and functional standardization makes steady progress both in study and in practice, and in the introduction and perfecting of comprehensive schemes as well as in the adoption of partial applications. Standardization of the clerical service has been completed by the civil service bureau of St. Paul; a complete classification and standardization of the entire city service has been adopted by the Cleveland civil service commission, who employed experts of the New York bureau of municipal research for the work; a new general salary ordinance prepared by the Los Angeles county bureau of efficiency, covering compensation and employment of some four thousand positions, has been in successful operation since the beginning of 1916; a complete classification in the service under the West Chicago park commission was put into effect in June, 1916. Progress and preparation for classification is indicated in reports from Minneapolis, Houston, Portland, Ore., and Seattle;[26] revision of classification is under way in New York city.[27]

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[23] This view is succinctly expressed in Herman G. James' recent work on *Municipal Functions*, p. 38: "Such safeguards as arise from a requirement of written charges and a public hearing, if desired by the individual affected, are as far as it is wise to go in putting any sort of checks on the removal power of the responsible head. It should not be overlooked that, with a properly administered system of appointment examinations, the temptation to make political removals is practically overcome, as a vacancy thus created could not be filled in accordance with the desires of the removing officer anyway."

[24] Both the model laws contain provisions empowering superior officers to suspend their subordinates without pay pending hearing and decision, with power in the commission to investigate and in case of disapproval to restore pay.

[25] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, pp. 266 and 582.

The New York bureau of municipal research issued in August, 1916, its second comprehensive report in this field, under the title "Standardization of Public Employments, Part II: The Practical Side of Standardization in American Governments."[28] At the request of the Milwaukee citizens' bureau of municipal efficiency, J. L. Jacobs of Chicago made a study of the salary standardization plan prepared by the city hall bureau of municipal research (now no longer in existence). The report of Mr. Jacobs' study, which appeared in October, 1916, is published under a title which indicates its scope: "Review of Movement for Standardization of Public Employments and Appraisal of the Proposed Salary Standardization Plan for the Milwaukee City Service, with Constructive Recommendations and Next Steps for Developing Effective Employment Administration in Milwaukee." The appraisal is mainly an adverse criticism in detail of the plan in question and of the methods by which it was evolved. The recommendations are comprehensive, extending beyond standardization. A further report prepared by Mr. Jacobs and covering standardization of the entire service of Milwaukee is soon to be issued.

The reports of St. Paul, New York city, Los Angeles county and West Chicago park commissioners show revision and extension of efficiency records in the services of those communities. The committee on efficiency records and readings and their use, of the National Assembly of Civil Service Commissions, has issued its "First Report of the Committee on Efficiency Record Systems."[29] This report is confined to a record, in the form of questions and answers, of the statements of experiences of persons who are operating or serving under efficiency systems in large business establishments or in the public service. A further report of this committee was made at the 1917 meeting of the assembly and will be printed in the proceedings of that meeting.

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[26] The report of the civil service classification committee of Seattle is printed in the Seattle *Municipal News*, May 12, 1917.

[27] For further recommendations on classifications, see Second report of New York senate committee on civil service, pp. 50–63, and Report of New Jersey civil service investigating committee, pp. 17–20.

The most notable achievement in classification in state service has perhaps been in Ohio where the scheme of classification and grading prepared by the state civil service commission, with the co-operation of the budget commissioner, was incorporated in the budget submitted by the governor to the 1917 session of the legislature. As the legislature passed the appropriation bill in the form submitted by the governor, the classification is now in force so far as salary appropriations for the current biennium are concerned.

[28] Number 76 of the bureau's series.

[29] Published June, 1916. Mr. Thomas C. Murray of New York is chairman of the committee.

COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION

Many illustrations have been given of the expanding tasks of civil service commissions. The enlarged responsibilities make it increasingly important to have as members of the commissions men of proper training and experience and also of independence and good judgment. With emphasis on the expert character of a commission's work, proposals have been made that the merit principle should be fully applied to the tenure of commissioners. Discussions of proposals placed before recent meetings of the National Civil Service Reform League, the National Assembly of Civil Service Commissions and other bodies, for a competitive selection of members of civil service commissions, are too familiar to require more than brief reference here. The standard law of the National Assembly provides for a commission of three to be selected by competitive examination held by an examining board composed as follows: (1) a person who has served as member, secretary, or chief examiner of some civil service commission for two or more years; (2) an employment expert of two or more years' experience; (3) a person who has had two or more years' service as judge of a court of appellate jurisdiction. Under this system of selection when a vacancy occurs on the commission the appointing authority is required to appoint the person standing highest on the list of eligibles from an examination held by such an examining board.

The proposal for the competitive selection of civil service commissions evoked vigorous debate among the delegates at the National Assembly in 1916, and has been a subject of sharp differences of opinion before and since that time. The supporters of the proposal lay emphasis, in the first place, upon the necessity of keeping the commission entirely aloof from partisan associations and free from the influence of the very persons whose possible efforts to apply the spoils system it is their primary duty to nullify. In the second place, they point to the expert character of the commission's work, the chief business of such a body being to act as expert employment agents; a commission having no policy to represent or originate, should be the chief factor in building up and maintaining an expert administration to execute policies settled by other agencies. Finally, these advocates insist upon the entire practicability of the examining method for the selection of such persons, pointing to the many instances of officials successfully examined for positions of equal or higher powers and responsibilities.

The opponents of the proposal for a competitive method of selecting civil service commissioners draw attention, in the first place, to the important place that the semi-judicial functions occupy in the work of a commission. Skill and discretion in hearings before themselves as well as in the conduct of cases, appealed from their decisions to the courts or instituted by themselves before the courts, count high in determining the fairness and precision with which the merit system is applied. Moreover, in many other circumstances a commission's essential task is to act effectively as a fair and tactful intermediary between different, often conflicting, interests, as, for example, between a superior officer and a subordinate seeking reinstatement. The qualities and experiences essential to the successful handling of such duties are not such, it is argued, as are discoverable by any sort of competitive test. Moreover, it is maintained that sufficient protection against partisan control over the commission can be secured by provision for overlapping terms, or for indefinite or long terms within which the commissioners are irremovable by any political executive.

As before indicated, the National Assembly accepted the standard law as submitted by the committee, with the proviso that alternative proposals, reflecting the divergent opinions concerning the selection of commissioners, be inserted. Such alternative provisions appear in the model law of the National Civil Service Reform League, and are as follows: (1) a single commissioner, appointed by competitive examination; or (2) a commission of three appointed by the executive authority without limitation, and holding overlapping terms; or (3) a commission of three, one to be appointed by the executive without limitation and two by competitive examination.[30]

CONCLUSION

It is difficult under normal conditions to look back over one year and estimate the gains and losses for the merit principle throughout the country. Moreover, at the present time, circumstances of American participation in the war affect in various ways the movements in civil service. The National Civil Service Reform League and other organizations in this field are centering attention upon questions arising from the war, with the object, in the first place, of showing how the merit system can prove its special value in the emergencies of the war, and, in the second place, for the purpose of thwarting efforts of antagonists of the system to use these emergencies as excuses and means for backward steps. Recent issues of *Good Government* draw attention to provisions of recent federal laws expressly exempting from competition positions in several newly created bureaus. Some reverses in the state service are attributed in part to the preoccupation of the public and the press with international affairs. Such, for example, is the explanation offered for the passage of a recent law in Illinois, adding fifty or more positions to the exempt class and giving power of removal to executive heads; and the civil service reform association of Connecticut has failed in its efforts to secure the enactment of a law removing objectionable features of the civil service act of 1915.[31]

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[30] The provisions described above relate primarily to the state commission; but the same principles are meant to apply to municipal commissions. The model laws provide alternative provisions with respect to composition of the latter and their relation to the state commission, and also with respect to direct administration of civil service in cities by the state commission.

On the other hand, there are clear evidences of continued progress. The legislature of Wisconsin has passed a law creating a civil service commission for Milwaukee county.[32] Measures recently submitted by initiative petition to weaken or destroy the merit system have been defeated by the voters in San Francisco, St. Paul, and Kalamazoo.[33] Reports from unprejudiced observers in Cleveland and Chicago and some other cities where serious attacks have been made upon the system, indicate that the mayors and other executive heads in such cities have at least withdrawn into a more negative attitude in the matter. Nowhere is there any indication that the system is in permanent danger in any city where a public opinion on the subject has been developed, especially where, as in Chicago and in Cleveland, there are live organizations through which such opinion can clearly express itself.

It is peculiarly difficult in short space to attempt an appraisal of the value of tendencies seen in recent changes or proposals for change in the methods of civil service. One leading tendency needs especial study and discussion, because it is fundamental and far-reaching in its implications. This is the tendency to increasing rigidity and all-inclusiveness in the application of the limitations upon appointment and removal. Our review has revealed not only the extension of the competitive test to constantly higher expert positions, but also an apparently growing opinion in favor of the competitive selection of civil service commissioners, the certification by the commission of only one eligible to the appointing authority, and the withdrawal of all independent power of removal from political executives. There can hardly be any valid objection to the selection of higher experts by judiciously administered competition; but the other three proposals just mentioned present questions of some uncertainty. The three last mentioned proposals indicate not primarily a recognition of the necessity of preventing the possibility of a complete subversion of the system by an exceptionally partisan or unintelligent executive; it can be shown that the more customary and less narrowly restrictive safeguards are adequate for such a purpose.

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[31] *Good Government*, July, 1917, pp. 48–9.

[32] *Ibid.*, June and July issues. For plans of the National Civil Service Reform League to work through constitutional conventions scheduled to meet during the next two years, by co-operation with delegates who favor insertion of civil service clauses in the constitutions, see the June issue of this periodical.

[33] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May, 1917, p. 389.

Nor, where adopted, will the chief service of such proposals be (as in the case of the extension of examinations to higher expert positions) to aid executives who from their own impulses desire to appoint and retain in the offices under them men of proved fitness. The three proposals seem to imply a lack of confidence in publicity and responsibility as effective auxiliaries in preventing long continued or frequent abuses in appointments and removals; and their effect, where in force, will inevitably be in many instances to weaken the usefulness of highly qualified and ambitious executives by too closely limiting their responsibility and discretion in choosing and supervising their chief assistants.

Most of the charges that the customary devices of the merit system tend to cultivate routine, inflexibility and mediocrity in administration, are obviously made with partisan motives or from uninformed notions. It is important that leading advocates of the system should not develop its methods into such rigidity or extremes as to give valid ground for such criticisms or as to evoke similar apprehensions in the mind of intelligent supporters. Even in city government, it may be of as much importance to give a reasonable degree of freedom to a capable executive, possessing originality and foresight, as to restrict an incapable one.

RECENT PROGRESS IN BUDGET MAKING AND ACCOUNTING[1]

BY C. E. RIGHTOR

Dayton, Ohio

EVERYWHERE is the cry for the adoption by our cities and states of a scientific budget. The necessity for this course is also being urged upon the federal government and upon towns and counties. The budget is being accepted as the only possible expression of a well organized financial plan in conducting the business affairs of government, and the widespread movement looking toward its adoption is the most significant change in public affairs in recent times.

The reason for the advances in this respect by various governmental units is due primarily to the greater participation of the American business man in public affairs. The popular demand is for a greater variety and amount of service from the government with no increase in cost, while the public official is finding it increasingly difficult to perform more extensive activities because of insufficient revenues. Men of affairs when called upon to suggest a solution for the dilemma, find that the first need is for the introduction in public affairs of business methods. This means a centralization of authority, establishment of a well-defined plan of financing with adequate control, and modern procedure in obtaining these things.

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, pp. 403 and 631.

Special studies of public finance undertaken by a variety of bodies have been influential in producing these results. Their recommendations have nearly invariably been the same, and the chief progress has been the result of their adoption by public officials.

Among the private agencies permanently established during recent months to investigate conditions, suggest improvements and assist in their adoption by the government, were several research bureaus, including those at Washington, Detroit, San Francisco, Haverhill, Yonkers, Petersburg, Va., and Winnipeg. The reports of these and other already established bureaus,[2] show the beneficial effects they have had and are wielding in improving governmental processes, through co-operation with officials in public office.

Reports of the nine bureaus included in the volume noted lay emphasis upon finance, accounting, reporting and budget making as subjects demanding their first attention and serving as a basis for efficiency in administration. From this beginning, their work has expanded to include every phase of governmental activity.

NEED FOR A NATIONAL BUDGET

The effect of these bureaus, however, is primarily local, where they serve as the go-between for busy but interested citizens and their government. The institute for governmental research, in Washington, has had no visible effect in national matters as yet, though the need is imperative;[3] indeed was never greater than at the present time. The institute has been active in promoting interest in a national budget. The requirements of all departments are growing by leaps and bounds. There seems to be no limit to the amounts of money needed to finance and execute our policies in war time. A plank promising reform was included in the platforms of the Democratic, Republican and Progressive parties. Owing to other matters overshadowing it thus far, slow progress has been made in fulfilling platform promises. Results now depend largely upon the disposition of Senator Kenyon's resolution (S. J. Res. 46), introduced a few months ago, proposing the adoption of a complete budget procedure. This is one matter that will continue to be urged by students of public finance and publicists as the only sensible, economical and most democratic system of handling public money.

STATE BUDGETS AND ACCOUNTING

Probably the most extensive interest looking toward the adoption of a budget has been shown by state governments. Out of the 48 states, the legislatures of two-thirds of them were in session during 1917, and in nearly all cases the subject of a budget was given attention for the reasons which are operating in the cities.

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[2] "Citizen Agencies for Research in Government," *Municipal Research*, no. 77; New York bureau of municipal research, September, 1916.

[3] *Public Service*, nos. 27, 58, etc., institute for public service, New York, 1916–1917.

Several states have followed a comprehensive budget plan for years in determining upon their activities and the means of financing them, and in most of these no material changes were noted, as in Massachusetts, California, Wisconsin and Ohio. In the last named state the governor went before a joint session of the senators and assemblymen and personally explained his budget recommendations to the legislators, in order that they might be properly governed in their actions upon each item.

Literature relative to the New York state budget has been plentiful since 1907, yet progress has not always been positive, as is indicated in reviewing the actions of the legislature upon it. The question most recently requiring determination was whether an "executive" budget or a "legislative" budget should be adopted. The latter was accepted. Ohio and Wisconsin have had practical budget laws for the past few years, the former providing for a permanent budget commissioner and the latter a public affairs bureau, to analyse and make public facts about the budget. The laws of all three of these states have many features worthy of study and emulation by states aspiring to a scientific budget system. A valuable dissertation on state budgets, supporting the "executive" budget, is contained in "The Elements of State Budget Making."[4] Certain it is that a state budget, no less than a municipal budget, to prove popular must afford opportunity to the public to know and analyse its contents before its passage.

Preliminary studies have been requested by the legislatures in a number of states, the results of which were invariably a report in favor of establishing a sound financial program and procedure. In several states, laws have been passed as a result. One of these—that of Maryland—has received extended consideration by able writers in recent numbers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, and it is unnecessary to discuss the law here.[5] New Jersey's new law provides that the governor may call upon state officers and name assistants to aid him in carrying out the act.[6]

One of the most thoroughgoing state surveys of the administration of financial affairs was that made in Colorado.[7] The work included every department and office except that of the attorney-general. Recommendation was made for a budget to be prepared and submitted by the governor, and for a permanent budget commission. A central accounting system and classification of expenditures for all the business of the state was recommended, to be established by the auditor, who is empowered to examine all records. Many minor provisions were included to make the proposed budget procedure effective, but the bill was lost in the finance committee.

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[4] New York bureau of municipal research, December, 1916.

[5] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 395.

[6] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 579.

[7] Summary of findings and recommendations relating to the executive branch of the state; committee on state affairs, December, 1916.

Virginia also appointed a commission on economy and efficiency to make a survey of the state and local governments, and a budget law is being prepared. Unfortunately, an appropriation of only $1,000 was made for the study. If it is to be done properly, the enquiry will of course cost more and its results will be commensurate with the expense incurred. Even government must divorce itself from private charity in setting its own house in order. Michigan passed a law providing for an improvement of budget methods, and appropriated a sufficient amount to enable a special committee to study budget practices in other states.

A further reference to state budgets is that of Illinois. In a radical reconstruction of its administration, whereby a large number of offices, boards and commissions were consolidated into nine main departments, the task of preparing the state budget was placed with the department of finance. The budget will be based on estimates from departments and institutions, and be revised by the director of finance and be submitted by him to the governor; who will submit it with his recommendations to the legislature. The department of finance thus serves as a budget commission, in addition to its other accounting, purchasing and investigative duties.

NEW BUDGET STEPS IN CITIES

While many cities are pursuing modern methods in voting their annual appropriations, yet comparatively the practice is still unusual. Each year sees the acceptance of a recognized budget plan by more of them. With but one or two exceptions, the segregated or itemized budget has been the only one used. The past year, however, witnessed several notable departures from the customary itemization, and in Philadelphia and Detroit the newly established budget procedure is in accord with one of the modifications suggested in "Next Steps in Budget Procedure"[8] providing for an allotment plan in appropriating for the year's needs. Material advances were made in both of these cities. In Philadelphia the committee on charter revision[9] recommended a requirement for the annual submission to councils of a co-ordinated budget, to be prepared by the mayor, who is made the responsible executive. The act adopted a pay-as-you-go policy of raising sufficient revenues to meet all expenses for the year. The surplus of one year may not be used to offset the deficit of a later year, whereas a deficit in any year becomes a first lien on the revenues of the succeeding year. Public meetings are stipulated. The rate of taxation must be fixed to provide an amount of estimated revenue which, when added to revenue from all other sources, will produce at least sufficient revenues for the total of the budget, which includes all expenditures, including capital outlays. Appropriations are made by departments, thus leaving with the departmental heads the responsibility for spending money for all "other than personal services." This also materially reduces the number of appropriation accounts which are required. Other minor provisions as accepted by councils are also of interest in obtaining a thoroughly sound budget procedure.[10]

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[8] New York bureau of municipal research, January, 1915.

[9] Report of the sub-committee on plans, committee on revision of charter, December, 1916.

Detroit, through the efforts of the bureau of governmental research in co-operation with the city controller, prepared a modern budget for 1917–1918.[11] Appropriations are here made for each activity separately, in order that the relative importance of each may be measured and services be increased or decreased. As in Philadelphia, the head of each department will be given a sum of money and be permitted to get the best possible results. The procedure is a great improvement over the unintelligible facts presented in previous years, and its value has already been proved in the substantial reductions which the board of estimates was able to make notwithstanding increased costs of labor and materials, and in the population and area of the city. The installation was made possible by the abolition of the old, large board of estimates and the substitution of a board consisting of the mayor, controller, corporation counsel, city clerk, and treasurer. A uniform classification of accounts, based upon character of the goods, was also introduced. Transfers between appropriations and funds were largely eliminated.

The operation of departmental and activity plan of appropriations will be watched with interest by those cities which have grown accustomed to the segregated plan. With the expressed necessity for the executive budget, and quarterly allotments to department heads for conducting their activities, this is the plan most recently recommended by the New York bureau of municipal research. It is outlined in detail in the Jamestown, N. Y., and Columbus surveys.

As a result of a city survey by the New York bureau, San Francisco adopted a revised budget procedure. The report, incidentally, pointed out that savings of nearly a million dollars a year were possible under improved conditions. To put into effect the findings, a bureau of governmental research was established in January, 1917. An executive budget was recommended, departments making their estimates according to a new uniform classification of accounts. With the view that lump-sum estimates cover up leaks, segregated estimates were required, and a scientific appropriation bill drawn.[12] It was decided to follow the examples of New York, Chicago, Springfield, Mass., and other cities in this respect,—and it is probably safer until more data are available as a basis for lump-sum requests. Boston, having adopted a segregated form of budget, after a year's trial decided to continue this same method for 1917–1918.[13]

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[10] *Citizens' Business*, no. 230, *et seq.;* Philadelphia bureau of municipal research, February, 1917.

[11] *The Public's Business*, no. 3, Detroit bureau of governmental research, June, 1917.

Winnipeg, Manitoba, was urged by its citizens' league[14] to modify its procedure to increase effective control by the civic administration and afford a clearer guidance to officials and citizens. Earlier preparation and public hearings were recommended. A novel departure in preparing its budgets is the proposed separation of expenditures directly controllable by the city council from those that are uncontrollable. Under "uncontrollable" are items of debt charges, parks board, school board, etc.

Substantial savings were effected in Yonkers through the close analysis of the budget by the Yonkers bureau which was established in September, 1916.[15] Economies of 40 per cent in four bureaus were cited as possible, together with substantial savings in interest and administrative functions like laying of water mains, etc. A valuable table of comparative statistics for six cities about the size of Yonkers is included in this report, and recommendations are made for a standard classification of expenditures and provision for publicity.

LOS ANGELES' EXPERIENCE

If proof be desired that the public is interested in the budget figures, Los Angeles furnishes an excellent example. That city has a provision in its charter for a detailed budget procedure, to be prepared by departmental officers, to be submitted to council by the auditor, and after adoption by resolution by the council to be presented to the mayor for his approval. No provision for publicity is made. Because the total appropriation is raised by taxes, less the amount from licenses and other sources of revenue, and because last year the finance committee behind closed doors voted a large increase in taxes, citizen agencies are demanding inspection of the budget prior to action upon it by the mayor. An executive budget has been proposed by the municipal league.[16] Several organizations have brought such pressure upon the mayor that he has finally agreed to publicity for the 1917–1918 budget, before returning it to the council with his approval or veto. Last year through the recommendations of the efficiency commission savings of $150,000 were made in one department alone, and it is hoped again this year to force a sacrifice of politics to scientific and representative city government. The Springfield, Mass., budget is an unusually complete document, of value to any city contemplating a segregated budget.[17] The document shows in detail both requests and recommendations according to a new standard plan adopted last year. In addition, certain departments submitted work programs founded upon information obtained from expense ledgers maintained by the departments. Toronto also enjoys a very complete procedure, and the analysis by the bureau of municipal research[18] may be considered of even more value than a textbook on the subject for cities and students. It contains analytical tables and graphs, and separate schedules for each public service enterprise. Recommendations are made for expediting the procedure and for public hearings on the budget.

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[12] *The City*, nos. 1 and 2, San Francisco bureau of governmental research, February, 1917.

[13] Finance commission, vol. xii, pp. 89–98; 1917.

[14] Bird's-eye View of City's Budget, Bulletin no. 2, citizens' league of Winnipeg, February, 1917.

[15] What Will the 1917 Budget Be? April, 1917.

[16] *Municipal League Bulletin*, February 28, 1917.

Under the guidance of able city managers, Jackson.and Grand Rapids, Mich., and San José, Cal., have adopted modern budgets. The two former are segregated budgets, and the classification of expenditures adopted is by nature of the object purchased, rather than its usage. The city manager of San José followed the procedure established by the new charter adopted July 1, 1916. One item of note in this document, having a total of $341,000, is that of $18,000 set up as a "reserve for contingencies." The policy of establishing such a reserve, even though it be a surplus, is questionable because of demands by department heads when they are aware of this balance. Certainly it would be unjustifiable in the larger cities of Ohio, where a long established—and thoroughly antiquated—tax law precludes these cities from obtaining even the necessary revenues for financing services popularly demanded.

NEW YORK CITY'S BUDGET ANALYSIS

Because of its great population and wealth, the range of its activities and refinement of its records, New York city undoubtedly serves as the best prototype for American cities. No other city in the country has arranged to secure so much clear information about its budget and expenditures. The 1917 budget of $211,000,000 has been exhaustively analysed, both by Comptroller Prendergast[19] and Dr. F. A. Cleveland,[20] including a comparative study for the past fifteen years. These discussions are accompanied by numerous tables and enable any citizen to follow through the discussion and place responsibility for increases in allowances. The latter paper includes five charts of merit.

Objection is made in Dr. Cleveland's analysis to the present procedure in that no one executive, elected by the people, can be held responsible for expenditures, the document being merely an appropriation ordinance. Recommendations are offered to make the budget a complete fiscal plan for the year, to be prepared with accurate facts to support it, and to follow a regular calendar from its preparation by departments to its passage by the aldermanic body. It would first of all place responsibility on the mayor for the entire financial plan for the year. A number of interesting conclusions are presented,—for instance, the fact that actual appropriations do not keep pace with the normal annual increase in the community's demands. This analysis is presented in more detail in the New York bureau's report.[21]

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[17] Budget for 1917, reprinted by Springfield bureau of municipal research.

[18] Analysis of Toronto's Budget, bureau of municipal research, November, 1916.

[19] "Extension of Municipal Activities and its Effect on Municipal Expenditures," W. A. Prendergast, February, 1917.

[20] *Real Estate Record and Guide*, November–December, 1916.

ADVANCES IN ACCOUNTING PRACTICES

Numerous other cities made further improvements in an already well developed budgetary procedure, as Akron, Springfield, Dayton, etc. Such progress has been due to local initiative in most instances, prompted by an awakened and interested citizen body, though frequently the entire credit is due to the unusual ability of public officials. An instance is the distinct contribution to the field of practical municipal accounting found in the Manual of Accounting, issued early this year by Controller John M. Walton of Philadelphia. Review of this text was made in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW[22] for July, so it will be unnecessary at this time to discuss the merits and value of such a volume. Progress through actual application of its own principles and methods is its story.

In most of the cities already enumerated as pointing the way in accepted budgetary methods, corresponding improvements in record keeping for purposes of making the budget plan effective may be recited. While modern and scientific accounting is striven for, it must be remembered that it is merely means rather than an end, the aim desired being the availability of facts about public business. The opportunities are legion, according to those working for their adoption, of introducing methods which will furnish new and valuable statistics or result in lowered costs and better control.

The annual reports of several bureaus of municipal research—Akron, Rochester, Toronto, Milwaukee, Detroit, Minneapolis, Dayton—show that through co-operation with those in public office progress is being made. It is recognized that activity is not always progress, but results of activity are the gauge. Akron completed the installation of a modern accounting system during 1916, based upon the practice in several Ohio cities which still operate under the general state code and are, therefore, subject to supervision by a state bureau of accounting. This is one of a small handful of cities in the country able to compile a complete financial statement, including a balance sheet, revenue and expense statement, records of city property and equipment, accurate and scientific sinking fund records, and other data comparable to those obtained by up-to-date private business.

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[21] Some Results and Limitations of Central Financial Control, *Municipal Research*, January, 1917.

[22] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 541.

Centralized accounting, providing for the co-ordination of all accounting and auditing in one department, is a primary requisite of a sound municipal accounting system. This is accomplished in many cities, Akron, Oakland, Milwaukee and Toronto having fallen in line recently. In Akron this includes the central collection of revenues.

Another improvement in Akron is the adoption of mechanical methods in keeping all possible records, through the introduction of special tabulating machines, typewriter forms, etc. Akron's step constitutes a valuable contribution to governmental accounting practice. Toronto also has introduced the use of accounting machines for work in some of its departments and Milwaukee is contemplating the use of tabulating machines for cost accounting purposes.

Expense ledgers, to afford a basis for budget requests, have been introduced in Springfield, Oakland, and Akron departments, and are under way in Dayton, Detroit and other cities, to furnish the compilation of unit costs in connection with every operation or function which may be so measured. Numerous other features promoting central financial control and effective administration, as centralized payrolls, centralized purchasing, unit cost records, monthly departmental reports, uniform classifications of receipts and expenditures, established fund accounting, and maintenance of subsidiary ledgers and records, are all too many to attempt individual mention.

The placing of Oakland in the front ranks of cities enjoying complete financial systems rests not upon a governmental or research agency, but upon a firm of public accountants, employed by the city and every indication is that their task was thoroughly done.[23] Thus far, though public accountants are manifesting a greater interest than ever before in obtaining government installations and audits, there has not come to light another instance of such intelligent and comprehensive handling. A real danger to the movement for better government exists when incompetents undertake to improve conditions, but succeed only in dampening the spirits of public officials.

UNIFORM CLASSIFICATIONS OF ACCOUNTS

A study of cities first adopting a budgetary procedure discloses the unfortunate absence of any central clearing house to suggest uniformity in classifications and definitions. Each city casts about for a satisfactory classification in use elsewhere or attempts a home-grown one. The resulting diversity does not affect any one city as much as those cities which come after and are seeking a generally accepted standard, as well as those desiring to avail themselves of comparative statistics. The classifications of accounts outlined by the President's commission on economy and efficiency and the United States bureau of the census are generally accepted standards, although local requirements result in minor modifications. One of the most carefully prepared and thoroughly tried out classifications is that of objects of expenditure used by Rochester. It is based upon the economy and efficiency commission's proposals, while experience of over a year has enabled it to be strengthened as necessary for adoption by a city. The volume is in two parts,—the classification itself and the index. It is felt that the classification itself would prove wholly impractical without the index, and that even now it may be necessary to popularize the nomenclature of certain classifications—as supplies—before it will prove really workable.[24]

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[23] "Practical Municipal Accounting," Klink, Bean & Co., San Francisco, 1916.

Another classification meeting with satisfaction in actual operation is that in use in Dayton, St. Augustine and Jackson, and which has just been adopted by Detroit and Grand Rapids. In both of these classifications the nature of the object is the determining factor in classification, and they differ materially from the old classifications in which usage of the object is the basis.

PUBLICITY OF ACCOUNTING RECORDS

A study of the reports of city auditors through a period of years usually shows but little improvement in the nature or value of their contents. It does reveal great possibilities for furnishing more pertinent, complete and prompt information to administrative officials and the public.

However, among the great number of auditors' reports found in circulation each year, a few valuable ones are worthy of special mention, because they reveal the kind of bookkeeping records maintained to make them possible. The report of the auditor of Springfield, Mass., for 1916 may well be cited as another instance of a municipal report thoroughly modern and complete, and which would be a credit to the vast majority of our cities to-day. Oakland's report is also an indication of the practical accounting system installed, and Oklahoma City is also thoroughly complete and informing. A high standard is established in each of these reports.

Of special interest to administrators are such analytical reports as are currently prepared by the New York bureau of municipal investigation and statistics, on various phases of the city's activities,—as health, parks, corrections, bridges, condition of sinking funds, etc. All cities must some day depend upon unit costs to measure each service rendered, just as New York is preparing them now. Is it not of value, for instance, to know that in the New York children's hospital[25] the average cost per bed for 1,729 patients was $275 in 1915, and that this was $25.75 more than in 1914? And to know the items of supplies caused the increase?

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[24] "Classification of Objects of Expenditure," E. S. Osborne, controller, Rochester, N. Y., May, 1916.

As stated by the president of the National Municipal League at the 1916 convention, pension funds are being given much attention by local governments to-day. This phase of financing was studied in Akron, Toronto, New York city and elsewhere. Of even more importance from a point of view of sound municipal finance are sinking fund accounts. Owing to a law passed in Ohio in 1913, the cities of that state are required to establish a sinking fund for bond issues, and as a result investigations were made in several of them to allocate to each bond issue its exact mathematical sinking fund for the current year and every year until the debt matures. A need was felt for such studies in Ottawa[26] and Toronto,[27] and the valuable reports after thorough investigations in both cities disclosed the security of their funds. However, one recommendation was the approval of the issue of debentures on the instalment rather than the sinking fund principle, because it "does away with the necessity of erecting and administering the sinking fund, and is unquestionably a much cheaper and less cumbersome method of financing." This is a universal conclusion of investigators, though sinking funds continue with us.

Another principle of sound financing which is receiving increased attention is that of the pay-as-you-go policy, adopted in New York in 1914. This plan was adopted as a result of an examination of the city's records by the bankers, and the disclosure of existing conditions. By this policy nonproductive improvements are paid for out of taxation, and increased costs result for the first few years, but an immense saving is made ultimately. It is interesting to note that schools, police stations, fire houses, etc., are now being paid for out of current revenues. Philadelphia is the latest city to introduce the principle in compiling its annual budget.

An emphatic note of warning to the cities of the United States is contained in all recent Canadian reports, reiterating the conclusion that it is absolutely imperative that the policy recently adopted shall be strictly adhered to, viz.: that under no circumstances whatever, except for absolute necessities, shall new capital undertakings be launched for a considerable period—not at least until the assessment and population of the cities have substantially increased.

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[25] Report on department of public charities, May, 1917.

[26] "Study of a City's (Ottawa) Sinking Fund," by T. Bradshaw, finance commissioner of Toronto, 1917.

[27] "Report on Funded Debt and Sinking Fund of Toronto," T. Bradshaw, commissioner of finance, May, 1917.

STATE SUPERVISION OF LOCAL FINANCES

Not all progress in accounting and financing methods in cities is due to the cities themselves and to private citizens. State legislatures have never attained a greater interest in local financial systems than in recent months. From New Hampshire[28] and New Jersey[29] to California many states have given full consideration to the growing problem in towns and cities of providing new services and improvements without raising sufficient revenue to pay for them.

The results of the New Hampshire and New Jersey reports have been noted in the July issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW,[30] and discussion of these thoroughly constructive reports is therefore omitted. In Maine towns, the prevailing procedure was studied,[31] and a complete statement of the essential steps in budget-making was found necessary for their guidance.

Iowa[32] and Minnesota[33] also found—as have all states making a detailed investigation—that very few of the local units have ever introduced an acceptable budget procedure or financial control. The results of the Iowa survey are stated in the July NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.[34] The unsatisfactory conditions found in Minnesota were stated to apply also to the cities and towns of the state. It was pointed out that there is not even a law compelling the establishment of a scientific sinking fund except in first class cities.

North Carolina and Nebraska are among the states which passed at the last session of the legislature a bill providing for a uniform system of accounting in cities, and the former also provides for restrictions in taxation and contracting of debts.

The lack of control by cities generally over incurrence of liabilities and check on expenditures, as is found in these many investigations, is proven by the recent report of the U. S. bureau of the census, which finds that of 213 cities over 30,000 in population, 149 exceed their revenues in expenditures, including capital outlay and debt requirements.

Several states (New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Iowa) have established permanent bureaus to compile general financial statistics of cities and towns and to have supervision over their methods of accounting and record keeping. The reports of these bureaus are illuminating, and their efforts are proving salutary. One of these reports deserving special mention is the Ohio one,[35] which contains a valuable lot of information in clear and compact form, made more readily intelligible through graphs of the statistics presented. It is unfortunate that such reports are not available to the public within a few months after the close of the year.

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[28] "Budget-Making for New Hampshire Towns," by E. C. Mabie, Concord, 1917.

[29] Report of the committee for survey of municipal financing, N. J., 1916.

[30] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 534 and 563.

[31] "Budget-Making for Maine Towns," by O. C. Hormell, Bowdoin College, 1916.

[32] Municipal Accounting, University of Iowa, Bulletin no. 22, October, 1916.

[33] "Minnesota Municipalities," Minnesota league of municipalities, June, 1917.

[34] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 543.

[35] "Ohio Comparative Statistics for 1914," auditor of state, 1916.

COUNTY BUDGETS

Finally, a mention of budgets in the "dark continent of American politics," the county. Next in importance to the agitation for consolidation of county and city governments, is that seeking improvement in the financial affairs of counties. The laws relative to the procedure to be followed by the county board of supervisors are found in New York to be ambiguous and incomplete, and remedial legislation is much needed.[36] With this done, and ample provision made for the state to supervise accounting methods, a gradual solution through the reorganization of county government is suggested.

County government in California is held responsible for much of the increased expenditure of to-day, due to its duplication and overlapping of offices and functions of the city.[37] To correct the condition a federation of the two is urged, together with the adoption of the corporation form of management for public offices. The efficiency league of Cuyahoga county (Cleveland) introduced a bill into the last session of the Ohio general assembly seeking to combine the local governments in four counties of Ohio, and presented extended arguments proving possible economies and more effective business principles in administration. However, the law was not passed.

In Minneapolis, the city and county recently completed the installation of the allocated system of budget, similar to that installed at Rochester. Milwaukee county adopted for the first time a segregated budget amounting to $3,741,000, prepared under the direction of the county auditor in accordance with a new law providing for the budget. In Philadelphia, in the advanced steps earlier cited as having been effected, the entire budget procedure was prepared with consideration of the fact that the city and county of Philadelphia are one and the same, thus simplifying the problem of financing and control.

This review does not purport to be exhaustive, because of both the limitations of space and maze of material available. It is apparent that a movement is started, and is gaining momentum, to apply every business principle to governmental finances. The trend is irresistible; every state and every city must profit by the lesson and bring its own system into line.

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[36] "Better County Government," pp. 74–87; second annual conference, New York state, December, 1916.

[37] Alameda county tax association, Bulletin no. 25, February, 1917.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Cincinnati's Charter Commission.—In the campaign for the election of charter commissioners there were two tickets in the field, which may be roughly described as liberals and conservatives. The conservatives were not so-called politicians, and both political parties were represented; but it was obvious that the dominant Republican organization was influential in its personnel and would have influence upon it. It won easily.

In the drafting of charters, under the Ohio constitution, there are two general phases of the subject of city government to be considered and determined, namely the powers of local self-government which the city will decide to take over, and secondly, the organization of the city government, including such questions as form of ballot, departmental organization, terms of office, and the like. The winning ticket of commissioners had announced no platform, but immediately upon their election they adopted and announced the principle that, as they understood the public opinion of Cincinnati, they were to get home-rule powers for the city of Cincinnati, but were to make exceedingly few and exceedingly conservative changes in the organization of the government. This was, of course, an ultra-conservative program, disappointing to many students of city government and active civic and social workers, and recognizably in harmony with the desires of the dominant political organization. Consequently the commission gave short shrift to any proposals for a non-partisan ballot or change in the nomination or election system, which is a system of partisan primary, or any change in the form of organization of council, which is a large ward council with the addition of a few members elected at large, or any change in the present rather cumbersome departmental organization, or any departure from the federal system. Short-ballot principles were to some extent recognized by making the city treasurer and city solicitor appointive, the city auditor and, of course, the mayor and council were retained as elective officers. The terms of mayor and councilmen were increased from two to four years. All of the present so-called independent boards, park board, health board, rapid-transit board, etc., were retained and their terms of office enlarged. The most important constructive change in the organization of the city government was the creation of an official city-planning commission, with extensive powers. All in all the changes in the present form of municipal organization were exceedingly few, but in general an old-fashioned type of federal form of partisan nomination and election and of large council were retained. The efforts of the social workers to get a department of public welfare, separate from the safety department, proved unavailing.

In this matter of organization, the commission was comparatively peaceful and unanimous. It was in the other phase of the subject, namely the question of adoption of home-rule powers, that a rather intense division of opinion developed and the commission divided into two parties, namely conservatives and superconservatives. The issue involved was, where the residuary powers, that is the powers not expressly mentioned or granted in state laws or the charter itself, should repose. The conservatives desired to place these powers in the city council, that is, give the city council power to exercise all those powers of local self-government which do not happen to be mentioned in the state municipal code. The superconservatives, although claiming to believe in home rule, expressed so great a distrust of council that they did not propose to give council any power to exercise functions or adopt methods other than those specifically laid down in the municipal code. As the object of the home-rule clause of the constitution in adopting a charter was to get away from the limitations of the municipal code, it will be obvious that this position of the super-conservatives would seem to be a surrender of the home rule which the city is proposing to obtain by means of a charter. Of course, it must be admitted that the charter would give home-rule powers to the electorate of the city. But, considering the slowness and complexity of procedure by referendum, the point of view of these super-conservatives would mean failure to obtain that substantial freedom of the city to exercise powers of local self-government which was the very object of writing a charter.

The battle waxed fast and furious, and thereupon an attorney of the city, prominent in the practice of the law if not in civic affairs, submitted what was called a compromise proposition, on which all of the commissioners could join. The advantage of his suggestion was that it was phrased in such mystical language that any commissioner could vote for it without feeling that he was voting for the principles of his opponents. Whether from exhaustion or conviction, this opportunity to escape from the unpleasant situation was seized upon by almost all of the commissioners, and the mystical clause was adopted. There seems to be complete doubt in the minds of lawyers and others as to what the clause means. My own interpretation is that it fastens the present statutory municipal code down upon the city of Cincinnati, both as a limitation of the powers of the city and a limitation of the methods according to which these powers may be exercised, in such a way that neither the state legislature nor the city council can escape from any of the limitations of this municipal code, and only the electorate of the city has the power of adopting either new city powers or new methods.

The proposed charter will be an exceedingly short document. I have summarized everything that will be in it, except the creation of a street railroad commissioner who will exercise the city's supervisory powers over the transportation system. Subjects like franchises, public utility regulation, budgetary procedure, etc., are not mentioned. Those who have followed the literature of municipal reform and modern principles of charters will of course be keenly disappointed that the charter commission did not see fit to incorporate more of the recognized modern principles of good municipal government. They felt, however, that the power of the Republican organization and conservative opinion in Cincinnati were such, that any charter which made any radical changes would be defeated at the polls. This charter, like any other charter that might be adopted, gives the people the power of amendment, that is, the adoption of a charter puts it in the power of the electorate to amend that charter, and the question that will be before the people of the city in the election on this charter will be whether this power of amendment is not so well worth while having, that the wisest course is to adopt the charter submitted by the commission.

Our correspondent added this to the above:

"In regard to the charter, I want to supplement a little what I wrote you. I described to you the issue between what I call conservatives and super-conservatives as to where the residuary or unmentioned powers of local self-government should reside. Members of the conservative branch, that is those who were arguing for the larger grant of power to council, corresponded to those members who, in the opinion of the public and of the super-conservatives, were following the desires of the Republican organization, while the super-conservatives were the Democrats of the commission and those freer from the influence of the Republican organization. It was supposed the Republican organization, controlling council as it does, desired to control these larger powers through its control of council. The super-conservatives argued that council is habitually of a low caliber, and therefore no more powers than necessary should be granted to it. In other words, the super-conservatives were following the famous distrust principle of municipal powers."

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A Longer Ballot for Oregon Cities.[1]—Short ballot advocates may well throw up their hands in horror at the length of the ballot that will inevitably result from the adoption of a constitutional amendment in Oregon at the last June election. This amendment referred to the people by the legislature provides that all city, county and state elections must be held at the same time. There is to be a general primary election in June followed by the general election in November of the even years. This repeals all home rule city charter provisions as to the time of holding elections.

Very little discussion of the measure occurred in the campaign. A legislative committee drafted a very attractive argument which was published in the voter's pamphlet issued by the secretary of state. This showed very clearly the saving in expense from consolidating elections. No argument opposing the change appeared in the voter's pamphlet and no organized group opposed it. The Portland newspapers practically ignored it except to declare against it in their advisory ballots. It was the one case in which the newspaper advisory ballots were reversed by a large majority and it was the big surprise of the election returns. The total vote on the amendment, 38 per cent of the registration and 85 per cent of the ballots cast, was comparatively light. It would seem as if the electorate of the state as a whole did not understand the significance of the measure. The majority for the state at large and in Portland was about two to one.

The effect on the Portland ballot can be readily predicted. In 1920 when the city voters choose by the preferential system from the long list usually nominated by petition two commissioners and an auditor, they will also have to choose men for 44 other offices, state, county and national, including the choice of a president, a United States Senator and member of the house. This year there were 18 city measures for the voter's decision and an average number of state initiative and referendum measures is between twenty and thirty. The ballot task, then, at the November election of even years will be to make a decision on about forty or fifty measures and to choose between 140 or 150 candidates for office. In the competition for attention it is probable that city issues will be subordinated to state and national policies and, perhaps, politics. It is a ray of consolation that it may be through such extremes as have been saddled on the voters by this law that the short ballot will be made possible in state as well as city and national ballots.

R. D. Leigh.[2]

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Albuquerque's City Manager Charter.—As a result of the efforts of a charter league, a bill was passed by the legislature of New Mexico giving Albuquerque an opportunity to draft its own charter. The commission was duly appointed and reported a city manager charter which was vigorously opposed by certain influential elements. In the words of a correspondent:

> First of all, I believe that both the Democratic and Republican party ringleaders regarded the city government as a sort of political football which more or less has an influence in carrying county elections. However, in addition to the politicians, there were some well-meaning but ignorant persons who considered the manager plan as too centralized and in the nature of "one man government." Aside from political and ignorant influences, there were a number of attorneys who made technical objections to the charter on the ground that under the enabling act, known as chapter 86 of the session laws of 1917, the powers of the commission would be unlimited. My opinion is that under the charter as adopted, there will be a change in the form of government, but the corporate powers will remain as governed by the state statutes.
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> It might interest you to know that the vote cast on the charter was only about 1,000, whereas the normal city election runs in the neighborhood of 2,000 votes.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. vi, p. 624.

[2] Reed College, Portland, Ore.

The majority secured for the charter was 156. We noted a remarkable lessening of influence by the old political bosses through the adoption of the Australian or secret ballot. The old method was for party workers to hand out ballots near the polls, but now that we have an official ballot, conditions will be much improved.

We are now in the market for a first class city manager, and I believe that if we elect the three commissioners with great care, we will have a first class municipal government.

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Petersburg, Virginia, was added to the list of city-manager cities on August 7, when more than 65 per cent of the qualified voters of the city went to the polls and voted to replace the present cumbersome and inefficient bicameral mayor-council form of government with an efficient modern government to be organized under the city-manager plan as permitted by the Virginia optional charter act of March 20, 1916. Out of a total of 1,887 votes cast in the special charter election, 1,561 or 83 per cent were for the adoption of the city-manager plan.

Under the provisions of the Virginia optional charter act, however, the first election for members of the council under the city-manager plan in Petersburg cannot be held until the regular election for municipal officers in June, 1920—the new government taking effect on September 1, 1920.

In view of the extraordinary conditions existing at Petersburg as a result of the tremendous increase in the city's population caused by the development of the mammoth munitions industry at Hopewell and the location here of Camp Lee, the largest of the national army cantonments, an effort will be made to secure authority from the legislature for the new government to go into effect on September 1, 1918, the election of the new council to be held next June. Whether this authority can be secured or not is problematical.

LeRoy Hodges.

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Norfolk's Proposed City Manager Charter.—For a number of years a strenuous effort has been made by a few devoted spirits to secure a new charter for Norfolk. The last effort described in these columns by Lieutenant Shaw failed through a curious fluke. Practically everyone who voted, voted in favor of the new charter, but the total number of those voting being less than the percentage prescribed by the existing laws of Virginia, the effort failed. Now a new charter providing for a city manager and based on the model city charter of the National Municipal League will be voted for on November 7, with what appears to be excellent prospects of success. The charter was drafted by a commission of which Tazewell Taylor was chairman.

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Newark, New Jersey, by an overwhelming vote (19,069 to 6,053) has decided to adopt the commission form of government provided by the Walsh act. This was the result of an active campaign which has extended over a number of months and had the support of leading organizations like the Newark board of trade. The population of Newark is 399,000, making it one of the largest cities in the country to be operated under a commission form of government.

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Altoona, Pennsylvania, Commission-Manager Campaign.—Four of the candidates for city commissioner in Altoona are pledged to accept a salary of $500 instead of the maximum now being paid of $2,500, so as to employ a first class municipal expert as city manager. The action is made possible by a provision in the third class city commission law of Pennsylvania inserted for the purpose of preparing the way for the commission-manager form of government.

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Home Rule in Chicago.—Home rule in public utility matters has again been denied Chicago by the Illinois legislature, which adjourned without taking action on the bill introduced early in the session giving Chicago the sole control of its utilities, apparently taken from it and lodged in the state public service commission by a decision of the Illinois supreme court handed down in the early spring.

At the 1915 special session of the legislature a committee of the house was appointed to investigate and report on the problem of the control and development of public utilities in Illinois. This committee made a thorough investigation and presented a report containing a recommendation voicing the majority opinion that legislation should be enacted granting home rule to Chicago in these matters. The commission based its recommendation on the following facts:

1. The public utility business in Chicago comprises a large proportion of the total public utility business of the state.

2. The utilities which Chicago seeks power to regulate are entirely or primarily within the corporation limits of the city and therefore objects of local regulation.

3. There is an almost total concentration of control of public utilities of Chicago under one financial management acting through interlocking directories, and to cope with this situation concentrated public opinion is necessary among the people having direct vital interests in the subject.

4. The necessity of eliminating the present conflict of jurisdiction between the city and the state over service regulations.

The committee suggested two alternative schemes for exercising home rule for Chicago.

(1) Control through a commission appointed by the mayor.

(2) Control by the city council through the medium of a commission appointed by the council.

The legislative committee apparently leaned toward the second plan, on the theory that it accords with the city's governmental practices and traditions and that such a large addition to civic responsibility will attract into the council service men of greater strength and indulgence, thus indirectly strengthening the general administration of the city affairs.

Following out this theory the committee submitted a bill to the legislature, embodying the principle of home rule with council control.

It is asserted that the decision of the court will, in practice, have little effect upon the past methods of control of the surface street railway lines in Chicago so far as the jurisdiction of the board of supervising engineers is concerned. This body will retain its control of construction. The questions of rate determination, service regulation and capitalization, which are the fundamentals to which the commission will direct its attention, do not come within the powers of the board of supervising engineers. The control of service, which has hitherto been exercised by the city council under the authority vested in it by the 1907 ordinances, will now pass to the state commission. Some Chicago people see in this new plan of control opportunity for a possible increase in fare, something that would be manifestly impossible under a system of control by the city council.

STILES P. JONES.

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The Chicago Enabling Bills.—All the enabling bills proposed by the Chicago traction and subway commission in connection with the program for unification of the surface and elevated systems in the interests of future comprehensive development of the city's transportation facilities failed of passage in the Illinois legislature. The measures passed the senate easily but did not reach a record vote in the house. There was no opportunity afforded to consider the bills on their merits.

This result is intensely disappointing to many interests in Chicago who saw in the plan presented by the commission the most practical remedy for the present unsatisfactory transportation conditions in that city. On the other hand, the result brings joy to the element which sees no satisfactory settlement short of municipalization of the properties.

It is not at all clear what will be the next step. The first impression is that the issue is now dead as far as any far-reaching plan is concerned until the next session of the legislature, two years hence. Of course the elevated and surface companies might agree between themselves to some form of temporary operating agreement looking to improved conditions, but this is not probable, and it would mean so little that it would not arouse any great degree of popular interest. It is permissible under the existing law for the city council to grant the companies a twenty-year franchise without recourse to a referendum, although such action would violate the traditions of the 1907 ordinances which were adopted on a referendum. The more probable course will be to endure present evils for two years longer and then make another attempt to secure the enabling legislation necessary to a thoroughgoing program of transportation betterment. In the meantime the municipal ownership element in the city council has introduced an order requiring the transportation committee to provide for an investigation of the possibilities of municipalization.

S. P. J.

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Tag Days in Chicago.—The city council has passed a rule not to permit the collection of funds for charity upon the city streets in the manner commonly called "tag days," except twice annually, such tag days to be at least five months apart. One of these days shall be for the sole benefit of children's charities and shall be under the auspices of the Chicago children's benefit league. The other shall be for the benefit of adult charities and shall be granted to a federation of charities organized along the lines of the children's benefit league. In each case the list of beneficiaries must be submitted to the committee on finance.

II. POLITICS [1]

Removal of Governor Ferguson of Texas by Impeachment.—On Saturday, September 22, the senate of the state of Texas, sitting as a high court of impeachment, voted by more than the required two-thirds majority to sustain ten out of twenty-one articles of impeachment preferred against the governor by the house of representatives. On Tuesday, September 25, the senate pronounced judgment against the governor, removing him from office and disqualifying him from again holding any office of honor, trust or profit under the state. Thus closed one of the most remarkable and significant dramas in the history of any American commonwealth.

It is impossible within a brief compass to trace the history of this interesting episode, or even to give a fairly complete summary of all the more important factors involved therein. But a few of the outstanding facts are of sufficient significance and general interest to merit special attention.

Of the ten articles of impeachment which the senate voted by a two-thirds majority to sustain, seven dealt with the misapplication of state funds and the violation of the state banking laws to the benefit of the governor, and the refusal of the governor to state where certain funds received by him came from. The acts complained of in these charges were manifest violations of the law and would seem to have constituted a perfectly clear case for instituting and carrying out impeachment proceedings. They would, therefore, be of no particular interest in this case except for the fact they were substantially the same charges which had been brought against the governor in the house in March of this year, and, though proved, had been voted by the house not to constitute grounds for impeachment proceedings. This fact is of significance as throwing light on the importance of the other three articles of impeachment on which the governor was found guilty, which dealt with the actions of the governor in relation to the University of Texas.

The most significant fact about the

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

whole impeachment proceedings and the trial and verdict must, undoubtedly, be sought in their relation to the attempt of the governor to "run or ruin" not to say "run and ruin" the state university. Many interesting facts might be brought out in connection with the beginnings of the fight by the governor upon the university, did space permit. The best way to give them in a nut shell is to state the substance of the three articles of impeachment dealing with the governor's acts in connection with the university on which the senate found the governor guilty. These three articles, alone, be it remembered, or any one of them, having been sustained, would have been sufficient to convict and remove the governor from office. Specifically, they charged the governor with using improper influence upon the board of regents of the university to compel them to carry out his wishes with regard to the removal of certain members of the faculty whom he wished to have removed. This improper interference comprised bullying of various descriptions, demanding the resignations of members of the board, threats of removing them from office (neither of which things he had legal authority to do) and in one case remitting the forfeiture of a $5,000 bond as a reward for carrying out the governor's wishes.

Not only did these charges (and others connected with the governor's dealings with the university, which did not receive the necessary two-thirds vote) when added to the earlier charges concerning the handling of state moneys and the violation of the banking laws induce the house to depart from their earlier action refusing to bring charges of impeachment, but the whole fight from start to finish was recognized throughout the state as being fundamentally based on the attempt of the governor to ruin the university by bringing it under his personal and political domination. The friends of the university so recognized it and took up the challenge in a firm, courageous, and effective way. The governor himself made that issue a clear cut one from the beginning of the impeachment proceedings, indeed even before they had been begun, until the closing speech made on September 22 in his own defense before the senate. In that last appeal he says: "And that brings us to the big question, the university. There is but one question in this whole controversy."

In view of all these facts, without going into any of the numerous other considerations that played a part in this spectacular proceeding, it is not too much to say that the removal of Jim Ferguson from the office of governor of the state of Texas signals a noteworthy victory of the cause of higher education over against the forces of ignorance, prejudice and corruption which attempted to subject the University of Texas to politics. In that light, its significance for higher education, not only in Texas, but also in all other states where similar situations might arise, cannot be overestimated.

H. G. J.

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The Democratic Primary in Virginia, as in the southern states in general, determines the personnel of its elective officers. In consequence Virginians know that the next governor of the state, to take his seat on February 1, 1918, will be Westmoreland Davis of Loudon county, although the regular election does not occur until November 6. At the primary on August 7 there were three gubernatorial candidates: J. Taylor Ellyson, the lieutenant-governor; John Garland Pollard, the attorney-general; Westmoreland Davis, a business man.

Mr. Ellyson has been associated with the history of the Democratic party in the state for many years in a more intimate capacity probably than any other man. He has held many offices, and was national committeeman from his state and chairman of the state Democratic party up to the time when he determined to run for the office of governor. He had bowed to the ambitions of younger men in the party on various occasions, and at this time, so far as service and experience relate to these matters, had a claim on the party for recognition, especially in view of his advancing age.

Mr. Pollard was favorably known as a young member of the state constitutional convention of 1901–02, as an able student of the law, and as a faithful attorney-general, in harmony with the policies of the present governor and *persona grata* with him.

Mr. Davis is a man of great wealth, who having practiced law for a while in New York city, returned to Virginia, developed a magnificent estate, edited a farmer's paper, the *Southern Planter*, and assisted in securing legislation favorable to agricultural interests. Mr. Davis was further known as favorable to an advanced program of state administration, including the executive budget.

Interest was added to the campaign by the introduction of the prohibition issue. In 1914, a state referendum was taken, on this subject, resulting in an overwhelming dry victory. Mr. Ellyson, as lieutenant-governor, had cast the deciding vote in favor of the enabling act, authorizing the referendum. Mr. Pollard was known as unimpeachably dry, and he had given able assistance to the campaign of prohibition. Mr. Davis, however, had voted against prohibition in 1914, and refused to announce himself as favorable to a prohibition amendment to the constitution of the state, though he assured the public of his intention to enforce the law, if elected. To a number of temperance leaders, who had fought energetically for many years and who thought that the election of a man who had openly opposed prohibition, would be interpreted outside of the state as "backsliding" of Virginia sentiment, and who wished to put prohibition where it would be difficult to attack—in the state constitution—thought the election of Mr. Davis would be calamitous. On the other hand, to many, including a number of original "dry" men, prohibition was absolutely safe, whoever might be elected; the people of Virginia had spoken in no uncertain terms; there was no evidence of a desire to "backslide"; and prohibition was a dead issue. At the same time, said these gentlemen, Virginia was in need of progressive legislation and administration in other directions, and Davis was the man to undertake that job.

The leading temperance organ of the state, the *Richmond Virginian*, representing the views of Rev. Dr. James Cannon, Jr., the superintendent of the anti-saloon league, and a man of large political, as well as intellectual attainments, in its vigorous battle for the election of a dry man as against the so-called "wet" Davis, decided that the election of a dry man would be almost impossible, with a divided vote, and concluding that Mr. Ellyson was the stronger of the two dry candidates, urged all dry men to vote for him. This advice was not taken to any great extent by the voters. Resenting what they termed "Kaiserism" and "Cannonism," many voters are thought to have gone over to Davis at the last hour. At any rate Westmoreland Davis was chosen by a plurality of 12,000 votes.

The main factors entering into the election were:

1. The conviction on the part of the farmer, though that farmer might be dry, that Westmoreland Davis is his tried and true friend.

2. A determination on the part of a number of former "wets," that they would not support a "dry" candidate, no matter who he might be.

3. A conviction that Davis is a modern business man, with progressive, though not radical ideas, in harmony with the demands of the present economic era.

The one certain thing is that Virginia has not changed her sentiment on prohibition; the anti-saloon league and its leaders have not been overthrown, though probably they have been a little chastened.

It is the conviction of almost all the people that Virginia is permanently a dry state—much to her benefit.

D. K. Anderson.[1]

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Philadelphia's Scandal.—The primary held in Philadelphia on September 19 developed a situation in the fifth ward of that city presenting a scandal of far-reaching proportions. For a number of years the ward had been dominated by a leader affiliated with the McNichol faction of the Republican party. The present dominant Vare faction in the city, desiring to control the ward, laid its plans to that end and was able to secure the active support of the city administration. From the beginning of the campaign charges were made that the police were being used for illegal purposes, and that a state approaching anarchy existed. The situation culminated on election day with the importation of a group of gunmen from New York city to "rough house" the ward, the result of which was the beating up of the McNichol leader, James A. Carey, and an assistant district attorney who was with him at the time, and the murder of a policeman from another district who sprang to the assistance of the attacked men. Immediately following the election, which by the way was carried by the McNichol leader by a margin of 100 votes, an action was instituted against the mayor of the city, the lieutenant of police in charge of the district, the unsuccessful Vare candidate and sundry policemen, and subsequently a member of select council from another ward who was recognized as the chief Vare lieutenant in the city. A hearing lasting eight days resulted in the disclosure of the unlawful utilization of the police to dragoon the voters of the ward into the support of the Vare candidate. It also disclosed through the revelations of three witnesses, all Vare adherents who, having been caught by the detectives of District Attorney Rotan, offered to testify for the commonwealth, that a group of gunmen had been brought into the ward at the instance of the Vare leaders. As a result of the hearing all the defendants were held in varying amounts of bail for complicity to commit murder and conspiracy to violate the Shearn law (which forbids the participation of city and official employes in politics). The Vares' reply to the charges is that the whole matter is a frame-up, to which one of the leading witnesses, himself a lawyer, said, "There is many a thief caught with the goods and the first possible defence and the most plausible that comes to his mind is that someone handed him the package to hold."

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[1] Secretary, the civic association of Richmond, Va.

Subsequent to the main hearing, the Vare leader and a number of the policemen were arrested for ballot frauds including a charge of the theft of one of the ballot boxes, and were bound over to appear at court on these charges.

One hopeful result of the situation has been the nomination of a ticket of high character to oppose the regular Republican nominations (known as the "fifty-fifty" ticket because it was made up in equal proportions of members of the two factions). This new ticket, consisting of Walter George Smith, president of the American Bar Association, as candidate for register of wills, William R. Nicholson, president of the Land Title and Trust Company for city treasurer, and Thomas F. Armstrong, a manufacturer, as candidate for the receiver of taxes, has the support of an independent party known as the Town Meeting party, and of the Penrose element of the Republican party, the senior senator of the state and the national committeeman of the Republican party from Pennsylvania having repudiated the regular Republican ticket on the ground that it was tainted by the conditions developed in the hearing of the defendants in the aforementioned suit.[1]

⁂

The Preferential Ballot in Houston has had two trials within the last few months and from a biased point of view has been eminently successful. In the last election, it put in the mayor's office, J. C. Hutcheson, who we think is the right man,—when with the single shot system, he would probably have been defeated. The friends of the defeated candidates regard the preferential ballot as an undeniable failure.

Our preferential ballot ordinance was drawn up after a careful study of all such ordinances in existence, with the aim, of course, of forcing a majority election on the first choice. It has never been successful in this.

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[1] It is difficult for anyone closely in touch with the affair to speak with restraint about a situation abhorrent in every detail. We are hoping to publish in a future issue a fuller statement when the prosecutions have been determined.

J. J. Pastoriza, who had figured prominently in getting the preferential ballot ordinance passed, asked his constituents to cast single shot votes during his campaign for mayor this spring.

In the elections for mayor this spring, none of the candidates had a majority in first place,—but Mr. Pastoriza had a plurality. Counting second place votes, gave Mr. Pastoriza a majority.

Mr. Pastoriza's sudden death gave us a second mayoralty race in August. In this election, Mr. Settegast had a plurality of first place votes, Mr. Vann a plurality of second place votes; and Mr. Maddox a plurality of third place votes,—and Mr. Hutcheson was elected mayor on a plurality in third place.[1]

*

Birmingham, Alabama.—George B. Ward, after a long term of service as mayor of Birmingham, both under the old charter and the new commission charter, has been defeated for re-election. It would seem from reports received from that city this was due largely to the fact that he had devoted himself so closely to his executive duties that he had failed to build up a political organization that could be depended upon to help re-elect him, and in the second place to the injection of a great secret order known as the "T. A." into the campaign. A further fact was a sectional issue, the suburbs voting for his opponent and the old city for him. In round numbers the suburbs voted 3,000 for Dr. Barrett and 1,000 for Mr. Ward, and the old city voted 2,100 for Mr. Ward and 1,300 for Dr. Barrett. As the *Birmingham News* points out editorially, "Ever since the formation of Greater Birmingham, there has been a tendency for the component parts not to cohere."

*

Political Activity.—The Ohio state civil service commission refused to grant a leave of absence requested by a temporary employe to manage a wet campaign in one of the counties of the state. The commission felt that the management of either a wet or dry campaign by classified employes while possibly not calling directly under the definition of political activity, would in fact constitute political activity to such an extent that the commission could not properly grant leave of absence to engage in it.

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The Nashville Mayoralty Contest resulted in the election of William Gupton, a successful business man of high character, over former Mayor Hillary Howse, who was ousted in 1915 by the circuit court, which ouster was later affirmed by the supreme court of the state.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Judicial Powers.—In the case of *Ide* v. *State*,[2] a provision in the Sandusky charter continuing in force the general laws of the state conferring judicial functions upon mayors of cities, to be exercised by the president of the city commission, elected by the qualified voters, was held not to be in conflict with any provision of the Ohio constitution.

*

Subrogation.—A citizen committee got the plaintiffs, expert accountants, to go over the books of the city. A shortage was found and made good. The accountants sued the city for their services. They got judgment in the lower court but in *Michigan City* v. *Marwick*[3] the upper court reversed it on the ground that the accountants were not subrogated to the rights of the citizens who to protect themselves had a right to have the investigation made.

*

Vertical Support.—In *Scranton* v. *People's Coal Co.*,[4] a city's suit in equity to enjoin an owner from removing coal underlying a street, on the ground that it would cause injury and deprivation of vertical support, where the court found that 50 per cent of the underlying coal could be removed without causing a subsidence and that its removal on adjacent property would not cause injury, the city's rights were properly protected by the refusal of the injunction and by retaining the bill to secure compliance with restrictions under which the court found the mining ought to be done.

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[1] From a Houston correspondent.

[2] 116 N. E. 450.

[3] 116 N. E. 434.

[4] 100 A. 818.

⁂

What Is an "Accident?"—In *Landers* v. *Muskegon*,[1] the Michigan supreme court decided that a city fireman who got wet at a fire, contracted pneumonia, and died, did not die from an "accident" within the meaning of the compensation act.

⁂

Duty of City Attorney.—In *Hosford* v. *Platte*,[2] the South Dakota supreme court decided that where a city attorney revises the city ordinances without contract for pay, he is not entitled to extra compensation therefor, since such services are incident to the office. A dissenting judge felt that on a salary averaging about $15 per month, the city attorney already had enough to do.

⁂

Franchises. — In *Memphis Electric Light, Heat and Power Co.* v. *Memphis*,[3] decided by the Missouri supreme court, the light company tried to enjoin the city from constructing a municipal light plant. It failed, even though by ordinance the company enjoyed a twenty years' franchise. The ordinance, however, provided that "it shall not be construed as being an exclusive franchise."

⁂

Majority Vote.—Under a statute providing that no liquor license shall be granted except by a majority vote of all members of the council, made up of the mayor and aldermen, that the mayor shall not be counted when determining a majority and that he shall have no vote except in case of a tie, the supreme court of Wisconsin in *State* v. *McIntosh*,[4] held that a liquor license cannot be granted where two aldermen vote for it, two against it and the mayor for it.

⁂

Zoning.—A city ordinance specifically forbade the establishment of several kinds of business on a certain part of a street. The relator here asked for a permit to build a private market. The city engineer refused it. The court in *State* v. *New Orleans*[5] held that the ordinance was invalid, based on æsthetic considerations not falling within the police power of the municipality. The case of *Calvo* v. *New Orleans*[6] was followed.

In *State* v. *City of Minneapolis*[7] an ordinance prohibiting an owner from erecting a four-family flat building within a residential district, on the ground of unhealthful congestion, added fire risk and more difficult police supervision, was held to be beyond the police power and void. *State* v. *Houghton*[8] was followed.

Robert Emmet Tracy.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The Gary School Issue in New York City.—A serious issue is being made in the municipal campaign in New York city of the installation of work-study-play or Gary schools. The Gary idea is that, by a full provision in a school building of play space, auditorium, workshops, science rooms, music rooms, library and the like two sets of children can be fully accommodated in the building, one set using the classrooms for routine, academic studies while the other set is using the special facilities. Thus a longer school day with richer modernized curriculum can be given with little increase of expense.

For decades in New York city, because the erection of new buildings never kept pace with the increase and shifting of population, there have been tens of thousands of children on part time in the schools. So the board of education, with the enthusiastic support of the Mitchel administration, has already got thirty-three work-study-play schools in operation and will get twenty more started before the end of the year. It has arranged a building and reconstruction program, well within the financial resources of the city, a program which has been endorsed by the board of estimate, by which the black disgrace of part-time in the schools will be removed (unless the war compels the stoppage of public improvements, including the construction of new schools).

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[1] 163 N. W. 43.

[2] 163 N. W. 714.

[3] 196 S. W. 1113.

[4] 162 N. W. 670.

[5] 76 So. 244.

[6] 67 So. 338.

[7] 162 N. W. 477.

[8] 158 N. W. 1017.

Partisan and ignorant opposition to the new type of school has been sedulously cultivated by a group of malcontents who had, most of them, selfish and ulterior motives. Tammany Hall, looking around for clubs with which to strike the Mitchel administration, found this one ready to hand. Judge Hylan, their candidate, eager to make a campaign on a class issue, gave currency to the absurd, mendacious contention that the Gary school has been thrust on New York by Rockefeller in order that children may be trained to be manual laborers and their American ambitions to be doctors, lawyers, poets and presidents may be nipped early. The fact that the idea was best developed in the steel town of Gary, Indiana, and has been nicknamed after that town, has been made the excuse of branding it as a product of the steel trust and therefore anathema.

All advances in education have been fought by some groups, including teachers of the fossil variety who dread any change which will drive them to abandon comfortable old ruts and take to adventurous new ways. Of course Tammany Hall identifies itself naturally with antagonism to enlightened progress in education as in everything else. So the fat is in the fire. Judge Hylan promises "to expel this vicious Gary system from the schools." To fulfil that thunderous threat he will be obliged to return about a hundred thousand children to part time, to dismantle scores of science rooms, workshops, kitchens, libraries, and the like, to stop the provision of auditoriums and ample play space in scores of old school buildings and to dismiss numerous special teachers of gymnastics, organized play and music.

Of course he would not be permitted to practise such atrocity upon the New York schools. Should he be elected (through the division of the forces of good government) so energetic an opposition would surely arise to his program of mutilation that it is safe to predict that his dire threats will never be fulfilled.

John Martin.[1]

⁂

What Pastoriza Did for Houston.—The story of Joseph J. Pastoriza, born in poverty, who died mayor of Houston, Texas, a position to which he rose not by devious politics, but by sincere devotion to the social and economic welfare of his fellow-citizens, may well serve as an incentive to the young manhood of America. No adequate estimate of his career is possible here. What he did, or tried to do, for Houston can be told in a few words. The constitution of the state of Texas requires municipalities to raise their revenues from a general property tax at uniform rates. This requirement is imposed in most states but enforced in none. As it is incapable of enforcement without inquisitions and expenditures which no community will tolerate, assessors assume the right to determine how the taxes shall be levied. In Houston as elsewhere, Pastoriza claimed that the assessors in making up the assessment rolls ignored some classes of property altogether, undervalued non-income-producing property and assessed improved real estate, especially when in the hands of the uninfluential, at nearly full value. Thus a heavy burden was placed on the energetic and enterprising while the holders of franchises and privileges escaped lightly. With a view to remedying this state of affairs Pastoriza had himself nominated as tax assessor. He made a very frank campaign. He admitted that the taxation provisions of the Texas constitution could not be enforced. He said that he did not expect to enforce them; if elected, he would merely place the emphasis in another place. He would try to exempt labor products and put the burden on franchises and privileges.

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[1] Chairman of the committee of the board of education in charge of the Garyized schools.

When elected, he set to work to carry out his promises. Court proceedings were taken against him and his opponents won. Then Pastoriza proceeded literally to enforce the law. The business community was dismayed and begged him to desist. In substance, he replied, "All your assessors for years have violated the taxation provisions of the constitution in your interest; I propose to violate them in the interests of the people. If you don't let me alone, I will let Houston see what the tax provisions of the constitution really mean."

When he announced his candidacy for mayor, every special interest in the city fought him fiercely but unsuccessfully. The dream of his life was realized. The opposition no longer dared to antagonize him and he was in a fair way to establish in Houston that kind of discriminatory taxation, which he believed would ultimately cause all honest citizens to work with him for a constitutional amendment which would make his scheme legal. He wanted to tax nothing which would come to Houston if it were not taxed and to tax nothing which would go away if it were. This is what Pastoriza tried to do for Houston.

John J. Murphy.

◆

South Bethlehem Police Strike.—The town of South Bethlehem, with a population of probably 20,000, was recently surprised by a strike of its entire police force. For some weeks its policemen had been seeking more pay to meet the rising cost of living, but the borough council paid little attention to the policemen's requests. A petition asking for an increase of $11 monthly was presented to the council on July 16 and another on August 6. In neither case did councils take any action, nor was any action even discussed seriously. The burgess, who was presumably informed of the seriousness of the policemen's requests, apparently failed to inform the council that any action was needed.

Failing to secure action on their petitions, the force took violent measures by leaving the borough unprotected on August 7 at 4 a. m. when the night force went off duty. Confronted by the necessity for immediate action of some nature, the police committee of council held a special meeting at 11 a. m. and promised to recommend action at a special meeting of council called for the evening. Upon hearing this the police force returned to duty at 1 p. m. after the town had been without protection for nine hours. The council at its evening meeting surrendered to the demands of the men and granted the increased pay demanded.

The whole matter was adjusted without much general publicity, but when the citizens heard what had taken place, there was general condemnation of the action of the patrolmen, especially in view of the fact that the strike took place when both the burgess and the chief of police were out of town. *The Globe*, the only newspaper of South Bethlehem, severely criticised the policemen for their lack of appreciation of their civic responsibilities and censured the councilmen for acceding to the demands of the men rather than calling into service the home defense guard, a fairly strong organization in the Bethlehems.

◆

A Food Conference.—Under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, a conference on the world's food supply was held in Philadelphia, September 14 and 15. Among the questions considered by eminent representatives of the United States and other countries involved were: "Comparative Food Values," "The Housekeeper and the Food Problem," "Price Control," "Production and Marketing Plans for Next Year," "Food for the Neutrals," "Food for Our Allies and the World." Among the speakers were Chief C. J. Brand of the United States bureau of markets, Hon. Joseph E. Davies of the federal trade commission, the Norwegian minister, Fridtjof Nansen, Miss Helen Atwater of the department of agriculture, Mrs. N. D. Hitchcock, instructor in marketing at Temple University, Philadelphia, members of the Netherlands and royal Swedish delegations, the guest of honor being Viscount Kikujiro Ishii. Delegates were present from all sections of the country. The proceedings of the conference will be published as the November issue of the *Annals* of the Academy.

⁂

An Australian Town Planning Conference and Exhibit was held in Adelaide, October 14 to 24. Delegates from government departments, municipal bodies and professional societies were present along with individuals interested in the welfare of Australian cities and towns. The principles of town planning, housing and their application to Australian conditions were discussed at length, as was also the question of marshalling and arranging for exhibition plans and illustrative material generally. An illustrated volume of proceedings will be published. A permanent organization was formed to represent the town planners of the various states of the Australian commonwealth.

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The General Federation of Women's Clubs has secured control of the *General Federation Magazine* through purchase, and announces the appointment of Miss Helen Louise Johnson as editor in chief. The magazine will be edited from Washington, but the business office will be at 40 East 23d street, New York city.

⁂

The League of American Municipalities, which was to have met in Gary, Indiana, September 5–8, has postponed its convention for a year. This is the second organization of municipal officials to take such action.[1]

⁂

Professor Charles A. Beard, professor of politics at Columbia University (associate editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW from 1912 to 1914), resigned on October 8, giving as his reason that the conduct of the trustees "to use the language of a resolution adopted last spring by one of the most important faculties, displays a profound misconception of the true function of a university in the advancement of learning. . . . If these were ordinary times one might more readily ignore the unhappy position in which the dominant group in the board of trustees has placed the teacher, but these are not ordinary times. We stand on the threshold of an era which will call for all the emancipated thinking that America can command.

"As you are aware I have from the beginning believed that a victory for the German government would plunge all of us into the black night of military barbarism. . . . Thousands of my countrymen do not share this view. Their opinion cannot be changed by curses or bludgeoning. Arguments addressed to their reason are our best hope. I am convinced that while I remain in the pay of the trustees of Columbia University I cannot do effectively my humble part in sustaining public opinion to support the just war on the German empire, or take a position of independence in the days of reconstuction that are to follow."

⁂

Howard Strong, the secretary of the Minneapolis civic and commerce association, and a member of the council of the National Municipal League, was elected president of the association of commercial secretaries at its recent meeting in Milwaukee.

⁂

Wilbur M. Cotton, formerly of the Dayton bureau of municipal research and the Detroit bureau of governmental research, and more recently a student in administration at the University of Michigan, has been appointed manager of the borough of Edgeworth, Allegheny County, Pa., succeeding E. A. Beck, who has assumed the position of city manager of Goldsboro, N. C.[2]

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[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. p. 629.

[2] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 605.

Byres H. Gitchell, formerly secretary of the Detroit board of commerce, and more recently connected with the housing movement in Michigan, is now a captain in the United States army.

⚜

Clarence A. Perry, author of "The Wider Use of the School Plant," and associate director of the department of recreation of the Russell Sage foundation, is likewise a captain in the federal service, having been assigned for duty to Camp Upton at Yaphank, L. I.

⚜

Grace Abbott of Hull House, formerly secretary of the immigrants' protective league of Chicago and author of "The Immigrant and the Community" (*Harpers*, 1917), has been made director of the child labor division of the Children's Bureau at Washington, under the direction of Julia Lathrop.

⚜

Henry G. Hodges became secretary of the city club of Cleveland on September 1, succeeding Francis T. Hayes who left for Camp Sherman at Chillicothe with the first group of men called under the selective service act. Mr. Hodges since coming to Cleveland a year ago has been connected with the Western Reserve University under Professor Hatton.

⚜

Miss Anna E. Nicholes, who was one of the original members of the woman's city club of Chicago, and later its secretary, died July 20, 1917. For many years Miss Nicholes was an active and aggressive factor not only along civic lines but industrial lines as well. She was particularly interested in the woman's trade union movement.

⚜

George B. Post and Sons of New York, of which firm George B. Ford is a member, has formed an association with E. P. Goodrich, director of the New York bureau of municipal research.

⚜

Ralph W. Orebaugh of New York city has been elected city manager of Westerville, Ohio, in succession to R. S. Blinn who recently resigned. Mr. Orebaugh is a mechanical and structural engineer and has had experience as the superintendent of public works at Atlantic Highlands, N. J.

⚜

Walter Matscheck of the Dayton bureau of municipal research has been working with C. O. Dustin, formerly assistant secretary of the National Municipal League, on the six weeks' food conservation campaign.

⚜

C. B. Greene of the Dayton bureau of municipal research was released to become executive secretary of the citizens' committee conducting the campaign for the re-election of the present commissioners, Messrs. Shroyer, Switzer and Mendenhall.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

EXCESS CONDEMNATION. By Robert E. Cushman. New York: D. Appleton and Company. National Municipal League Series. Pp. 323. $2.

It is difficult to characterize a volume of this kind with a word that will be generally understood. This is not because the judgment required is complex. The trouble, rather, is that books of the kind are still so rare that there is no accepted standard which enables the reviewer briefly to condemn or commend them, according as they fall below or rise above the level of what may be regarded as a reasonable popular expectation for them. Perhaps the best one can do, under the circumstances, is to attempt an analysis of what such a book ought to be, and then note how the book in question measures up to those requirements.

First, it will doubtless be agreed, the volume's discussion of its subject should be thorough, and this thoroughness should be extensive as well as intensive. That is, the book should consider its subject broadly, with all its more important ramifications, while offering a minute scrutiny of those features which are most essential. The author of "Excess Condemnation" has met this first requirement singularly well. Topics, for example, so associated with his subject as eminent domain, assessment, and the taking of easements are themselves discussed with a clearness, force and interest which not merely widens the scope of the book, but enlarges greatly its value. In fact, the average reader is likely to be surprised to find at how many points excess condemnation touches the theory and practice of municipal government. The closeness of the study, on the other hand, is very real, though partly concealed by the ease and charm of the author's style. It is not until one tries to recall, at the end of a chapter, some viewpoint or condition which has not been covered, that he realizes the intensity of the scrutiny offered.

Second, the discussion in a book of this kind should be based on fact—not on hearsay, vague rumors and approximations. References to chapter and verse should make possible the verification of data and the appraisal of authorities. In this respect again, Dr. Cushman's work is all it should be.

Third, there ought to be a full and complete index. No one who reads the book is going to remember more than a fraction of what is in it. But its very *raison d'etre* is the compilation of a lot of valuable information which is nowhere else available in such convenient form. The index should make it possible to turn to this quickly and accurately. In this respect the book disappoints. There is an index, to be sure, and a "List of Cases Cited,"—the latter an excellent feature—besides the table of contents; but the index falls considerably short of the completeness the real student of the subject will desire; and it would have been most helpful to have included a separate index of references to and discussions of the legislative and constitutional amendments referring to excess condemnation. A footnote on page 97 lists these, many of which are partially quoted in one place or another of the volume, while nearly all have their good and bad features informingly discussed somewhere in the book—if one had only better help in finding the place. Unless one discovered the footnote, he might not know what to look for in the general index.

Fourth, it would seem desirable, in a volume of this kind, that the author, after a fair and dispassionate discussion of the theories and phenomena connected with his subject, should present concretely the conclusions and recommendations which he himself draws from them. In this again the book is wholly satisfactory, Dr. Cushman presenting clearly his conclusions with respect to the much discussed financial aspect of excess condemnation and his suggestions for what he would consider model legislation. As a result, the book is a constructive piece of work—not an academic discussion only.

Finally, but not so essentially, it would be pleasant if a book of this kind might include illustrations to elucidate and emphasize the text; and if it could be so written as to make easy reading. From "Excess Condemnation" illustrations have been omitted—doubtless through no fault of the author. As to the literary presentation, attention has been already called to its highly agreeable quality.

That the book contains some statements, as it certainly does, which one would greatly like to talk over with the author, is not to its discredit; that it contains some others which will be questioned is probably inevitable in the discussion of a device regarding which there are so many opinions, and which is still in so experimental a stage. It is most significant that, as Dr. Cushman notes, "no state or country has a constitutional amendment or statute (regarding excess condemnation) exactly like that of any other state or country."

It should be added that the subject of excess condemnation is treated in this volume from the standpoint of the American city. Foreign examples are freely noted and commented upon, but the measure constantly applied to them is availability for and service to the American city. The result is a book most serviceable and valuable for American cities and towns—one clear, sane, and widely informing.

Charles Mulford Robinson.

Rochester, N. Y.

The Emancipation of the American City. By Walter Tallmadge Arndt. New York: Duffield and Company.

Mr. Arndt has written a readable and useful book, devoted mainly to the problem of municipal home rule, but with some attention to municipal organization and politics. It will be of most service to the general reader who is satisfied with broad and vigorous statements, and does not care for the more rigid analysis of the problems discussed.

Apparently the author considers the most important features of a municipal home rule policy to be the control over the machinery of local organization and freedom from partisan elections. In appendices are published the text of the elaborate and limited provision in the proposed New York constitution of 1915, and also the constitutional provisions recommended by the National Municipal League. But the point of view of the text is distinctly that of the New York proposal. In the later chapters, some state supervision in relation to public utilities, municipal debts and taxation and civil service is definitely approved. There is nothing about the difficult police problem; and no clear statement is given as to what should be the contents of the proposed power of cities "to control their own property, affairs and government."

In connection with the discussion of municipal organization there is presented a brief analysis of the various forms of municipal organization in the optional New York law, and a description and table of the Ashtabula system of proportional representation.

Like most writers on non-partisan elections the author fails to discriminate between the retirement of national party organizations from local elections and the complete abandonment of any form of political organization. Political reform in New York city and other cities has usually been accomplished by means of what is in effect a local municipal party rather than by a completely non-partisan movement.

The local point of view is indicated by the failure to mention either Chicago or Philadelphia.

JOHN A. FAIRLIE.

University of Illinois.

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PUBLIC UTILITY RATES. By Harry G. Barker. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. Pp. 387. $4.

The author has undertaken to give in a single volume of moderate size a treatment of all the varied aspects of the problem of public utility charges, presenting the problem as a whole in a form useful to public utility officials and others who are working in this field and who desire an introduction to the study of its underlying laws. It is a difficult task, but he has achieved a large measure of success—so much that one is tempted to regret that he did not undertake the still more difficult task of adapting his work to the needs of the general reader. A comparatively small amount of explanatory matter would relieve the craft vocabulary of its occasional obscurities and make a valuable book for the general market. As it is, this possibility is sacrificed to a truly professional terseness.

Mr. Barker devotes his first two chapters to introductory material, defining public utilities in legal rather than in economic terms and distinguishing between companies according as they manufacture a tangible product or render a service. In the next two chapters he develops the cost basis of rates and methods of apportioning items of collective expense. Then follow two chapters on valuation, one on reasonable return and one on depreciation. The other eight chapters deal with special utilities: with railway and express rates, street railway fares, water, gas, electricity and telephone charges and miscellaneous rate problems. In these chapters; the emphasis is on methods of differentiating charges and making reasonable discriminations, since it is in these matters, rather than in fixing the general level of rates, that the differences between the different utilities are most marked and require separate treatment. One fact which is clearly brought out is the limitation imposed on systems of "scientific" differentiation of rates by the cost of making the necessary measurements accurately, or the crudity of the averages that must be used in the absence of accurate measurement, or the resistance offered by the customers' obtuseness or suspicion. The purpose of differential rates, which is kept clearly in mind, is not an abstract correctness but a definite effect on the regularity and distribution of consumption. Indeed, though he is not a "philosopher," Mr. Barker is a good pragmatist in his own field, holding that even the engineer's work in a valuation cannot be done by merely setting out to report the facts accurately, but depends on the uses that are to be made of the results. And he defends the use of conflicting standards in different cases, or even in one and the same case, maintaining that the subject is not in a state in which any one formula or principle can be applied with rigorous logic to the bitter end.

In general, the book seems notably clear-headed and sound. There are some special points to which the reviewer would take exception. The analysis of costs is not perfect, involving some cross-classification. The discussion of the value of water-rights is—necessarily perhaps—somewhat inconclusive, and after puncturing the method of capitalizing the savings as compared to the cost of producing the same power by steam, he suggests a somewhat inadequate allowance for the overvaluation which is so likely to result. Another passage which is calculated to please utility managers better than regulating officials is that in which, after showing that good design or favorable location may get their reward either in an increased valuation or in an increased rate of return, he argues for an increased valuation. Surely it is more in the public interest not to capitalize in more or less permanent form something we are by no means agreed how to value. Among the points open to criticism is the statement that: "The whole railway development (of the U. S.) . . . has been in private hands."

But aside from criticism of particular points, the author has made a very useful contribution to the literature of public utility regulation. He has made a unit of study out of the various problem of differential charges based on differential costs in businesses of large fixed capitals, and this is a service of very great importance.

J. M. Clark.

University of Chicago.

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The Immigrant and the Community. By Grace Abbott. New York: The Century Company. Pp. 303. $1.50.

The present reviewer is dubious of his ability to do justice to Miss Abbott's book, because her fundamental assumptions are diametrically opposed to his own. When one does not accept an author's axioms, it is difficult to criticize the demonstrations based on those axioms. The basic argument which underlies all Miss Abbott's work may be summarized as follows: It is the duty of the United States to keep her doors wide open for the admission of every well-intentioned person who desires to come here; the presence of large numbers of foreigners in the country creates grave problems and menaces our national progress; therefore, it is the duty of the United States to exhaust every resource in the effort to protect, develop, and Americanize an unlimited number of alien residents. Contrasted with which the reviewer's argument would be: The first duty of the United States is to protect its own citizens and safeguard its national standards; second step, the same as Miss Abbott's; therefore, it is our duty to limit alien admissions to such a number as we can take care of without prejudicing our national welfare. Other fundamental assumptions with which the reviewer cannot agree are that race prejudice (it should be called race antipathy) is stupid and discreditable, and can be discarded by an act of the will; that there is no difference in the fitness of races to participate in the life of a democracy; and that if it can be established that racial diversity does not imply racial inferiority all argument against the indiscriminate mixing of races will fall to the ground.

"The Immigrant and the Community" is a serious and enlightening discussion of what the United States can, and therefore ought to, do to protect its foreign residents, to help them shake off those old-world characteristics which impede their progress in this country and threaten the stability of our institutions, and in every way to assist them in achieving that elevation of their general standard of living for which they came. Miss Abbott is blessed with an exceptional degree of sympathetic understanding for those of other races, especially the unfortunate among them, and a remarkable devotion to their welfare. These characteristics lie back of the splendid success she has achieved in the practical work she has done, though they apparently impede her vision of immigration in its broad relations to national welfare. As a consequence, the discussions included in this volume are much more limited in scope than the title would lead one to anticipate. Chicago and the immigrants' protective league occupy a somewhat disproportionate amount of space. Nevertheless, there are many valuable suggestions of improvements in our social machinery that might well be made, and a very clear and appealing portrayal of the injustices, hardships, and handicaps under which our foreign residents labor. The book will undoubtedly contribute to a better understanding of the nature of the problems which arise from the fact of immigration, and, let us hope, to the solution of those problems too.

The reviewer will make no attempt to criticize the author's specific arguments. We think too differently. When an author (page 206) deliberately discards the "narrow logic" of the Malthusian theory for the "invaluable contribution" of Isaac Hourwich in "Immigration and Labor"—that colossal monument of statistical legerdemain and hocuspocus—the reviewer has nothing more to say.

One final query, however, should be raised. This book is distinctly modern in its recognition of the unassimilated character of our foreign population, and the heterogeneity of the American people. (Anti-restrictionists used to base their arguments on the claim that immigrants were all quickly assimilated.) Its author is continually telling what "we" must do to meet this complicated situation. The question is, who are "we"? Who is to take all this thought, and make all this sacrifice, and devise and put into operation all these intricate measures of social amelioration? Is it the remnant of the genuine old American stock? That is, after all, only a minor element, and in a democracy minorities have very limited powers. Or does "we" refer to the entire American body politic, that composite and heterogeneous aggregation which Miss Abbott so clearly recognizes. If so, how can it be expected that such a body can possibly initiate and keep in efficient operation a social program which could hope for success only on the basis of a closely unified and harmonious electorate? The more the situation is complicated and the more the evils are aggravated by continued immigration, the more impossible will it become to apply the remedies which Miss Abbott prescribes.

Henry Pratt Fairchild.

Yale University.

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Standards of American Legislation. By Ernst Freund. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 327. $1.50.

In this volume the author undertakes a search for a "system of positive principles that should guide and control the making of statutes, and give a more definite meaning and content to the concept of due process of law." On the approach to his main task he reviews the notions of public policy that have influenced the development of the common law, he follows "the main currents of state constitutional provisions" to determine to what extent "our constitutional law performs the function of controlling statutory legislation" (chapter IV), and he considers the judicial doctrines which have influenced or controlled the interpretation and application of these constitutional provisions. Chapter I is entitled "Historic Changes of Policy and the Modern Concept of Social Legislation." Its subdivisions have the captions (1) the right of personality, (2) freedom of thought, (3) the repression of unthrift and dissipation, (4) the promotion of public health and safety, and (5) the growth of social legislation. Chapter III on "The Tasks and Hazards of Legislation" considers "legislation and the vagueness of common law standards," "the problem of dealing with apprehended tendencies and conjectural dangers," and "the problem of contested and unmatured standards." As the author states in his preface, the book is "an essay of constructive criticism, and not a systematic treatise." The chapters referred to, however, are replete with information on the historical development of social control of individual action through common law and legislation, and the difficulties which have attended the process by reason both of inevitable practical considerations and of the American expedient of subjecting legislation to judicial control.

In the two final chapters of the book, the author outlines his conception of sound principles of legislation. What he means by principle is thus set forth:

"Principle as applied to legislation, in the jurisprudential sense of the term, thus does not form a sharp contrast to either constitutional requirement or policy, for it may be found in both; but it rises above both as being an ideal attribute demanded by the claim of statute law to be respected as a rational ordering of human affairs; it may be a proposition of logic, of justice or of compelling expediency; in any event it is something that in the long run will tend to enforce itself by reason of its inherent fitness, or, if ignored, will produce irritation, disturbance and failure of policy" (page 218).

What Mr. Freund really does is to give a lot of horse-sense suggestions about the best way to make good law by legislation. But he is not content to let his suggestions appear in their naked horse sense. He clothes them in such phrases as "standardization of juristic data," "correlation of provisions," and "conformity to scientific laws." Many readers may wish that the author had put his suggestions in the form of a practical primer and not sought to be philosophical. But the form cannot detract from the merits of the substance. Mr. Freund has given us a wealth of wise observations on the subject with which he deals.

Thomas Reed Powell.
Columbia University.

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The Public Defender. By Mayer C. Goldman, of the New York Bar. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. 96. $1.

The author of this short text succinctly and aptly states the point of his case in the secondary title, "A Necessary Factor in the Administration of Justice." Mr. Goldman's present contribution is essentially an argument. Were it not for possible resulting prejudice it could well be described as "propaganda" in its nature. Because of this public connotation it is better to put the aim of the book in the author's own words, "to spread the gospel of this idea." This is more fair, for the cause is meritorious and its presentation is most forceful. The subject matter and its treatment presents a clear-cut issue, its history, nature and necessity.

The author's development of his theme is an illustration of all roads leading to Rome. First the idea itself of a public defender is affirmatively explained and analyzed. The present system is next weighed and found wanting, particularly the "assigned counsel" procedure and the desire-for-conviction-spirit which so often pervades the district attorney's office. The panacea suggested is a public defender. Then attention is given to those opposed to the idea, their objections taken in turn and convincingly answered; their suggested remedies analyzed and shown to be inadequate. Again the argument calls for the adoption of the public defender plan. With particular clearness and strength of appeal the author shows the necessity for safeguarding the rights of the poor in cases other than murder and manslaughter. Though these other crimes are less heinous in degree, the principles of justice and desire for accuracy should run fully as strong. Herein does it seem that those opposed to the proposed office fail to make satisfactory refutation.

An excellent foreword is contributed by Justice Howard of the New York supreme court and a former district attorney. He well sums up the book as containing arguments that are "convincing and unanswered."

This work is claimed as the first book on the subject. Articles, however, can be referred to, the practical operation being particularly set forth by the present public defender of Los Angeles county, California; "Necessity for Public Defender Established by Statistics," W. J. Wood; *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, July, 1916, p. 230; *Id.*, p. 274, a short layman contribution by Francis Savona of New York City. See also "Public Defender," a partial report for the period from February 15 to May 15, 1916 (*City Bulletin* of Columbus, May 20, 1916, p. 281).

Edwin A. Lucas.
University of Pennsylvania.

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Landscape Gardening. By Prince von Pückler-Muskau. Translated by Bernhard Sickert and edited by Samuel Parsons. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. Pp. 196. $3.50.

A German prince must have made very good in his chosen field to have his professional note book selected for translation and publication in America at this time; his comments on gardening introduced with the highest praise by American landscape architects of the standing of John Nolen and Samuel Parsons; and his book, in fact, brought out at the suggestion of the American Society of Landscape Architects, while we are at war with his country. To the landscape fraternity, Prince Pückler is known to deserve this unusual honor.

Outside of the profession, he is known only—if at all—as a died-in-the-wool aristocrat, born in the latter part of the eighteenth century and dying highly esteemed in 1871. His beautiful estate, about a hundred miles from Berlin, was known to travelers, just as he knew well the show places of England—where, for a time, he lived. He had traveled also in the United States.

Professionally, Prince Pückler was a splendid amateur. "He did not claim for himself," Mr. Parsons remarks, "any special academic standing. He did not apparently consider himself a professor of the art, nor did he undertake to found any special school of landscape gardening." On his own estate of Muskau, he took up the practice of landscape gardening "with profound seriousness and faithfully devoted himself to it because it was the joy of his life." He wrote about the park which he created, and added to his description sundry general "hints" as he described them. And these, as Mr. Parsons says, are of a character "so fundamental and comprehensive that it would be difficult to find anything better of the kind in landscape gardening literature."

The volume before us is made up, then, of a brief foreword by John Nolen, a long introduction by Samuel Parsons, of thirteen brief chapters in which Prince Pückler presents his "hints" under such subject headings as "Enclosure," "Roads and Paths," "Water," "Islands," "Rocks," "Maintenance," etc., and then of a long description of the park in Muskau, where he attempted, with such noteworthy success, to carry out his ideas and test his theories. The hint-chapters are the portions of the book of greatest interest. They are very definite and concrete, they cite illustrative examples of the good and bad at Muskau, in Germany at large, and in England—rating the landscape art of England far in advance of that of Germany. Best of all, these "hints" are constantly illumined by flashes of humor, delicate sentiment and bits of philosophy such that his biographer exclaims of the author, "He was certainly a personality. Can any one remember as strong and interesting a personality among landscape architects? A quaint, original, free spirit of a man!"

Charles Mulford Robinson.
Rochester, N. Y.

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Health Survey of New Haven. A Report Presented to the Civic Federation of New Haven by C.-E. A. Winslow, J. C. Greenway, and David Greenberg of Yale University. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. Pp. 114; illustrated.

Such a report as this is of great potential value, both for the locality surveyed and for the country at large. It points the way for local health improvement attacks and it may well serve as a general model for health surveys elsewhere.

First it may be noted that the 45 well considered and concise recommendations of the report are placed at the beginning of the volume, where they are bound to be seen and read. Next comes a general introduction and then a brief review of the sanitary conditions of the city. The larger part of the volume is very properly devoted to a careful analysis of the health organization of the city. The report concludes with a short but masterly discussion of the vital statistics of New Haven, from the viewpoint of what needs to be done to make New Haven a more healthful city.

Freeing the health board from administrative details, increasing the executive powers of the health officer, giving the health board instead of the aldermen the power to enact health ordinances, strengthening the executive powers and the staff of the health officer and raising the health appropriation from $40,000 to $74,000 a year or from 26 to 48 cents per capita, improvements to the milk supply, transfer of sanitary inspection from the health to the police department, an increase in health educational work, are among the recommendations made in the report which might be suggestive to other cities. The higher death rates in the quarters of the city inhabited by the poorer classes suggest anew that the health problem of the future is largely a social and economic problem, but the report contains plenty of evidence that apparent ignorance and certain negligence of well established and easily observed health rules extend through all classes of the population.

M. N. Baker.

Montclair, N. J.

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The City Workers' World in America. By Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 235. $1.25.

Lest the author of this valuable little book is not as well known as she ought to be, it would be proper to supplement its title by a descriptive clause. This might read, "As seen by a keen and sympathetic observer, who has had unusual opportunities." For Mrs. Simkhovitch, as a beloved settlement worker, has long enjoyed the privilege of unusual intimacy with the "industrial families" whose viewpoint she describes. These families she defines as including, for the purposes of her book, "wage-workers of various sorts," but "mainly foreigners," "whose family income ranges from $1,500 down to the minimum of subsistence below which the family becomes a public charge." She does more than give their point of view. She turns upon it the clear light of a broad intellect familiar with the varied philosophic and economic theories of social students; she tests it by a sound Americanism, which desires not only happy individuals but good citizens of the republic; and she interprets it with sympathetic understanding. The result is an interesting, unusual and exceedingly valuable series of brief essays descriptive of different phases of the industrial family's contact with life. Of special interest are the chapters entitled, "Education," "At Work," "Leisure," "Health" and "Politics."

The importance of such an analysis is expressed in the author's comment that, "With the life of the industrial family in its whole cycle of home, work, leisure, and participation in the larger life of politics, and other human relationships, the deepest hopes of all of us are intimately bound up." It is encouraging then to note that Mrs. Simkhovitch expresses the belief that "the American standard is in process of becoming secure on the three great sides of public health, public education and public recreation." She finds its most serious menace in that rise of prices of which the effect is to lower wages. If, then, Mrs. Simkhovitch concludes, we would keep high the American standard of living, "the strengthening of organizations whose function is to raise wages is a social necessity." Whether or not the reader accepts this and other conclusions, or draws different ones, he will enjoy and respect the close and sympathetic interpretation which this volume offers of the family life and viewpoint of a very large and important part of our urban population.

Charles Mulford Robinson.

Rochester, N. Y.

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An Introduction to Educational Sociology. By Walter Robinson Smith, Kansas State Normal School, Emporia, Kansas. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $1.75.

Psychologists have hitherto dominated our educational theory and consequently our school systems have been designed to train the child as an individual for his own personal ends. Sociology, however, is quite as fundamental in modern education as psychology and a complete understanding of the social factors involved would necessarily revolutionize our educational systems. The schools, in other words, would become an instrument for the realization of social ideals.

Dr. Smith has become deeply impressed with the idea of a socialized education and in order to interpret it to his college students he has written this textbook. The volume can hardly be considered a serious treatise on educational sociology. The first half consists of an elementary statement of some sociological principles, while the latter half reviews from the so-called social point of view, some of the familiar problems of educational organization and administration.

We imagine there is nothing really new in the "socialization of studies," the "socialization of teaching methods" and other chapters of this character. Great educators have always assumed a social as well as a psychological basis for their work. There may, however, be some value in each new effort to investigate scientifically the social facts upon which a sound educational system must rest.

Although the reviewer does not wish to express an opinion upon the author's scientific attainments, he does venture to criticize an apparent carelessness in workmanship. No one really acquainted with the literature of social surveys would refer to "Rockefeller's Foundation Survey of Pittsburgh," and no careful writer would make glaring mistakes not only in the names of well known educators and sociologists, but of such a notorious person as Abe Ruef.

C. C. Williamson.

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Technique of Social Surveys. By Manuel C. Elmer. Lawrence, Kansas: The World Company. 1917.

The past decade has seen a large development of social and civic surveys, and has demonstrated fully that programs of social and civic betterment can be formulated to best advantage upon the basis of a scientific and comprehensive preliminary investigation of existing conditions. During this period there has been a corresponding increase in the amount of literature devoted to the technical side of survey making; nevertheless, this little volume given over to the technique of social and civic surveys fills an important place. In a brief but complete way, Dr. Elmer explains the relation of the social survey to the community; what things should be considered in making a study of any special problem; how the information desired can be secured; and how the data and information gathered can be put to most effective use. The book's chapters are lucid expositions of the survey idea and plan; outlines of a comprehensive survey; machinery of a survey; general and specific sources of information in making a survey; the method of interpreting survey data and securing publicity; and the making of a community program. The work is the result of the author's experience in conducting surveys and supervising the work of civic organizations, clubs, religious bodies, and college life, and, if taken only with respect to its suggestive outlines and lists of investigation questions, constitutes an exceedingly valuable handbook for reference in studying social and civic conditions.

Murray Gross.

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Canadian Municipal Manual. By John Redmond Meredith, K.C. and William Bruce Wilkinson. Edited by Sir William Ralph Meredith, K.T., Chief Justice of Ontario. Toronto: Canada Law Book Company, Ltd. Philadelphia: Cromarty Law Book Company. Pp. 1040. $20.

This comprehensive and authoritative manual (the successor of Mr. Biggar's *Municipal Manual* of sixteen years ago) contains the text and judicial interpretation (Canadian and English) of the following acts: The municipal, local improvement, municipal arbitrations, arbitration, municipal franchises, public utilities, municipal electric contracts, patriotic grants, the bureau of municipal affairs, planning and developments act. A comprehensive table of cases, an index of subjects and a series of forms which have been approved by the Ontario railway and municipal board add to the value of this volume, which is Canadian in the broadest and best sense. Designed for the use of municipal authorities as well as lawyers, the style is simple and free from unnecessary technical terms and phraseology. Issued at a time when Canadian cities, towns and municipalities are seeking ways and means "to extend their control over the necessities of life, the social conditions of the wage-earning class and the many vital public service questions on which urban communities are dependent," the volume has additional value not only to Canadian authorities, but to those on this side of the line as well. Among the newer subjects with which the cities have to deal and which are adequately discussed in this manual are municipal coal yards, supply of foods, vegetable, root and patriotic grants. Not the least interesting and valuable part of the volume is the definition of words and phrases. Some idea of the adequacy of the index may be gathered from the fact that it covers 93 pages.

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SANITATION PRACTICALLY APPLIED. By Harold Bacon Wood, M.D., Dr. P.H., Assistant Commissioner, West Virginia State Department of Health. Pp. 473; illustrated. $3.

The recent increase in books dealing in a practical way with public health and sanitation is encouraging. The present volume deals ably with the control of communicable diseases, child welfare, school hygiene, pure foods, clean milk, hygiene of the home and factory, the destruction of disease-bearing insects and health educational work. Water-supplies, sewage disposal and garbage disposal are also treated—the latter with brevity, as is proper since it has little relation to public health. The chapter on sewage disposal is marred by apparent lack of full understanding of the details of the subject. As a whole the book is commendable.

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SINGLE TAX YEAR BOOK. Edited by Joseph Dana Miller. New York: The Single Tax Review Publishing Company, 130 Nassau St. Pp. 488. $2.50.

This quinquennial edition of the "Single Tax Year Book" dealing with the history, principles and applications of the single tax philosophy is quite up to its predecessors, affording a clear, concise statement of the single tax movement, of course from the single tax point of view. This does not militate against its authoritativeness, for although frankly and avowedly propagandist, Mr. Miller and his colleagues in its preparation are too efficient in that line not to realize that a fair statement of a position is the strongest argument in its behalf. Although differing entirely in its form from other year books, it has the advantage of making it on the whole very much easier reading. The foreign development is treated quite as adequately as the American.

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OPPORTUNITIES IN THE CIVIL SERVICE. By Leonhard Felix Fuld. New York: A. N. Palmer Company. Pp. 44.

This is a handy and useful little book of information and suggestion for prospective candidates for civil service positions, for teachers of candidates, and for civil service examiners. It gives facts of importance for those interested in preparing themselves or others for positions in the federal, state, or city services, with special reference to sub-clerical, postal, clerical, stenographer, and typewriter examinations. For each type of examination it sets forth concisely and graphically the pertinent facts as to qualifications of applicants, scope and content of examinations, methods of rating, and practical ways of preparing for the tests. At a few points criticisms are offered against existing practices as to inclusions in examinations and methods of rating. The book should be clearly serviceable to those for whom it is intended.

F. W. C.

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THE MODERN MILK PROBLEM: In Sanitation, Economics, and Agriculture. By J. Scott MacNutt, Lecturer on Public Health Service in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 258; illustrated. $2.

Such a book as this was needed to present in a brief, readable, convincing manner the milk problem of to-day in its threefold relation to health, economics, and, most important of all, the dairy farmer—without whose co-operation a safe milk supply at reasonable cost cannot be expected. All these phases of the subject are presented in a way readily followed by any one interested in the improvement of milk supplies, whether as public-spirited citizen, member of a civic organization, local or state legislator, milk producer, distributor or consumer, or executive health officer.

Conditions of Labor in American Industries. By W. Jett Lauck and Edgar Sydenstricker. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company. Pp. 403. $1.75.

This book contains a summary of the principal facts collected by a large number of investigations into the conditions under which the American wage-earner and his family work and live. There is no critical discussion of these facts nor any partisan conclusion drawn from them. The object of the authors was to bring together in one place convenient for reference the statistics of wages, working hours, unemployment, sanitary appointments and family budgets. The result is a statement, not a description, of the fundamental conditions in American industry.

The book should appeal to social workers, legislators, employers and employes who want facts for their contentions.

Malcolm Keir.

University of Pennsylvania.

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An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics. By P. Orman Ray. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 428.

Professor Ray has brought up to date this interesting classroom book dealing with problems of politics. The full bibliography accompanying each chapter enables those who want further information on any particular subject to gain access to it with a minimum of delay. Good as this volume is, it is still the work of a college professor. Let us hope that some time a practical politician will write a book on the subject from the point of view of "one who knows" from real experience.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

The Battle with Tuberculosis and How to Win It: A Book for the Patient and His Friends. By D. MacDougall King, M.B. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. Pp. 258. $1.50.

Citizenship: An Introduction to Social Ethics. By Milton Bennion, Dean of the School of Education, University of Utah. With an Introduction by David Snedden. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company. Pp. 181.

Community: A Sociological Study. By R. M. Maciver, D.Phil. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 437. $3.75.

Financial Federations. The Report of a Special Committee. New York: American Association for Organizing Charity, 130 East 22nd Street. 1917. Pp. 285. $1.

The National Budget System and American Finance. By Charles Wallace Collins. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 151. $1.25.

Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States. Prepared in Co-operation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund under the Direction of Thomas Jesse Jones, Specialist in the Education of Racial Groups, Bureau of Education: Volumes I and II. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1917.

Philosophy and the Social Problem. By Will Durant, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 272. $1.50.

Separation of State and Local Revenues in the United States. By Mabel Newcomer, Ph.D. No. 180, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. New York: Columbia University, Longmans, Green and Company, Agents. Pp. 195. $1.75.

Street Railway Employment in the United States. U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 204. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1917.

Street Railway Fares: Their Relation to Length of Haul and Cost of Service. By Dugald C. Jackson and David J. McGrath. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. Pp. 169.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Street Traffic Regulation.[1]—This pamphlet is divided into two parts,—part I being devoted to standard regulations, traffic signs, police duties and bureau of street traffic; and part II to the relative merits of the block and rotary systems, one way traffic streets, general parking regulations, the near-side stop, crosswalks, signal systems, etc.

Perhaps the best way to review Mr. Eno's ideas is to compare them with the provisions of some other recent traffic codes. He is a strong advocate of simplicity and directness. Having boiled down to less than 1,500 words the regulations for New York city, he is very skeptical about such codes as the new highway traffic law of New York state, which contains about 4,500 words. Theoretically the simpler code is of course to be preferred; practically, however, it is difficult to attain. The New York state code is of necessity a composite and is probably the best that could be secured under present conditions.

Mr. Eno's theory is to give to the police exclusive power to regulate and direct traffic, and even to exclude certain kinds from certain streets. He would then have each city through its police department promulgate traffic regulations based on New York city as a standard. New York's new state code is based on the theory that in order to insure uniformity as to fundamentals the code should be adopted as a state law, subject only to such additional restrictions as may be found necessary by local police officials.

Two other differences worthy of note appear on examining the two sets of regulations. Mr. Eno provides that, conditions warranting, north and south bound traffic shall have the right of way over east and west bound. The Safety First Federation of America and the New York state codes both give each vehicle the right of way over all other vehicles except those approaching an intersection from the right of the driver. By the latter method definite responsibility is always fixed, irrespective of the points of the compass or the many possible combinations of roads at intersections.

With respect to speed, Mr. Eno is content to rely on legally fixed rates, whereas the New York statute instead of establishing a legal rate of speed expressly prohibits "reckless driving," for which it provides heavy penalties. A speed that is safe for the average driver may be reckless driving for an inexperienced operator. Moreover, if an accident occurs it is incumbent upon the participants to show not merely that they were not exceeding so many miles per hour but that they were not driving recklessly.

The pages devoted to comments and to traffic signs are extremely interesting and bring to mind the ever present question of uniformity in signs, particularly those relating to dangers or directions.

The section devoted to police duties clearly illustrates Mr. Eno's theory that regulation alone can solve the traffic problems. I cannot escape the conclusion, however, that even the best regulations will fall short and that the traffic question must also be approached from the angle of city planning. In built-up areas where traffic is already congested new and alternative routes between and around the centers of congestion must eventually be provided.

In part II Mr. Eno devotes considerable space to the relative merits of the block and rotary systems of traffic regulation. He is very critical of the block system, condemning it as wasteful and inefficient, and strongly advocating the rotary system. In his enthusiasm for the rotary system Mr. Eno claims for it an increase of 50 per cent in the traffic capacity of the streets. If the streets from building line to building line were for vehicles only, the writer might agree with him, but pedestrians still have some claims which the rotary system with its continuous flow of traffic does not heed. The block system properly handled, that is with frequent changes of traffic direction at intervals of 15 to 30 seconds instead of one minute or more, will adequately protect pedestrians by giving them a chance to cross with the released traffic. It will also expedite traffic safely although perhaps not as rapidly as the rotary system. For large open spaces like Columbus Circle, New York, the rotary system has obvious advantages, but any one who has ever waited for a car at that point realizes that it also has some dangers.

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[1] Street Traffic Regulation, by William Phelps Eno. Issued under the auspices of the National Safety Council, Chicago. 39 pp.

Closely related to the rotary system is the plan for cross-walks advocated by Mr. Eno. Instead of prolongations of the building lines he would have them set tangent to a circle inscribed within the four corners. This would give them an offset position. Mr. Eno advocates their construction of colored paving material or brick, a recommendation that many will heartily applaud.

One way traffic streets, as Mr. Eno points out, are an absolute necessity in congested districts, a fact which we in this country are just beginning to appreciate, although the idea originated in Pompeii and has long been in use in Havana.

Permanent isles of safety raised to sidewalks level and guarded by posts are strongly advocated by Mr. Eno as a safety measure for pedestrians and as a means of dividing and regulating traffic. The New York police department several years ago placed two such permanent isles of safety on Fifth avenue at 42d street and 44th street. They also have what Mr. Eno calls trial or experimental isles of safety at all other heavy traffic points. These are made by simply placing stanchions with cast iron bases at the proper places and marking out a safety zone with them. They are of course lighted at night. The New York police prefer these movable isles, as they serve the purpose of a refuge without consituting a permanent obstruction of the roadway. If struck by a piece of fire apparatus or an ambulance, they go down without much resistance and do not wreck the machine.[1]

Signal systems, the regulation of traffic at large gatherings, street car and bus stops are taken up toward the end of the pamphlet. In the discussion of these phases of the traffic problem, Mr. Eno particularly advocates elevated platforms or "crow's nests" for traffic officers. He is inclined to doubt the wisdom and the safety of the near side stop, the use of which is growing rapidly. I cannot entertain Mr. Eno's fears in this connection; statistics of street accidents do not seem to bear him out. On the contrary, figures published after the introduction of the near side stop in New York point to a considerable reduction in the number of accidents.

The whole question of traffic regulation is in its infancy, and in expressing views divergent from those of Mr. Eno, there is on my part no desire to underrate the value of his interesting pamphlet. It is well arranged, brief and to the point. It is well worth reading. Under a strong and somewhat autocratic police régime, I have no doubt that traffic could be handled expeditiously and with a fair degree of safety by following closely all the rules Mr. Eno lays down. My only fear is that in the interest of vehicular speed and street efficiency, the poor pedestrian may be forgotten. He has to cross the streets and is just as much entitled to a safe passage as his more fortunate neighbor in a vehicle is to a clear right of way.

Wayne D. Heydecker.[2]

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Community Service.[3]—The remark has already reached print, if I mistake not, of the director of a social employment bureau, that college girls nowadays are not interested when you ask them to do "settlement work." But mention a "community center" and they are all aglow.

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[1] In this connection, persons interested are referred to an article entitled "Are Permanent Safeties Really Safe?" in the *American City*, December, 1916 (page 698). Mr. Eno subsequently wrote to the editor, in defense of the permanent isles of safety. His letter appears in the April, 1917, issue of the same magazine (page 343).

[2] Committee secretary, City club of New York.

[3] The Banker; Proposed Community Forum bill; The Community Center, Feb. 24, 1917; Community Service, Elmira, N. Y.; Quicksands of Wider Use, Russell Sage Foundation; Community Institutes, Indiana University; Brooklyn Civic Club Bulletin; University of Wisconsin, The Country Church; Community Center Activities, C. A. Perry.

"Community" is a word to conjure with, to-day. And it promises to be more than a slogan. It bids fair to become the fortunate meeting-place at which the individual and his fair demands will at last harmonize with the no less fair, no less insistent demands of society. For a community is a social entity large enough to be analyzed, small enough to be understood; large enough to have varied and often typical conditions, small enough usually to control the remedy for its ills; large enough to contain genuine need and opportunity for social work, small enough to escape the hopelessness of attempted "reform" on a national scale. Its philosophy may be dubbed a "socialized individualism," perhaps, for lack of a better term.

The community idea has already won recognition in many fields. The allied charities of Elmira rightly describe their work for child welfare, training-schools, homes for the aged, and much else, as community service. Boards of education are seeing here a wider significance than just the use of the school plant for election purposes or recreation. Recently M. T. Levy, chairman of the committee on care of buildings, New York board of education, gave before the Civic club of Brooklyn an account of the uses to which New York's buildings are being put. Besides the regular school activities, parents' meetings and alumni gatherings which naturally come "to school," there are also club meetings, concerts, exhibitions, with or without admission price, held by societies in the school or out of it, with permit by the authorities, sometimes with rental fee, often without it. Said Mr. Levy:

> More and more it is being recognized that the school should become the intellectual and social center of the community . . . schools have been used not only to house pupils but have been dedicated to community service. . . . This wider use of the buildings tends to contribute directly and indirectly to better citizenship.

A similar plan in Farragut is heartily endorsed by *The Banker*, a local financial paper, which describes briefly a new school from which "the children literally can't be kept away" and commends the "big vision" in which the board of education planned.

That there are difficulties in this extended activity, is easily seen. Shall any and every society be allowed the use of the school without exception? Shall every "show" be self-administered or shall everything be controlled by central and permanent powers-that-be? The dangers of each extreme and the advisable means are discussed by C. A. Perry in the leaflet, "Quicksands of the Wider Use," reprinted by the Sage foundation from *The Playground*. The desirability of a definite standard for the use of school plants and of certain constructive regulations, was expressed also in a leaflet issued by the federal Bureau of Education, entitled, "A Community Forum Bill." The bill suggested for state adoption is accompanied by an explanation of the purpose of the forum and of the opportunity for embodying it in a permanent local democratic organization which will go far towards stimulating "latent civic intelligence."

The special stimulus given to the community center movement by public health organizations, is shown in Mrs. John Collier's brief sketch in the *Bulletin*. Her text is the "Health District No. I, of New York City." Brilliant demonstration has been given by this and other health centers—such, for instance, that in Buffalo opened by the department of health—of the positive, sure, and intimate social worth of that social prophylaxis known as "public health." In the light of this fact, one cannot refrain from expressing surprise and regret that in so complete a little handbook as Mr. Perry's "Community Center Activities," the possibility of co-operation in health matters is dismissed with brief reference to what the school center can do in time of epidemics. Why not help prevent the epidemic? The school center can do much toward this end. But there are 183 other activities outlined in this little book, of interest and value to leaders in this work.

Community institutes, from the extension department of Indiana University, belongs to the later stage of development when the community has recognized itself, and is taking steps toward its own improvement. Conference with other groups similarly interested will help in the solutions of difficulties and will further the neighborliness and working together which make for public spirit. The organization of these conferences and some suitable programs are outlined by Mr. W. S. Bittner, secretary of the university's public welfare service.

In "The Country Church—An Economic and Social Force," C. J. Galpin offers a fine analysis of the present rural church situation and a stirring account of the service possible to the country by a better organization of the religious life. Perhaps a rural re-parishing might be accomplished, Mr. Galpin suggests, similar to that in foreign missionary work by the agreement of churches at home. Hamlet churches could be developed greatly by local accord as to sect or combination of sects, activities in line with the interests of farmers and small store-keepers and other representatives of the local life. Such church life benefits agriculture by rendering the population more permanent —since contented and happy. It adds the element of graciousness to comradeship. It brings into play a social spirit among children as they mingle with children from other families upon this common ground. And since this fair beginning will be chiefly made or marred by the character and personality of the pastor, priest, rector, minister,—whatever name be given the leader of it all—the leaflet closes with a well told sketch of that amazing person, John Oberlin, botanist, construction engineer, linguist, agriculturist, friend of his people and servant of them and of God. It will be indeed the gifted and brave who follow in his train.

To-morrow's challenge to to-day—that is the significance of these publications; the call that we see to it that coming feet tread a social way that is smoother than the one we are passing over; more broadly spacious, and set with wisdom and graciousness.

Gertrude Seymour.[1]

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A Plan of Organization for New York City.[2]—How often the arm-chair municipal administrator asks peace and quiet from the charter reformer. "Get the right men," they say, "and the plan of organization will be of no consequence." Most of the fair-minded are agreed that proper desires and skilled performers have been prompting New York city's administration for the past four years. In spite of this prevailing opinion the former city chamberlain tells us that: "Greatly increased serviceability in government and many economies could be effected if efficient organization were added to the existing desire and continuous effort to conduct the affairs of the city without waste and in the interest of the public." The progress in its governmental affairs is the chief reason which urged Mr. Bruère to submit his suggestions for changes in the structure of his city's government.

At the beginning of Mayor Mitchel's administration there was appointed by the board of estimate and apportionment, a charter committee, instructed to recommend changes in the organization. Various contributing reasons resulted in the practical dissolution of the committee. Mr. Bruère, a member of the committee, submitted his "Plan of Organization for New York City" so that the mayor might "call the recommendations it contains to the attention of any subsequent charter committee."

Mr. Bruère submits two general plans, neither of which, he assures us, is revolutionary. There are certain elements common to the two plans.

1. A "policy-guiding" mayor.

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[1] Of The Survey staff.

[2] By Henry Bruère, former city chamberlain (May, 1917).

2. A directing board (estimate and apportionment).
3. A finance department controlling revenues, funds and disbursements.
4. A city manager.

There is nothing startling about these recommendations. No great gap must be dexterously bridged to accomplish these changes. As is stated in the report, "this reorganization must primarily be directed toward definitizing responsibility and providing more effective administrative machinery." The details of the appointment and consequent reponsibility of the city manager, whether to the board or the mayor, is left for future consideration. The manager will have no responsibility for policies except as a requested adviser of the board. "He will have nothing to do with the police department or with the civil service or law departments." The chief distinction between the two plans is the number of departments brought under the administration of the city manager.

The Two Plans

- Plan II.
  - Plan I. —
    - Fire
    - Building Inspections
    - Buildings, Plant and Equipment
    - Health
    - Street Cleaning —Correction
    - Public Utilities
    - Public Welfare
  - Tenement House
  - Parks
  - Public Works

The present board of aldermen is given a place under both plans for reasons "largely sentimental." It is suggested that several obvious advantages might be gained from reducing the number of aldermen on the board.

The most radical change suggested in this report involves the assumption by the board of estimate and apportionment of more complete responsibility for the effective management of the city.

Chapter III deals with the financial problems in New York's management—the rapidly increasing budget and debt. One item of striking interest is the decreasing administrative expense in 1915 and 1916.

Henry G. Hodges.[1]

* * *

General Statistics of Cities: 1916.—The U. S. Census Bureau has given us another valuable volume of municipal statistics in its recent report on "General Statistics of Cities: 1916." It follows the same plan as the report having the same general subject for 1915 which was put out by the census bureau a year ago. However, it is not supplementary to the former volume but deals with wholly different municipal activities, namely; parks, playgrounds, museums and art galleries, zoölogical collections, music and entertainments, swimming pools and bathing beaches, and other features of the recreation service. This report, like that of 1915, handles the municipalities of the United States having a population of over 30,000, the number of which has increased from 204 to 213. Two hundred and ten of these are incorporated cities, two towns, and one borough.

Before presenting the tables we are furnished in this report with a brief discussion of "Park Systems," and the brevity of this discussion is not its only merit. City park systems are first considered and their growth is illustrated by the system of Kansas City, Mo., with a map showing the park system of that city as of 1893, 1909, and 1915. This is followed with consideration of the metropolitan park systems of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the county park systems of Essex and Hudson counties, N. J., and Milwaukee county, Wis., and then the Palisades interstate park system of New York and New Jersey.

Two pages are devoted to "Recreational Areas Under the Supervision of the Federal Government" which contain a table showing the location, area and characteristics of each of our national parks.

There are twenty tables in the report, preceded by a description of each. In addition to such facts as might be expected regarding such things as the number, area and kind of parks, and quite extensive financial figures in regard thereto, enlightening statistics are given covering in detail such recreational activities as the following: park administration, federal military reservations within limits of cities, population per acre of recreational grounds, park lighting, comparisons with former years' statistics, cost of park lighting, metered lighting, number and salaries of park policemen, appropriations from which costs of policing parks are paid, swimming pools and bathing beaches, public concerts, public dance halls, free motion-picture entertainments, celebrations, museums and art galleries administered by the city, museums and art galleries not administered but aided by the city, national institutions for the preservation and exhibition of objects of nature and of art, and value of recreational properties

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[1] Secretary, committee of fifteen (Cleveland); secretary, Cleveland city club.

Claude H. Anderson.[1]

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Classification and Standardization of Personal Service.—Despite at least two decided setbacks during the past four years, the movement toward standardization of public employments still persists in Milwaukee. This is amply attested by a recent report of over 300 pages prepared at the request of the Milwaukee board of city service commissioners by Messrs. J. L. Jacobs & Company of Chicago. It will be recalled that Mr. Jacobs is the noted efficiency engineer to whom Chicago is largely indebted for its pioneer experiment in personal service standardization and who was forced out of the public employ by a reactionary civil service commission at the beginning of the Thompson administration.

The report outlines a comprehensive program of standardization and sets forth detailed specifications governing conditions of employment in all branches of the Milwaukee city service. The classification adopted by Mr. Jacobs, in its broad dimensions, bears a strong semblance to the pioneer classification of Chicago and does not follow the more restricted vocational lines of eastern classifications. In the detailed specifications of duties and entrance qualifications, however, the influence of later experiments in the east is plainly discernible. Among the suggestions for further development of employment policy, it is interesting to note a recommendation for the "establishment of public service schools providing for training of prospective and of present public employes for fitness and for higher duties." A scientific pension system also is recommended.

In order to become effective throughout the entire city service of Milwaukee, the plan of standardization presented in Mr. Jacobs' report will have to be acted upon, not only by the board of city service commissioners and the common council, but also by numerous independent boards and commissions over which the common council has no jurisdiction. It is to be hoped that there will be no repetition in case of the present proposal of the unfortunate experiences that Milwaukee has had in previous efforts at standardizing its municipal service.

William C. Beyer.[2]

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Sioux Falls, South Dakota, has been under a commission form of government for a period of seven years. During all of that time it has had the benefit of the services of the same man, and he a very efficient one, for mayor, G. W. Burnside. After retiring from business he gave himself entirely to the city and has been to all intents and purposes a city manager. A report of what has been accomplished in Sioux Falls from 1909 to 1916 has been brought out in a most effective form. It differs somewhat from the usual annual report and combines the best features of a "boosting" pamphlet. An introductory note says that "the city commission in publishing this report was inspired by a desire to tell the people of Sioux Falls of the progress and development in municipal affairs under seven years' administration of the commission plan. While especial emphasis is placed upon the régime of the city government and its advancement, there is unfolded the story of a naturally attendant commercial, industrial, educational and social development of which the city may well be proud." The pamphlet is abundantly illustrated after the manner of city planning reports and "boosting" pamphlets generally, and contains a very considerable amount of significant data.

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[1] Director, New Jersey bureau of municipal information.

[2] Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

C. R. W.

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Monographs and Reports on Municipal Problems.—The municipal reference library of New York has issued a significant pamphlet under this title containing references to recent reports of exceptional interest published by the city of New York. It represents a very remarkable list of publications, beginning with Bruere's survey of the various departments under the jurisdiction of the mayor, the building code, the report on the cost of living,[1] the report of the mayor's committee on taxation dealing with excess condemnation (including a report prepared by Herbert S. Swan for the National Municipal League),[2] a monograph on infantile paralysis, a report isolated vs. central power plants, an elaborate report on salary standardization,[3] the final report of the committee on taxation and the several reports from the mayor's committee on unemployment.[4] These documents are more than ordinary municipal reports. They represent very real contributions based upon original research.

C. R. W.

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Financial Statistics of States.—In view of the accelerated activity in state financial affairs during the last three or four years such a study as the recent report of the Census Bureau on "Financial Statistics of States for 1916" is particularly profitable at this time.

For the finance expert it is, naturally, an interesting compilation of data from which certain deductions as to the "trend of things" may safely be drawn and certain conclusions authoritatively arrived at. To the student of governmental affairs in general, it is valuable as a practical textbook in governmental finance and considerably more understandable than some textbooks on the subject. To such state financial officials as happen to be expert finance men it will serve well as a double guide, pointing the way both to salvation and disaster. To the non-expert state financial official it might very advantageously be used as a primer—not that it is unduly elementary but because it is clear and comprehensive. Certainly a more concise and digestible volume covering the field of state finance could hardly be compiled.

The introduction, in addition to explaining the scope of the report and the methods employed, points out some obvious defects in the accounting in some of the states through such things as antiquated and diverse methods of classifying revenues, lack of proper accounts with materials and supplies, lack of accounting for depreciation, faulty accounting for interest chargeable as outlay or expense, and auditing claims after the close of the year to which they relate.

About fifteen pages devoted to "Accounting Terminology" is, notwithstanding the clarity of the carefully compiled tables, probably the chief feature which will make this report valuable to the non-expert and which will render it extremely usable to those interested only in the general aspects of the subject. Moreover, the brief definitions and elucidations in this department of the volume should be an aid of considerable value in clearing up hitherto un-understood or misunderstood matters pertaining to finance and financial administration. For instance, the meat of the state budget proposition is succinctly presented as follows:

> A state budget is a formal statement of the financial program or plan of a state for a fiscal period, comprising a statement of authorized expenditures for that period correlated with the estimated revenues and other resources for meeting them.

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[1] See vol. vi, p. 168.

[2] See vol. v, p. 353.

[3] See vol. vi, p. 301.

[4] See vol. v, p. 702.

The bulk of the volume is made up of twenty-eight tables, and a description of each, all of which is done with the usual expertness of the Census Bureau. The descriptions, or explanations they might well be called, are made particularly valuable in that many of them contain tables which sub-divide and further carry out particular items of the general tables.

A significant fact to be learned from the volume is that the states are not paying as they go. The expenditure for current expenses alone in 1916 amounted to about $42,000,000 more than the revenues. In addition there was an expenditure of $85,000,000 for permanent improvements. The increased economy and efficiency that has at last tardily arrived in some of our states will, of course, help the situation but this report of the Census Bureau should show that if the general property tax is to continue as the main source of revenue, and doubtless it will for some time, ameliorative measures applied to its assessment and collection must give way to the more substantial changes of property classification and the separation of sources for state and local purposes. CLAUDE H. ANDERSON.

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The Development of the Power of the State Executive, with Special Reference to the State of New York.[1]—The next ten years are likely to witness a process of revision and renovation in the governments of the states comparable to that during the last ten years in the field of municipal government. People's power leagues under various names and economy and efficiency commissions in all parts of the country have already indicated some of the changes which ought to be made. Constitutional conventions in at least half a dozen states within the next two or three years may be expected to reconsider in the light of twentieth century conditions the whole subject of state government.

Miss Alexander's excellent brochure on the development of the executive power appears at the right time. She has studied with particular care its development in New York, concluding with a brief exposition of the reforms proposed by the constitutional convention of 1915. There is no better example than New York of the general tendencies in the development of the executive power and no better starting point for a study of the problem of reform in state administration than the work of the New York convention, viewed in the light of the constitutional history of that state. Miss Alexander's little volume should prove as useful as it is timely.

A. N. HOLCOMBE.

Harvard University.

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Armstrong (J. W.). Municipal problems. (Modern City, Sept., 1917: 20–22.)

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Cole (Louis S.). A plea for the city park. (Amer. Municipalities, Sept., 1917: 169–171.)

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Stern (Eugene W.). Pavements in suburban and rural districts near large cities. (Canadian Municip. Journ., Sept., 1917: 392–393.)

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See also Traffic.

Woods (Arthur). The New York policeman of today. (Journ., Nat. Inst. of Soc. Sciences, Jan., 1917: 57–60.)

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United States. Bureau of the Census. Estimates of population . . . of counties of the several states and of cities of 30,000 population and over. 1917. 26 pp.

This is the estimate of population on which the draft quotas were based.

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Crow (Arthur). The Port of London, past, present, and future. (Town Planning Rev., Oct., 1916: 4–17. plates.

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Anon. Comparison of retail food prices as of July 1, 1917. (Amer. Food Journ., Jy., 1917: 358.)

A tabulation of actual prices in 10 American cities for 50 staple foods, together with an approximately average figure for the country as a whole.

——. Price changes for common labor and construction material during the past year. Prevailing figures on Aug. 1, 1916, and Aug. 1, 1917, in various cities throughout the country. (Engrng. and Contracting, Aug. 29, 1917: 169.)

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Washington (State). Bureau of Labor. Comparative statistics on foodstuffs and fuel for four years as shown in a budget of the annual cost of living of a family of five persons. Based on prices prevailing in month of April of each year. 1917. [4 pp.]

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Lochhead (A. F.). Is a ministry of health desirable? (Municip. Journ. (London), Sept. 7, 1917: 861–862.)

Michigan. Report of the tuberculosis survey of the State Board of Health . . . from Oct. 1, 1915, to Oct. 1, 1916. . . . 1917. 89 pp. charts. tables.

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——. The notifiable diseases. Prevalence during 1916 in states. (Pub. Health Repts., Sept. 21, 1917: 1506–1531.)

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——. Typhoid fever and municipal administration. By A. W. Freeman. 1917. 16 pp. diagrs. (Reprint no. 395 from the Pub. Health Repts., May 4, 1917.)

Wood (H. B.). Sanitation practically applied. 1917. 473 pp. illus.

Some of the chapters deal with the following subjects: The need for public health work; Statistics; Child welfare; School hygiene; Clear milk; Water supplies; Sewage disposal; The educational movement; etc.

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Lewis (M. R.). Practical training for public service: a bibliography. (Pub. Servant, Je.–Sept., 1917: 225–236.)

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Has reference to Ann Arbor, Mich.

Rightor (C. E.). Co-operation between city officials and private efficiency organizations. (Modern City, Sept., 1917: 26–27, 55.)

Robinson (F. B.). The New York idea [of training persons already in the public service]. (School and Soc., Aug. 25, 1917: 218–221.)

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Brown (Reginald). House refuse: its calorific value and its possibilities. Pt. 1–2. (Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., Je. 15–22, 1917: 557–558, 572–573.)

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Several important changes in the Michigan highway laws were made by the legislature in 1917.

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A list of the principal officials, engineers and other members of the staffs of the highway departments of the several states and of the U. S. Office of Public Roads.

Lewis (N. P.). Widening existing streets to meet traffic demands. (Engrng. and Contracting, Sept. 5, 1917: 188–189.)

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St. Louis. City Plan Commission. A major street plan for St. Louis. 1917. 86 pp. maps.

Weir (W. J.). Road maintenance in the war zone of France. (Engrng. News-Record, Sept. 13, 1917: 488–492.)

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Public Safety Commission of Chicago and Cook County. Things you must know for safety. A manual of information and statistical records relating to the conservation of human life. [also] Report of Coroner Peter M. Hoffman [for 1916]. 1917. 181. pp.

Rosa (E. B.) and Canada (W. J.). The National Electric Safety Code from the electric railway standpoint—I. (Elec. Ry. Journ., Sept. 15, 1917: 431–443.)

This paper includes a synopsis of the Code.

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See also Education, Ventilation.

Alderman (L. R.). The two-group plan. (Journ., Nat. Educ. Assoc., Je., 1917: 1029–1032.)

A description of the modified Gary plan which has been successfully operated in Portland, Ore., for two years.

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Barker (Creighton). A model public school clinic. (Architectural Record, Jy., 1917: 27–29. diagr.)

Indiana. State Board of Accounts. School house heating and ventilating in Indiana. A report. . . . 1917. 33+8 pp.

Kilpatrick (Van Evrie). The school gardens of New York City. (Monthly Bull., Dept. of Health, N. Y. City, May, 1917: 49–55.)

Public Education Association of the City of New York. Citizens of to-morrow. The contribution of the public schools to national preparedness. 1917. 32 pp.

Its Bull. 31 (Sept., 1917).

School Survey Committee, Denver. Purchase of supplies and equipment. (Rep. of school survey . . . Pt. 4. The business management, by J. T. Byrne. pp. 42–71.)

Struthers (L. R.). The school nurse; a survey of the duties and responsibilities of the nurse in the maintenance of health and physical perfection and the prevention of disease among school children. 1917. 293 pp. illus.

United States. Bureau of Education. Work of school children during out-of-school hours. By C. D. Jarvis. 1917. 28 pp. (Bull., 1917, no. 20.)

Sewerage and Sewage Disposal

Bantrell (M. A.). Ice forms but sprinkling filters go on. (Engrng. News-Record, Sept. 13, 1917: 506–507. illus.)

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Caink (Thomas). Activated sludge process of sewage purification; the Worcester [England] experiment. (Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., Jy. 20, 1917: 51–55. illus.)

New York City. Board of Estimate and Apportionment. Report on the main drainage and sewage disposal of the area tributary to Jamaica Bay. [1917.] 83 pp. maps. diagr. tables. (Bureau of Public Improvements.)

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Talbert (C. M.). Cleaning of St. Louis streets with vacuum cleaner. (Journ., Engrs.' Club of St. Louis. May-Je., 1917: 188–192.)

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California University. Single house legislature. Prepared by Joseph H. Quire. 1917. 18 pp. (Extension Div. Bull., n. s., v. 11, no. 12.)

A general statement and list of references.

Direct Legislation League of Maryland, and Maryland Tax Reform Association. Some Maryland political problems. Apr. 20, 1917. 43 pp.

Hartwell (E. M.). Constitutional conventions in Massachusetts. (Boston City Record, Jy. 28, 1917: 718–719.)

Massachusetts Federation of Planning Boards. The need of constitutional amendments for (a) Reorganization of the state executive departments, (b) Creation of a department of municipal government, (c) Greater degree of home rule for cities and towns, (d) Regulation and control by cities and towns of the growth and development of their municipal areas. 1917. 22 pp. (Bull. no. 4, Jy., 1917.)

Taxation and Finance

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Anon. Taxation and revenue systems of state and local governments. (Modern City, Sept., 1917: 3–10, 51–55.)

——. What's the matter with the budget [of San Francisco]? (The City, Jy., 1917: 1–22.)

Benson (C. D.). Assessing for local improvements. (Amer. City, Aug., 1917: 139–141.)

Bostwick (A. L.). Permanent assessment boards to act in street opening and widening cases. (Municip. Journ., Aug. 30, 1917: 200.)

Describes laws and practices in eight large cities, and the law proposed for St. Louis.

Connecticut. Report of the Special State Commission appointed in 1915 on the subject of taxation. Submitted to the General Assembly in 1917. 1917. 44 pp.

Eldridge (M. O.). Serial bonds for road building save money; tables and diagrams show that sinking-fund and annuity methods cost taxpayers many millions. (Engrng. News-Record, Aug. 30, 1917: 407–411. diagr. tables.)

Indiana. State Board of Accounts. Budget classifications and rules of procedure for departmental estimates. Sept., 1916. 20 pp.

——. Analysis of the appropriation ordinance or county budget. 1916. 27 pp.
A pamphlet issued for the guidance of county authorities and county councils. It contains also a statement of the Compensation of County Officers.

Newcomer (Mabel). Separation of state and local revenues in the United States. 1917. 195 pp. (Columbia Univ. Studies in Pol. Sci., v. 76, no. 2.)

[New Hampshire. State Tax Commission.] Budget making for New Hampshire towns. Procedure for making and presenting budget estimates in conformity with the uniform system of town accounts. 1917. 15 pp. budget sheet.
Prepared by Mr. Edward C. Mabie.

New York State Conference on Taxation. Addresses and proceedings of the seventh State Conference on Taxation, Jan. 11 and 12, 1917. 1917. 264 pp. (N. Y. State Tax Bull., May, 1917.)

Ohio. Legislative Reference Department. Finances of Ohio cities: debt and taxation. 1917. 81 pp. tables.
Prepared for the use of the legislature in consideration of plans for the financial relief of Ohio municipalities.

Winnipeg (Can.). Board of Valuation and Revision. Report on systems of assessment and taxation. 1917. 75 pp. plate. diagr.
The most interesting recommendation is that the business tax, based on rentals, should be abandoned in favor of an income tax.

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Goodrich (E. P.). The pedestrian in city traffic. (Landscape Arch., Jy., 1917: 195–197.)
Refers particularly to New York City.

New York City. Police Department. Traffic Division Bulletin, no. 1. [1917.] [10 pp.]
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Sabath (Joseph). What a traffic court can do [in Chicago]. (Amer. City, Aug., 1917: 126–129.)

Wakelam (H. T.). Extraordinary traffic and excessive weights on highways. (Surveyor and Municip. and County Engr., Je. 29, 1917: 586–589.)

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Lowrie (S. Gale). The Cincinnati rapid transit plan. (Modern City, Sept., 1917: 12–15, 46–48.)

Warren (B. W.). New England street railways. 1917. 23 pp.
An address delivered before the Street Railway Investigating Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, Jy. 24, 1917.

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Palmer (G. T.). Are schoolrooms drier than deserts? (Journ., Amer. Soc. of Heating and Ventilating Engrs., Jy., 1917: 525–539.)

Todd (J. B.). A survey of cloth-window ventilation. (School and Soc., Sept. 1, 1917: 250–253. diagr.)

Vital Statistics

Boston. Statistics Department. Mortality statistics of principal New England cities, 1915. (Boston City Record, Jy. 7, 1917: 660.)

Guilfoy (W. H.). The enforcement of registration of births and deaths in metropolitan areas—history, methods, results and checks. (Amer. Journ. of Pub. Health, Jy., 1917: 619–623.)

United States. Bureau of the Census. Birth statistics for the registration area of the United States: 1915. First annual report. 1917. 78 pp.

——. Children's Bureau. Infant mortality: results of a field study in Manchester, N. H., based on births in one year, by Beatrice Sheets Duncan and Emma Duke. 1917. 134 pp. map. plates. diagr. tables. (Bur. publication no. 20.)
Infant mortality series, no. 6.

Water Supply

See also Fire Protection.

Ganz (A. F.). Electrolysis—troubles caused thereby and remedies which may be applied. (Canadian Engr., Sept. 13, 1917: 216–218.)

Tourney (J. W.). Forestry in its relation to public water supplies. (Journ., N. E. Water Works Assoc., Je., 1917: 247–267.)

Williams (William). An official view of water metering. (Real Estate Bull., Aug., 1917: 643–647.)

——. Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity, New York City. (Journ., Nat. Inst. of Soc. Sciences, Jan., 1917: 177–183.)

Wolff (Mark). Pumping station costs and efficiency records of [the Department of Water Supply, Gas and

Electricity] New York City. (Utilities Mag., Sept., 1917: 4–9. forms. tables.)

Worthen (T. W. D.). Public service regulation [with discussion]. (Journ., N. E. Water Works Assoc., Je., 1917: 163–195.)

Weights and Measures

New York State. Superintendent of Weights and Measures. The laws of the state of New York in relation to weights and measures. 1917. 26 pp. (Wts. and Meas. Bull., Je., 1917.)

Welfare Work

Anon. Life in a large manufacturing plant. 1. Medical service and hospitals [in the General Electric Company]. (Gen. Elec. Rev., Aug., 1917: 661–670. illus.)

This article is one of a series describing the systematic plans which have been developed for the selection of an efficient working force in a large manufacturing organization, and for the maintenance of its high physical, mental and moral standard.

Community Clearing House [New York City]. An observatory of needs and resources; an experiment station in public service; a demonstration center for methods of team work between public authorities, private agencies, and citizens. [Maintained by the Committee on Unadjusted Children.] [1917.] 11 pp. illus.

——. A neighborhood gateway to all the City's [New York] resources of helpfulness, Central Gramercy District. [1917.] [5 pp.]

The Community Clearing House is an outgrowth of a study, undertaken by the Committee on Unadjusted Children, into the causes and remedies of maladjustment in children. The clearing house has an extensive program of community service and aims particularly to provide municipal officials and departments with such information and co-operation as are needed to make the public service more efficient, to restore community life, and to give to an immigrant community an agency of self-help.

Scarburgh (R. S.). Welfare work of the New York Telephone Company. Hospital, pensions, accident and sickness disability benefits, and insurance among special features—appreciation of employes. (Modern Hospital, Jy., 1917: 62–65. illus.)

Zoning

Schiavone (F. P.). Occupancy restrictions under zone law; doubt exists as to what law permits though in force a year—operation explained in concise form. (Record and Guide, Aug. 11, 1917: 167.)

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